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**Towards a stakeholder
perspective on university/
community engagement**

**Working Paper 1 “University learning with
excluded communities” project**

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1 INTRODUCTION

There is increasing interest in how universities interact with their communities and wider society as a whole (e.g. OECD, 2007). Universities are well positioned to provide a society with capacity for lifelong learning necessary for resilience in the knowledge economy. There are a series of generational challenges such as global warming, demographic ageing, energy shortages and security solving whose solution will greatly be aided by university contributions. The rise of the knowledge economy has created a new class of the knowledge-poor, whose excluded social status is increasingly raising new questions for policy makers (Lambert 2003).

There have been considerable efforts in the last two decades to encourage universities to become more engaged with society at large and exploit these opportunities. The most remarkable of these efforts have taken place around commercialisation, now a well-developed and well-understood policy field. The profession of the “technology transfer officer” is established and underwritten through professional bodies such as the Association of University Technology Managers (AUTM) in the US and UNICO and AURIL in the UK. These bodies have developed management tools and metrics to help universities gauge the extent of their commercialisation success. In the case of the UK, a set of metrics have been adopted as the basis for a national government-sponsored survey, the Higher Education Business and Community Interaction survey, (HEBCI *cf.* HEFCE *et al.*, 2007).

Spurred on by this success, governments and universities are now turning their attention to more systematically managing universities’ wider social and cultural contributions (AWT, 2007). This certainly reflects a concern amongst policy-makers that universities are not engaging with these communities as fully as possibly. There is a *prima facie* concern that the “community” dimension of university-societal interaction has been neglected in the rush to promote commercialisation, with its more obvious, financial benefits for universities.

In recent years, a number of policies have been developed to encourage universities to be more accessible and relevant for more and different kinds of stakeholders. The most obvious of these is perhaps the effort placed into recruiting students from non-traditional backgrounds (‘widening participation’), encouraging students to visit schools, offering school visits and summer schools for target pupils and positive recruitment of students from deprived communities. In the UK, the ‘Active Communities Fund’ has provided universities with a ‘third stream’ of funding for community engagement, just as the Higher Education Innovation Fund encouraged universities to engage with businesses.

In this working paper, our concern is to better understand other types of engagement by universities with communities, particularly engaging with communities that may have difficulties in working with universities which we refer to as “hard-to-reach” or socially excluded communities. Alongside political pressures to engage, universities have faced a rising set of economic pressures to charge for services, raising the concern that this might create new barriers to access. Historically, universities have always engaged with society, and their success as institutions has been dependent on that engagement. More recently, there have been ‘revolutions’ in the nature and purpose of higher education, and in some ways, this has bred uncertainty about the

appropriate societal mission. In this working paper we consider the engagement mission in the context of these new drivers and conditions faced by higher education.

2 THE ENGAGED UNIVERSITY IN POST-MODERN TIMES

In contemporary higher education discourses, the idea of an engaged, excellent community university is almost anathema to the ideal type of the “successful university”. Universities are increasingly positioning themselves globally, competing for the most talented students and faculty, and creating knowledge within international peer networks. There is a reification of the belief that in universities’ pursuit of excellence, engagement is somehow contradictory to the pursuit of excellence. Yet, such a simplistic division of university activities into two categories, the useful and the excellent, obscures the fact that this tension has been at the heart of the emergence of the institution of university. Universities are complex creations, balancing tensions between excellence and relevance. Within such a context, a university mission for community engagement seems less unachievable.

Ever since the emergence of the original idea of the university in 12th century Bologna (cf Bender, 1988, Ernste, 2007), universities have had to reconcile two competing educational philosophies, “liberal universalism” and “functional particularism” (Allen, 1988). Although different times and different systems have balanced these two complementary ideologies in different configurations, it is important to acknowledge that universities have had some kind of social mission for a millennium. Certainly, the idea of engagement is by no means a modern or a recent phenomenon (Ross, 2000).

2.1 THE ENGAGED UNIVERSITY THROUGH HISTORY

It is generally accepted that the modern university emerged in Italy in the 11th Century as firstly an ecclesiastical school and later a community of highly educated scholars (Arbo & Benneworth, 2006). It is impossible to understand this development without understanding the socio-economic upheavals through which Europe was going at the time, as rising agricultural productivity and increasing European trade allowed the possibility of urbanisation. This urban potential was restricted by feudal land ownership systems which restricted opportunities for the development of mercantile systems.

The established Church as an independent spiritual power was well-positioned to negotiate these control mechanisms. Indeed, the first universities emerged behind the wall of privileges created to allow independent monastic communities sufficient freedom to survive. Likewise, the free cities necessary for an effective merchant system also provided the necessary degree of independence and stability to allow universities. Universities were important in the emergence of these urban centres by providing a highly educated elite able to operate the systems which provided a degree of independence from feudal powers, such as lawyers, notaries, clerks and physicians. Consequently, the growth of European Universities in the medieval period followed closely the wider geography of European urbanisation, and many universities retained close links to the established church.

The Catholic University of Leuven (KUL) was established in 1422 in response to the huge wealth flowing into Flanders as a result of its dominant position in the wool

trade and the brewing industry, KUL emerging in the 15th century as an important centre of philosophy and education for the Dutch territories. One of the first acts following the occupation of the southern low countries (and the loss of Leuven) by Spain in 1572 was the establishment of a university in Leiden (1576) to ensure that losing this critical knowledge asset did not undermine the vitality of Dutch-language intellectual life.

The next stimulus to the evolution of the idea of “the European University” came with the Treaty of Westfalia (1648) which dissolved the Holy Roman Empire and created nation-states based on territories belonging to self-determining peoples rather than serfs bonded to inherited lands. Nation-states required institutions to emphasise their legitimacy, and universities were important in helping to produce a common language, support a common culture and produce an educated administrative elite. Lund University could be regarded as the first post-Westfalian university, founded in 1666 in Scania to entrench Swedish language, culture and control in the borderlands province ceded from Denmark in 1662.

But of course this was not an uncontested developmental process; rather, social change was rather more cyclical and developmental forces produced their own counter-reactions. Baumunt (1997) termed this period the “eternal age” for universities, emphasising that societies expected continuity and stability rather than progress and instability. In many cases, universities became battlegrounds where these competing social forces came together, Reformation against Counter-Reformation, Mercantile against Religious, Aristocratic against Gentry (Allen, 1988). In the 17th and 18th centuries, periods of economic stagnation in the UK, and the Netherlands were accompanied by universities reverting to introspection. The rise of learned societies in the late 18th century UK and beyond can be seen as a response to the failures of universities to answer questions of vital social importance as the Enlightenment and the Industrial revolution became more demanding users of university knowledge (Phillipson, 1974).

2.2 FROM THE ETERNAL AGE TO THE AGE OF PROGRESS: UNIVERSITIES AND REVOLUTIONS

Around the end of the 18th century, Europe underwent a profound socio-economic shift. Several divergent strands came together to change the basis of economic life from a static cycle to a progressive developmental trajectory. Established international trade, innovations such as the joint stock company, the rise of nationalist republicanism (in the USA and France) and the industrial revolution provided the basic elements of a geoeconomic system based on a growth norm and rising welfare standards that persists to this day.

And just as universities in the eternal (pre-modern) age saw their institutional strength wax and wane through socio-economic cycles, the dawn of the “age of progress” saw universities placed under new pressures for continuous adaptation, growth and change (Baumunt, 1997). The intensity of these pressures, and demands for the products of universities have seen more changes in the nature of the university in two centuries than in the preceding six. Delanty (2002) argues that in the modern age, universities have been through four “revolutions”, and stand poised at the brink of a fifth.

The first ‘revolution’ produced the **Humboldtian university** (1800-1880) in 19th century Germany, a modernising nation-building social force, rational, secular and universalist, professionalized in an elite professoriat, and linking teaching and

research for the first time. The Humboldtian reforms at the University of Berlin were a first attempt to increase universities' social relevance. On the one hand, it is possible to see the reforms as being driven by the need for a general liberal education based on self-enlightenment and independence necessary for a modern market economy. However, the other more immediate driver was as part of a wider Prussian reconstruction following several military defeats in the Napoleonic era and concerns about economic underdevelopment with respect to England (McLelland, 1988).

In the UK, University College, London was established as a practical counterweight to the Church of England-dominated traditional universities (Jackson, 1999; Charles & Benneworth, 2001a). UCL was also instrumental in the rise of technical higher education in the UK; one of the legacies of ecclesiastical university control was an orientation of the older universities towards professional education in the humanities (Coates, 1994). UCL challenged this hegemony in the 1850s with its creation of a chair in engineering which presaged the growth of an academic subject vital to supporting national economic success (Sutherland, 1994).

This model evolved in the late 19th century into the **American civic university** (1880-1970), with departments rather than professors the organising logic, and embracing vocational training. The 1882 Morrill Act established the Land Grant, with each state being granted federal lands which could be sold to establish universities. The universities originally had to be oriented towards useful science in agriculture, home economics or technical sciences, but over time evolved into comprehensive institutions, supported by annual grants from State legislatures (Etzkowitz, 2003).

In the era of the "Civic University" there are many examples of how nation states used universities to drive particular governmental visions of social progress. In the Netherlands, for example, 'pillarisation' (*verzuiling*) in the 1920s - to give Catholic communities parity of provision alongside liberal, conservative and socialist pillars - included the creation of two new universities in the predominantly Catholic south of the country (Tilburg and Nijmegen *cf.* Pellings, 1997). In post-war Norway (and to a lesser extent Finland), the location of higher education has been used as part of a strategy of keeping the remotest and most inhospitable regions inhabited as part of a wider geo-political strategy of resisting Soviet encroachment (Boekema *et al.*, 2003).

This nationalisation of Higher Education continued in the post-war period as universities became key players in government strategies of high-technology based growth (Melody, 1997). This led to both a mass expansion of higher education, alongside social dissatisfaction with the capacity of post-war social arrangements, and their irrelevance to the interests of a new generation of young citizens. As universities' social roles expanded, unease over their secretive and unaccountable management approaches also grew. Daalder & Shils (1982) chart how a range of social uprisings in Europe and the USA forced a set of transparent governance norms onto HEIs, which can be regarded as the third revolution, producing the '**democratic mass university**' (1970-2000). Knowledge – and universities – became more democratic, typified by increasing student participation, critical dialogue and the seminar, alongside a loss of institutional autonomy. Engagement was seen as an individual political act for radical academics and students, often against the dominant public authorities, with whom the institution was not to be engaged in partnership.

2.3 UNIVERSITY-COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT IN POST-MODERN TIMES

The most recent revolution has seen the emergence of Delanty's **virtual university**, what Clarke (1998) called the **entrepreneurial university**, and Smith & Webster (1997) the **post-modern university**. Of course, it is debatable whether this revolution is comparable to the previous revolutions because it represents the disintegration of singular institutional narratives rather than the emergence of novel hegemonic narratives. Nevertheless, there is some consensus that the institutional nature of universities is changing once more, which will in turn alter universities' capacities to engage with communities. Indeed, these changes have the potential to alter which kinds of communities universities are interested in engaging with, and this final end-point will dictate how we eventually appreciate the new model of the engaged university.

Baumunt (1997) contends that the age of progress has come to an end, and there is a new "post-modern" age characterised by uncertainty and fragmentation. Universities as institutions are underpinned by a capacity to resolve these tensions within stable institutions, Marginson (2007) noting,

"[t]he values practised by individuals, or by units for teaching or research or institutional marketing, sometimes mutually contradictory do not embody the values of the institution *qua* institution. Only a small number of purposes and ethical regimes are common across the whole institution. These are purposes and ethical regimes that sustain universities as self-reproducing, knowledge-forming organisation. Broader agreement is not just impossible, it is undesirable" (p. 127)

Baumunt continues that although there have been pressures on universities which have challenged their hegemony and privileges, universities in reality have thrived under these new conditions. He argues that the reality of universities - with multiple and superimposed rationalities, missions, constituencies and logics - fits perfectly with the spirit of the post-modern age.

"It is the good luck of the universities that despite all the efforts of the self-proclaimed saviours, know-betters and well-wishers to prove the contract, they are not comparable, not measurable by the same yardstick, and - most important of all - not speaking in unison" (Baumunt, 1997, p. 25).

These conditions seem to create a perfect environment in which university engagement may emerge as a serious institutional mission, with some universities choosing to specialise in it, and others undertaking less because of a weaker fit with their own mission and specialisations knowledge bases. However, the latest revolution will also have created certain barriers to engagement; the Democratic Mass University was typified by an animosity towards commercial activity by universities and forced firms off campuses in many countries. The rise of the entrepreneurial university raises the spectre that these new exclusions will be borne by poorer and less powerful communities.

Driven by weakening state funding and increasing competitive threats from globalisation in the supply of knowledge and of higher education, universities have been forced to seek alternative funding sources, to innovate their managerial structures, engage with business and government, become entrepreneurial and import private sector models and *morés* into the academy. A growing focus on vocational

training and employability skills within even non-vocational curricula, the growth of contract research and new relations with industrial sponsors, and a perceived erosion of the autonomy and authority of academic governance have led to a widespread view that these changes might potentially undermine and instrumentalise the university's mission (e.g. Barnett and Griffin, 1997; Readings, 1996).

This presents a contradictory picture of the future of the engaged university, with formal institutional pressures restricting poorer communities whilst universities themselves exploiting their own latitudes (following Baumant) to selectively engage. To explore how universities might engage with excluded poorer communities in the new era, it is necessary to explore how the large-scale shift in universities as institutions is manifesting itself in practice. In the next chapter, we therefore provide a theoretical analysis of how universities engage with their social stakeholders, to understand how this changing environment may alter this capacity to engage, and in particular, how universities might be able to engage with 'hard-to-reach' communities.

3 THE CHANGING UNIVERSITY & ENGAGEMENT MISSION

There is an increasing interest in university-societal interaction, which is in part a theoretical interest which is itself strongly driven by a practical interest in a number of successful examples, and the apparent great potential that universities have to make societal contributions. A first wave of research from the 1970s highlighted the direct economic benefits of local expenditure of staff and students on regional economies (e.g. Cooke, 1970; Brownrigg, 1973; Florax, 1992). A second wave of studies from the early 1990s highlighted the services which universities provide to their communities, in fields such as education, sport, culture and health (e.g. CVCP, 1992; HEFCE/ UUK, 2001).

More recent thinking has turned to consider engagement systematically, namely what tangible benefits can universities bring to the working of institutions, networks and systems which determine the effectiveness of societal and economic governance. Although much past interest lay with understanding the one-off benefits which universities can bring society, there is much more interest in understanding the higher level changes which universities might encourage. This change in the way that university benefits are understood is not applicable purely to business contributions, and the benefits which universities can make to regional innovation systems, but also to the way that social benefits emerge.

In this chapter, we argue that the traditional way of understanding universities' societal impacts has been through a model of 'detached benevolence', that is to say that universities do these things because they are generally socially good. Activities are planned on the basis of university decisions rather than societal demand, and as a consequence have very little lasting impact. The new paradigm for systemic benefit would suggest that universities could also play a role in addressing the effective governance of particular excluded communities, rather than purely considering the services they provide.

3.1 UNIVERSITIES SOCIETAL CONTRIBUTIONS – AN OUTLINE TYPOLOGY

If engagement by universities is a diffuse activity, it is necessary to identify the main pathways by which universities engage. Allen (1989) developed a hierarchy of activities by which universities engaged with society, and the benefits of the university created social benefits. These benefits were defined rather broadly, but Baumunt's assertion that the university has essentially become a post-modern phenomenon is borne out by this analysis.

Likewise, in 1999, the Office of University Partnerships of the US Department for Housing and Urban Development published the report *University Community Partnerships—Current Practices*. This offered a seven-fold typology of the actions undertaken by universities which benefited communities and in which communities could become engaged. This typology is outlined below, and presented in full in Appendix 1:-

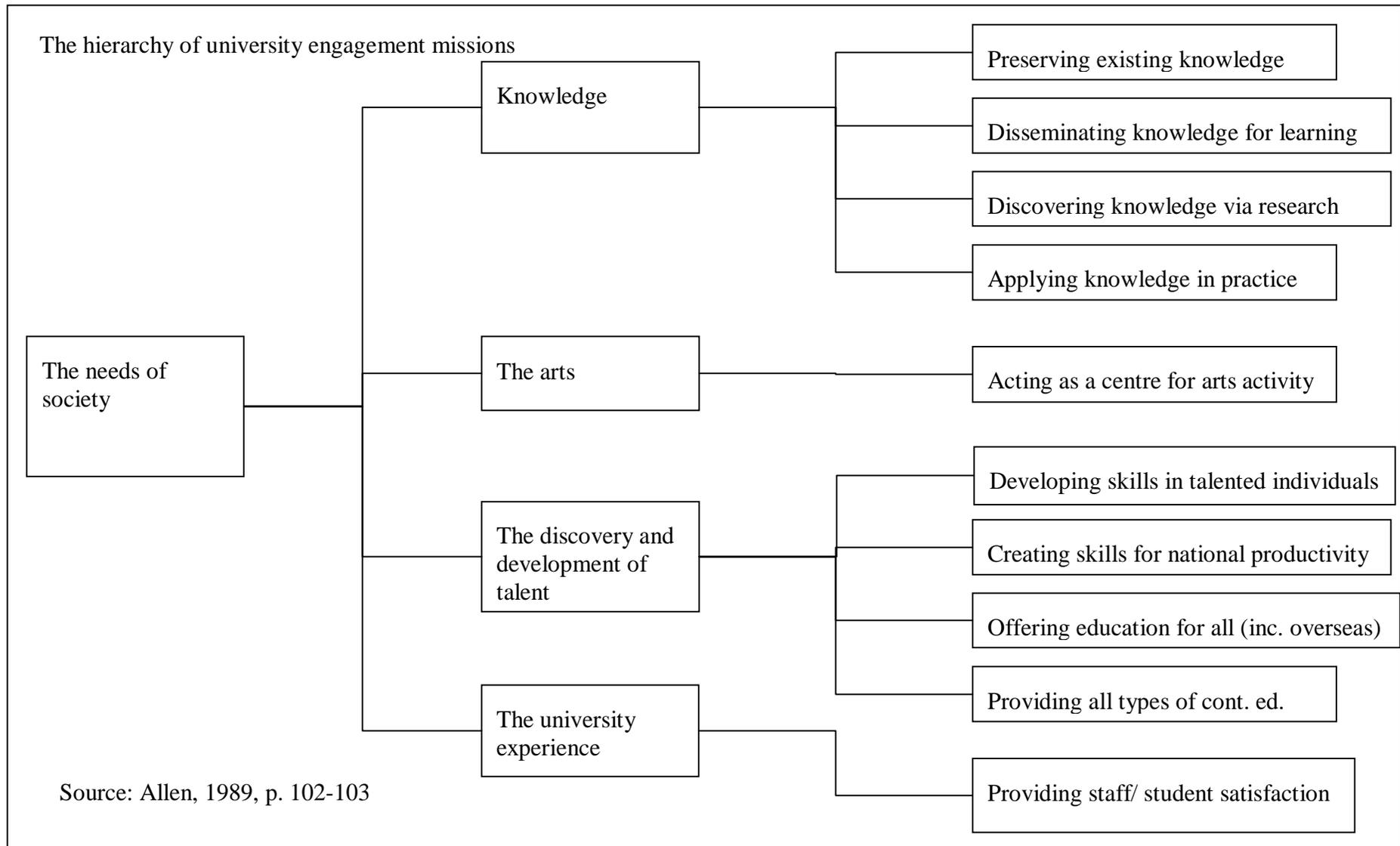
- Service Learning
- Service Provision

- Faculty Involvement
- Student Volunteerism
- The Community in the Classroom
- Applied Research.
- Major Institutional Change

Of course a key issue here is that not all these missions are equally emphasised by all institutions nor are all these activities equally valued by in all higher education systems. Implicit within the previous discussion has been the idea that social engagement has tended to be overlooked because it is readily definable and has been professionalised as an activity. Mapping and understanding all the mechanisms shown above is very complex, and given the fragmented natures of universities, it is important to distinguish what universities do from what they think is important. Admittedly, Allen was writing almost 20 years ago before the latest revolution in the sector, but this classification of engagement activities has retained its salience remarkably well.

One group not immediately evident in this hierarchy are the excluded communities with which we are immediately concerned. One social change in the last 20 years has been social fragmentation, and it makes less sense to talk now of the “social interest” than it did then, reflecting that society has many, complementary and potentially conflicting interests. Do excluded communities face particular - and accentuated – problems in engaging with universities to access universities’ knowledge resources? Understanding this requires understanding what benefit such communities could derive from universities.

Figure 1 The hierarchy of university engagement missions

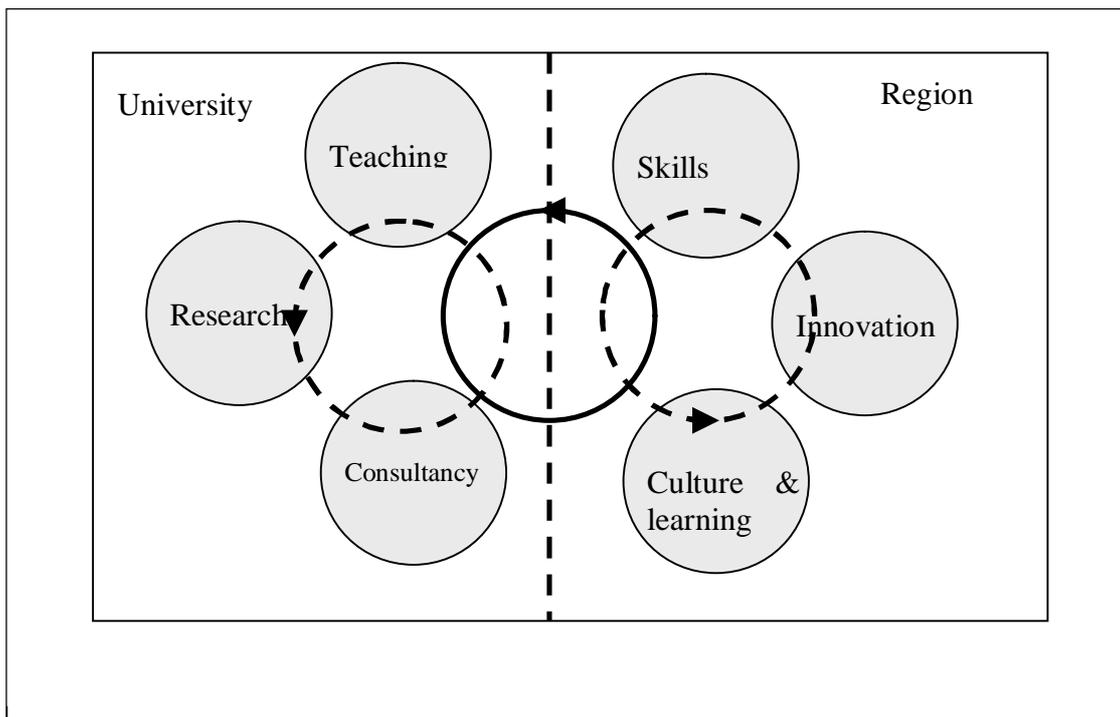


3.2 UNIVERSITIES CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEIR COMMUNITIES

Although there is concern that universities are not actively engaging with their communities, this perception is perhaps emphasised through a comparison with the rapid forward strides made in promoting university commercialisation (*cf.* the Sainsbury review, 2007). There has been an increasing recognition that universities do not simply undertake these activities out of ‘detached benevolence’, but there is a degree of demand side pressure from societal partners. In the context of a shift from government-in-hierarchies to governance-in-networks, universities “use” their engagement to participate in policy networks that deliver solutions which also improve the environments within which they operate. Various policy strands therefore become inter-twined with universities, creating a set of relationships, and even a co-dependence, between universities and their localities.

Goddard & Chatterton (2003) showed how a university’s various missions combine simultaneously to create particular regional benefits, translating missions into outcomes. This regional engagement model is shown in figure 2 below, which also highlights that the interaction is not a straight translation of knowledge from university to community. Rather, there is an interaction and a circulation of resources between university and the region.

Figure 2 A stylised model of university-region engagement



Source: Goddard & Chatterton, 2003

It is only more recently that there has been a systematic literature on universities’ socio-cultural benefits which has been as compelling for key decision-makers. The key point about governance in networks was that there are clear benefits for all participating partners, raising the question of what do communities get out of their participation, and critically, how satisfactory are those benefits to their needs, interests, and goals. Direct economic impacts are much easier to quantify than more

diffuse and complex socio-cultural impacts (Goldstein, 1989). More recently, academic research has emerged highlighting that universities can also have indirect and systemic benefits for places. A third wave of research emerging in the 2000s has highlighted the role that universities can play in strengthening regional governance capacities, from training community leaders to supporting more sensible regional development strategies (*inter alia* Boucher *et al.*, 2003, Gunasekara, 2006).

A key distinction made here by Gunasekara (2006) is between the different structural impacts of universities' contributions. Gunasekara notes that some university contributions are effectively the contracted delivery of services, such as education, training, consultancy and contract research. He terms these kinds of inputs as "generative", where the volume and the impacts has a degree of proportionality with the input from the service purchaser.

However, there are other kinds of regional impacts, what Gunasekara calls "developmental" inputs, where the main outcome is a qualitative shift in what can be achieved in the region. In his study, he notes that these developmental changes also change the wider regional innovation system, and new regional capacities are created. An example of this might be a regional technology centre which encourages non-innovating businesses to be more innovative, and uses these newly-innovative businesses to mentor other non-innovative businesses, structurally increasing that region's innovative capacity.

In the context of our research looking at interactions between universities and excluded communities, it is this third generation of literature, and in particular, this notion of "developmental benefits", which begins to offer a means to systematically explore how universities can benefit excluded communities. The key findings are that the various participants are co-dependent, working together to co-create new activities which benefit all the participants. However, what this literature lacks is a compelling model of governance, articulating clearly how the communities can shape what universities do, ensuring that activities benefit the community as well as university need, and thereby moving beyond the detached benevolence model.

3.3 UNIVERSITIES' POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENTAL BENEFITS FOR COMMUNITIES

In 1982, an OECD report "*The university and the community: the problems of changing relationships*" was published which included a classification of potential university contributions to communities. This report was interesting because it posed for the first time the question of university benefit on the basis of stakeholder need rather than institutional offer. And whilst it is now quite common to talk about what firms demand from universities, and how universities respond to their needs, there has been much less discourse around societal engagement and meeting social stakeholders' needs.

This report dealt with all universities' stakeholder communities, including government, business and what we refer here to as "communities". The paper acutely observed the rise of technology transfer offices (such as Leuven R&D) but also noted that universities at that time were also engaged with society. The report classified social benefits and user demands into five main classes, reproduced in table 1 below:-

Table 1 a typology of university services for excluded communities

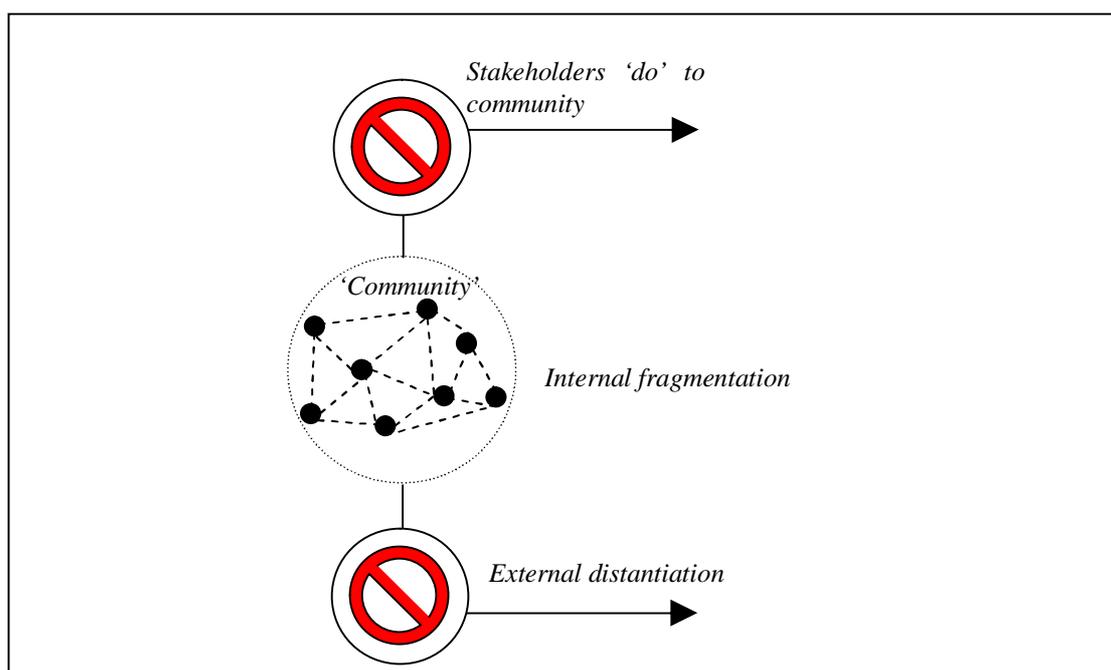
Way of providing service	Mechanism for delivering service
University puts facilities at the disposal of the community	Use of equipment, premises, laboratories, laboratories Use of teachers and students to make direct contribution Drawing on the community in delivering occupational training
Execution of orders placed by community	Offering training as occupational, continuing education or cultural University receives a payment from community for delivery of a service A near private contract between the buyer and the vendor
Analysis of needs of community	The university comes into the community as an outside expert The university provides services for the community with some reference to an 'order' by the community
Analysis of problems at request of community	University engages at community request in developing solutions University has the autonomy and freedom to suggest a range of solutions away from overarching pressure.
University delivers a solution on behalf of the community	The university delivers a service for the community which is compatible with its institutional status

Source: CERI (1982)

What demands do excluded communities have on university knowledge, how could it benefit them, and how can they engage with universities to be able to benefit from it? As Barnett notes (2003, p. 137) "engagement comes ... in many guises, but some of these have powerful backers". There are a variety of answers to this (such as access to education, help with lobbying etc.) but it is perhaps more interesting to consider where the demands of excluded communities differ from those of other university stakeholders. In particular, we consider the development benefits for these communities, in this particular case changing their systematic organisation so they are not as excluded from the knowledge economy.

Moulaert (2000) notes that socially excluded communities are excluded in two ways which locks them into negative situations from which it is difficult for them to escape. Firstly, they are disconnected from wider economic, political and social structures which severely limit the opportunities of community members. Secondly, echoed by Byrne(1999), these communities are also fragmented, and have little capacity to challenge these external structural weaknesses to improve their own situations. Both of these features are versions of 'social capital', the ability to influence governance networks to shape decisions in ways that benefit the situation. This is illustrated in the figure below.

Figure 3 The dual fragmentation of excluded communities in the knowledge economy



The problems of these communities - internally fracture and externally disconnection - raises the question of whether universities working with those communities offers a global pipeline which (in the language of Bathelt *et al.*, 2004) restores a sense of local 'buzz' and economic vibrancy to these places, developing social capital to reconnect these communities. There are clearly situations in theory and practice where universities could help communities build social capital. This might be an ongoing process, where a university engages to improve the access of a particular to internet access (both around infrastructure and training). Alternatively, it might be related to a particular local environmental issue threatening a community where a mix of advocacy and consultancy see the communities' interests better articulated and represented in external policy-networks (Cox, 2000). So can universities work with excluded communities to improve their structural situations, and help them develop the social capital necessary to improve their wellbeing in the contemporary political economy?

3.4 THE PARADOX OF COMMUNITY CONTRIBUTIONS BY THE ENTREPRENEURIAL UNIVERSITY

This research project was inspired by an apparent paradox in the arguments around university engagement, namely that universities are supposed to becoming *more* democratic as part of a shift towards the knowledge society. But at the same time, increasing privatisation of knowledge to facilitate its exploitation is potentially restricting access to that knowledge. One commonly made assumption about the knowledge economy is that general economic growth produces common economic growth. However, the rise of the knowledge economy has actually been accompanied by a slow-down in social mobility in Europe, and sharpening social divides in the USA (ILO, 1997 – report in office).

Clearly, it is not enough to assume that because universities bring societal benefits, that they will benefit all the people in their society, so one question is whether the benefits which universities bring should ideally be restricted to particular individuals,

or regarded as more general benefits. It is important not to assume that these benefits will be automatic for their recipients, or indeed that universities always automatically create these benefits. To some extent this point has been finessed in recent years by noting that universities are changing themselves. In starting with communities that are easy to engage with, such as firms, engagement has been restricted only for practical reasons. Once commercialisation has been mastered, then the logical consequence of this would be that community engagement will follow as a next phase (*cf.* Arbo & Benneworth, 2007; OECD, 2007).

A key element of higher education reform in recent years has been the increasing popularity of the ‘shared cost’ model for higher education. The idea is that attempts are made to ensure that beneficiaries of particular higher education services make a proportional contribution for accessing past social investments. This has come most strongly with the rise of student fees, although some systems (e.g. Sweden) have resisted this trend. This has had the predictable effect that universities have become increasingly oriented towards selling services for which a fee can be charged, from which a surplus can be made, and for which access depends on ‘ability to pay’.

Certainly, ability to pay could be problematic for socially excluded communities (CERI, 1982; Goedegebuure & Van der Lee, 2006). It is possible to envisage that this would have a number of negative effects on universities’ engagement activities:-

- Direct competition with commercialisation activities for the attention of staff, faculty and students,
- A low priority for the university in terms of teaching, research and commercialisation,
- Easier ways to demonstrate community service (such as recruitment from poorer communities), potentially preferred by funding agencies, and
- Community engagement does not easily fit with business planning processes and has different quality management approaches to other engagement activity.

As Barnett (2003) notes,

“The *clients* of the entrepreneurial university have to be able to afford its service: the entrepreneurial university is not inclined to put its capabilities at the service of just any client. A local community group might wish to take advantage, one evening, of the universities heated but underused rooms, but it will have to be able to afford the going rate”. (p. 69).

Nevertheless, universities support effective public policy making through a variety of tasks that they are not necessarily rewarded for, such as employing highly skilled individuals who can be local representatives (such as councillors), responding to consultations, and providing provocative interventions in public debates (Vaessen & Van der Velde, 2003). As a heuristic, these could be undertaken for other clients or driven by the availability of other funds, then integrated within the university or by academics to yield the community benefits (the Goddard & Chatterton model).

This reframes the question as could universities bring benefits through indirect (non-service) relationships with excluded communities? But this is a very different engagement model, again rooted in notions of detached benevolence rather than constructive co-dependency. More interesting is the implication that community

engagement is more difficult because it is out of step with a panoply of changes to higher education in recent years:-

- Firstly, universities may have chosen to pursue community engagement which is more closely linked to other key business processes such as student recruitment (widening participation),
- Secondly, universities may have prioritised developing engagement activities which produce immediate financial returns rather than producing longer-term social benefits,
- Thirdly, problems in quantifying community engagement activity and setting targets for its improvement may have made it difficult to develop meaningful business plans for engagement.
- Finally, in the absence of business plans, there are no mechanisms to hold universities to account for their lack of community engagement .

Effectively, these explanations are all symptoms of the same problem, namely that in the extremely pressured environment of the post-modern university, community engagement is less important to university managers, and consequently has been neglected. It is important this does not reduce to a question of resources, but a wider governance question about how universities respond to demands placed upon them by stakeholders, in this case excluded communities.

But structures of accountability are not absent from the university, and universities have often declared that they have community missions (see Allen, 1989; CVCP, 1994). Governments are interested in promoting these activities, and there are empirical examples of universities engaging successfully with excluded communities. What barriers systematically hinder university-community engagement, what level at which do they operate, and what latitude does this leave universities and communities to work together effectively to deliver things of value to these communities, addressing their social exclusion? This version of engagement seems extremely difficult to produce under the ‘detached benevolence’ model, so is it possible that universities can progress beyond this with excluded communications towards a model rooted in “co-dependent co-creativity”? To explore whether this is possible, we firstly consider the barriers faced in engagement, and then to the dynamics of those barriers, to ask what kinds of engagement may provide a solid footing for sustainable university-Community Engagement.

4 BARRIERS TO EFFECTIVE UNIVERSITY/ COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

There are very few universities which have historically had a social mission not primarily delivered through the core university functions of teaching and research. One reason for the apparent slower progress in developing their third mission towards community engagement is the existence of barriers between universities and HEIs, which mean that teaching and research activities do not so readily 'spill over' into these communities, creating a base load of activity which universities can better manage. This gives those communities the appearance of being unwilling or recalcitrant partners in engagement. At the same time, universities can present all kinds of unconscious and incidental barriers to those excluded communities which are seeking to access the university knowledges.

But it is important to acknowledge that poor engagement with communities is not just a function of universities. Because of their internal characteristics, excluded communities can be *ceteris paribus* extremely difficult to meaningfully engage with. There is a question of engagement with whom, which is particularly salient if those who style themselves as community representatives are not representative of the community as a whole. In the absence of understanding who is to be engaged with and who will be involved in interactions, it is hard for universities "to engage", as opposed to simply do things potentially of value to the community.

This suggests that the barriers undermining university/ community engagement might lie on both sides. But engagement is the prize worth winning because it has the potential to help these communities readdress and reengage with the knowledge economy. Better understanding those dynamics requires a better understanding of the barriers facing these two sides. In this chapter, we therefore explore the barriers that each group has in an idealised engagement process. In this chapter, we turn to look at how addressing those barriers can produce developmental (social capital) benefits for these excluded communities, helping them better to engage with the new knowledge society.

4.1 BARRIERS FOR COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT FACED BY HEIS

One way to classify the institutional barriers that universities face in engaging with communities is according to universities' different institutional dimensions. A university can be considered of composed of people who are pulled by three different logics. Firstly, university employees respond to the formal structures of the university, producing both hierarchies and accountability, but also their abstractions in mission statements, corporate plans and business models, a **governance logic**. Secondly, university employees are also involved in sustaining a knowledge base, which may be either a disciplinary knowledge base or task-based meta-knowledge (such as how to spin-off a firm), a **knowledge logic**. Finally, individuals also apply their own individual rationalities and inclinations in deciding their own behaviour, a **career logic**.

Each of these three logics may for some reason induce non-engaging behaviour; these three rationalities can also be sub-divided on the grounds of whether it is internal university decisions or external stakeholder choices which are the decisive influence.

This suggests a 3x2 classification of the kinds of barriers which universities may have in seeking to pursue community engagement set out in table 2 below:-

Table 2 Different kinds of barriers universities face in community engagement

	Formal/ structural	Knowledge base	rationalities/ agencies
Internal	Management choices	Skills for engagement	Staff orientation
External	Financial incentives	Fit with regional needs	Student direction

There may be issues in any of these areas that may reinforce a tendency for universities not to engage effectively with their communities:-

- Management choices – the absence of someone responsible for community engagement at a high level and the machinery to deliver continuous performance improvement (Watson, 2007)
- Financial incentives – the way that other funders and investors do not incentive HEI community engagement. (Chatterton, 2000)
- Skills for engagement – the absence of skills ensuring strategic intentions are matched by motivated academic staff and effective support services (Kezar, 2005)
- Fit with regional needs – a poor fit between the capacities of the university and the demands of the university, either subjects, or what university wants from community (Fontes & Coombes, 2001)
- Staff orientation – a focus on global excellence diverts or prevents academics from spending time on engaging with communities (Bond & Patterson, 2005)
- Student direction – students are isolated by housing choice, curriculum demands, accreditation requirements and cultural gap from having a wider impact. (Miscovic & Hoop, 2006)

However, this classification is somewhat abstract, and in reality there are different problems faced by HEIs. This is exemplified by different kinds of financial barriers which may limit Community Engagement.

- Firstly, the absence of direct financial incentives for universities to engage may lead to an unwillingness to pursue opportunities.
- Secondly, community engagement may not be part of HEIs core funding contracts, actively discouraging universities from engaging.
- Thirdly, other funders investing in universities (such as local authorities, donors/ alumni or regional development agencies) may not stipulate that community engagement is a prerequisite for accessing funding streams, so universities are not active in seeking engagement opportunities (*cf.* OUA, 2006).
- Finally, there may be financial priorities which encourage other kinds of ‘community engagement’, such as recruitment drives in poorer neighbourhoods.

For each of the specific variables identified in the barriers typology, it is possible to identify a number of applied contingent problems which universities face in attempting to make community engagement more central to what they have done. A fuller taxonomy of the barriers facing universities seeking to engage is set out in table 2 below.

Table 3 Barriers universities face in engaging with communities

Type of barrier	Barrier typically faced by university in engaging with socially excluded community
MANAGEMENT CHOICES	<p>Community engagement not required by core university governance documents, statutes, social compacts</p> <p>Absence of institutional strategy for community engagement that drives institutional change within HEI</p> <p>Absence of office/ planning organ promoting community engagement at high level in HEI</p> <p>Community engagement as part of senior management responsibility too broad to effectively be fulfilled</p>
FINANCIAL INCENTIVES	<p>Lack of dedicated funding stream for community engagement by universities</p> <p>Incentives for universities to attract students from deprived communities then help them find employment elsewhere</p> <p>Absence of core funding mechanisms to finance specific activities for working with deprived communities</p> <p>Other government funders of universities do not demand universities engage – health, regeneration, culture ...</p>
SKILLS FOR ENGAGEMENT	<p>Lack of rewarding of staff by HEIs for community engagement in terms of career development and promotion</p> <p>Community engagement seen centrally as something peripheral, optional extra, for hobbyists and enthusiasts</p> <p>Tendency to do ‘research on a community’ not ‘work in partnership with a community’</p> <p>University lacks subject or disciplinary base with skills easily absorbed by communities such as social policy ...</p>
FIT WITH REGIONAL NEEDS	<p>University lacks physical proximity or adjacency to the communities that could benefit from their skills base</p> <p>The university lacks “roots” in particular communities so these communities voices not heard by the university</p> <p>The absence of an articulate and demanding community who can help the university to do things</p> <p>The university ‘problematizes’ the community, as something that resists estate development or intimidates students</p>
STAFF ORIENTATION	<p>Third parties (RDAs, councils) divert university impact into other things such as employability training</p> <p>Communities engaged with as consultancy, and funders of that work lie elsewhere, so community not central</p>

STUDENT
DIRECTION

Staff more focused on building global contact network than local connections

Excluded communities not seen part of the “natural university community”, so avoided or ignored by university

Town/ gown tensions keep students out of the communities which could potentially benefit from their presence

Creation of student enclaves means local students do not have a demonstration effect to encourage community into HEI

Difficulty of rewarding community engagement by students in degree in terms of quality assurance demands

Squaring engagement training in disciplines with the demands of accrediters and professional bodies e.g. RTPI

Orientation of community career routes as being professionalised, so focus on professional bodies not communities

Source: after OECD, 2007; Perry & Wiewel, 2005

4.2 BARRIERS COMMUNITIES FACE IN ENGAGING WITH UNIVERSITIES

A limitation of the preceding discussion of barriers is the scope of the barriers, which are limited to those which are faced by the university. This reflects an assumption that particular types of hard-to-reach community have intrinsic characteristics which inhibit universities attempts to engage with those communities. This assumption has a number of shortcomings, not least that it reduces the idea of engagement to something done by universities to communities, and does not allow for different kinds of communities. This reduces the agency of communities to shape their own development, and in particular to choose the kinds of benefits which universities supply (see CERI,1982).

The idea of university barriers is based on the notion of socially excluded communities as being “unruly and unengageable”, that is to say they do not behave in predictable ways which fit easily with the norms and expectations of HEIs. However, this hides the reality that there are many kinds of excluded community, and that there are examples where universities have engaged with communities. This notion of the detached, unresponsive community is in reality a confluence of three very separate ideas that such communities are cut off from the administrative mainstream of the governance society, the difficulties that communities have in articulating a collective position, and the characteristics of individuals within a community. The overlap in these notions helps create an appearance that such communities cannot be engaged with, but in reality, the characteristics of particular communities make it more or less difficult to engage with universities.

The structural issue: socially excluded communities as fragmented

The first issue is primarily a structural one, namely that socially excluded communities have properties which make them difficult to engage with (Baum, 2000). An excellent overview of the idea of a socially excluded community is provided by Healey (2005), defining them as:-

“Those without education, with very limited labour market opportunities, who lack stability and richness of kinship relations, who live in neighbourhoods where they are exposed to opportunities to engage in crime and drug culture, who experience declining social welfare benefits and progressive loss of urban services which requires such services to be paid for, have found the hurdles to opportunity continually raised in front of them, and the burdens on them increasing, as the assets they have diminish... the phenomenon of growing numbers of people ‘marginalised’ by the ‘mainstream’ society has led to images of growth of an ‘underclass’ of people, on the edge of our outside the social mores of households who are busily ‘getting on’.” (Healey, 2006, p. 120-121).

Moulaert highlights that such communities have two types of fragmentation which hinder their engagement with the institutions of the knowledge economy. Firstly, such communities may be separated from external actors and flows, which gives these places a peculiar insularity from a lack of exposure to incoming influences and investments. Secondly, such communities may also be internally fragmented and incoherent which prevents a collective mobilisation to take advantage of emerging opportunities and which can shape political decisions in their own self-interest. This

double fragmentation can be regarded as one of the reasons which such communities find it difficult to engage with and to benefit from the contributions of higher education institutions.

The kinds of barrier this implies are that universities do not regard such communities as worthy of engagement. Whilst in recent years, an increasingly powerful rhetoric about business engagement has become influential in shaping university decision-making, the case for universities to directly benefit excluded communities has nowhere really been made. This is not clearly the fault of universities, or indeed policy-makers, but also reflects the reality that whilst there are a number of eye-catching examples of successful and profitable spin-off companies, there are no iconic best-practice examples of community engagement. Indeed, it is not even clear what would count as an iconic engagement project that would catch policy-makers' attention.

This fragmentation implies that socially excluded communities are very difficult to meaningfully engage with. Cobb & Rubin (2006) note that in such situations, it is very difficult to design engagement structures that can treat universities and communities as meaningful partners. The resulting power asymmetry between universities and the communities condemns these interactions to "permanent, or at least persistent, failure". Under such circumstances, it is difficult to imagine that it is possible for the university to do more than civic duty work, inferring community need rather than engaging with the diffuse and incoherent community.

The contextual issue: socially excluded communities as poor partners

A second set of barriers arguably experienced by socially excluded communities is that they are inadequately prepared for the realities of dealing with universities, and in particular coming up with proposals sufficiently interesting for the university. There can be a shortage of those within the community with a capacity to write project funding bids, for example, and there can also be a lack of understanding of the reality of large-scale publicly funded projects (Diamond, 2007). The slow progress of projects, their frequent redefinition and reconfiguration, and the pervasive targets cultures can be extremely bemusing for community organisations (Kagan, 2007), who may regard what are elsewhere accepted as the rules of the game as a deliberate slight to attack on those communities.

In such situations, a second problem might be that socially excluded communities may lack the coherence and flexibility to work with the universities to develop projects and activities which provide the basis for ongoing partnership working. In such situations, the university may substitute for the weaknesses of the community and take over the practicalities of particular projects. In such situations, this can lead to a reversion of "civic duty" modes of engagement where a particular university does what it feels are best for the communities rather than working as more equal partners around an agreed programme of work.

A final issue which can arise is antagonism between universities and communities, or poor 'town-gown' relations. Universities have long deliberated avoided those places with which they had little in common to avoid 'town/ gown' disputes; When many western European countries expanded higher education in the 1960s, many places adopted a campus (i.e. isolated) model for their physical locations to avoid or mitigate the tensions anticipated in bringing a young, educated population into former working

class communities (*inter alia* Sorgdrager, 1981; Dirckx & Timmerman, 2001). McClintock (1970) notes that in the 1960s:-

“it was perhaps unfortunate that a major change in the appearance of the majority of students coincided almost exactly with the opening of the new universities: a small point no doubt, but indicative of the gulf that some people feel to have grown up between universities and the general public” (p. 318).

This has had the effect that these communities have little natural experience in interacting with universities and so when particular interactions begin, they suffer more than might be anticipated from a weight of expectation that they will deliver results. If those particular interactions are themselves based on resolving a conflict, such as managing campus developments, then the interactions can begin in a conflictual vein which can be very difficult to satisfactorily resolve in a way that is the basis for further, more productive interaction (Perry & Wiewel, 2005).

The agency issue: socially excluded individuals as reluctant engagers

The final level at which barriers may exist which inhibit socially excluded communities from engaging with universities is at the individual personal level, and which implies that these individuals in some ways lack some combination of the skills, opportunities and social capital necessary to successfully engage with universities. In one sense, this is rather over-deterministic in the Granovetterian sense by assuming that the prime determinant of some individual's behaviour is the community in which they are resident, rather than accepting one of the many other variables such as preference, opinion or education may be salient.

Of course, it is true that many individuals from poorer backgrounds who do come into contact with universities use their higher education experience as a means to escape from the narrow confines of their home community. This is the widening participation paradox we alluded to earlier, in that by providing individuals with the means to leave, universities help those individuals but deprives the communities of their most talented individuals. This can mean that university engagement activity in terms of Widening Participation runs counter to communities' own empowerment efforts, and encourage community out-movement. It is important therefore to be clear in distinguishing between private-individual and collective-community levels of benefit.

The problem of this paradox is also that in ensuring the strongest individuals leave, it builds local antipathy as well as depriving those communities of the individuals with experience of working with universities. Nevertheless, the presence of successful university/ community engagements as well as some communities successfully addressing their problems with reference to university skills does mean that the barrier must not be seen as completely preventing university/ community engagement. Rather, the personal characteristics of people in socially excluded communities might mean that it is harder for them to actively engage with universities in a sustainable way, without necessitating that engagement is completely impossible.

Barriers to engagement with universities

Just as it is possible to decompose the barriers universities face in engagement, we have above segmented the barriers communities face in university engagement into three levels:-

- Structural divides: there are aspects of the community which do not easily fit into the institutional arrangements which universities have created for engagement
- Policy issues: the absence of incentives, instruments and methodologies in engagement policies which fit with community needs.
- Personal characteristics: there are particular attributes in the community which resist engagement and encourage greater distance from universities.

Just as the kinds of ideal-type barriers which universities faced encompassed a wide range of context-specific barriers, different communities will in practice face different kinds of barriers, some relating to their own characteristics, some to those of the institution with which they might engage, and some to the wider public policy framework within which that interaction takes place. Table 4 below sets out some of the kinds of barriers which socially-excluded communities might themselves face in seeking to constructively interact with universities.

Table 4 Barriers universities face in engaging with communities

Type of barrier	Barrier typically faced by socially excluded community in engaging with university
STRUCTURAL DIVIDES	<p>A community may lack clear leaders who can participate in and influence university formal governance structures</p> <p>A particular community may lack coherence, and nearby places with similar issues might lack capacity to mobilise</p> <p>A misunderstanding or reductionist view of what university interest and capacity to improve community situation</p> <p>Universities may unknowingly create invisible barriers for subaltern outsiders to want to engage with the university</p> <p>One-off, unique activist engagements undermines learning how to use universities as a general asset</p>
POLICY ISSUES	<p>A public emphasis on formalisation can exclude community groups diverting energies into structures not outcomes</p> <p>Use of ‘project’ approach for engagement produces participant churn and undermines learning processes</p> <p>The skills useful for a community may not be those encouraged by public finance regimes (e.g. bid writing)</p> <p>A misconstrued (linear) model of knowledge transfer to communities rather than allowing communities influence.</p>
PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS	<p>A lack of sensitivity to the language of professional engagement used by experts</p> <p>The absence of key individuals in the community who see a coherent rationale for engaging with universities</p> <p>Engagement enhances the social mobility of those who engage and so there are no lasting benefits of engagement</p> <p>University/ community engagement is driven by expert practitioners and so communities do not build up expert</p> <p>A shortage of ‘boundary spanners’ – individuals with interests in both camps – to identify common ground</p>

Source: authors’ own design

4.3 ENGAGING WITH UNIVERSITIES DRIVING COMMUNITY CHANGE

It was previously noted that successful engagement with communities could drive a process of institutional learning and change within universities which helped them to engage more successfully and effectively. This raises the question of whether a similar process can occur within communities. If so, there is the further question of whether this socialised community learning can address the problems of exclusion raised by Byrne and Healey, integrating these communities more fully in the knowledge economy. A major issue is in distinguishing here community benefit, and in particular community benefit in terms of improved social and knowledge capital, as distinct from physically upgrading the space within which these communities operate.

There are many examples, often from the USA, where universities have helped upgrade communities as part of a *quid pro quo* in building acceptance for real estate refurbishment and development to improve the attractiveness of the university to talented staff and students (e.g. Webber, 2005). Other examples from Australia see universities in remote locations as often the only possibility for providing particular services (Charles *et al.*, 2006). Charles & Benneworth (2001b) highlight the importance of universities in driving physical regeneration, with universities' often being located adjacent to particular inner city areas.

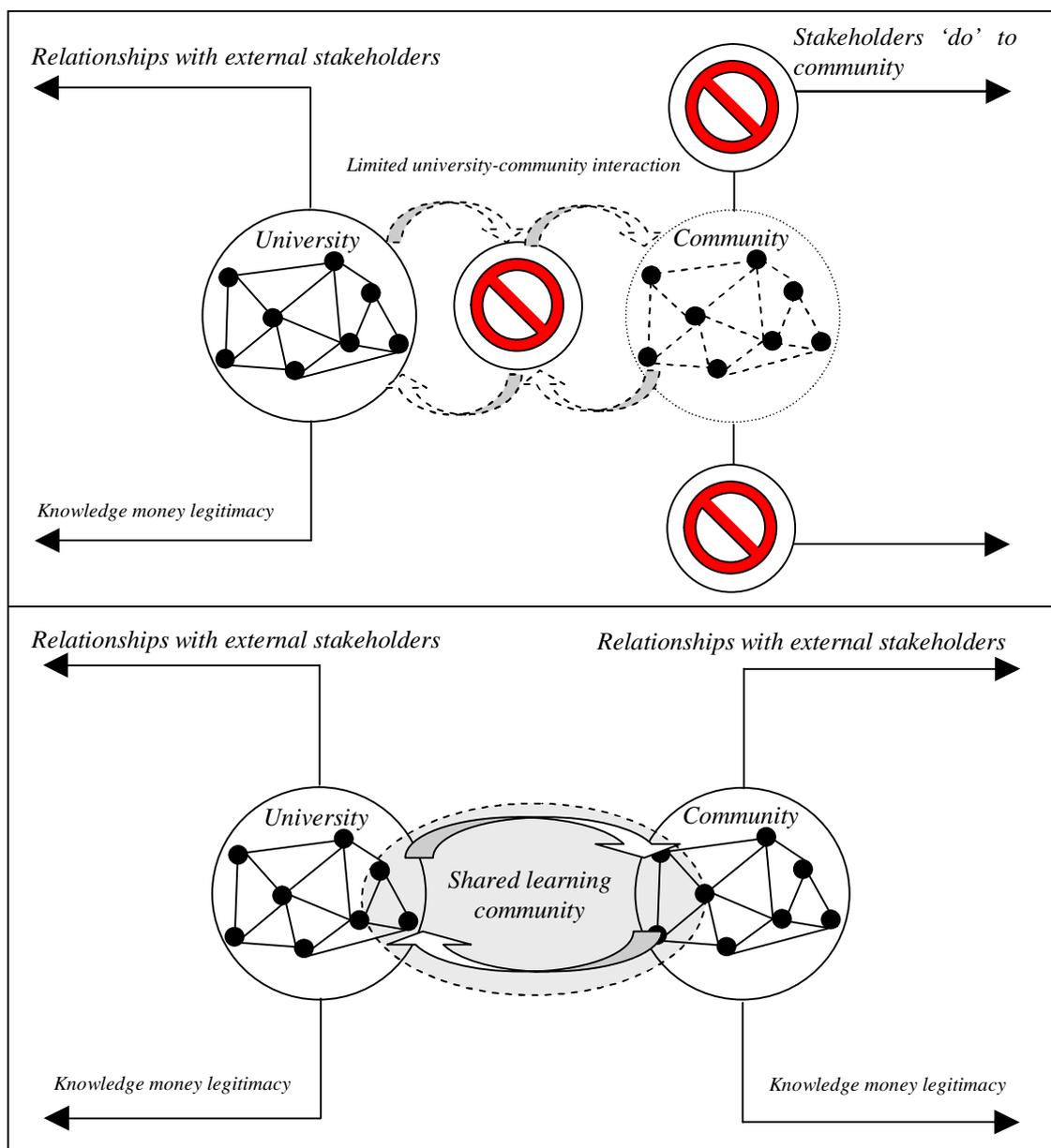
However, these contributions are primarily generative, in the language of Gunasekara (2006b), in that universities provide services to these communities without necessarily improving their social basis for improvement. Some cases (e.g. Webber, 2005) hint that university action can sometimes spark community mobilisation and socialised learning. This can make these communities both more demanding of universities, but also more demanding of the political process more generally. Writing about the Temporary Woodlawn Organisation (TWO), formed by African-American residents of a Chicago suburb to resist university gentrification and campus development plans, Webber noted:-

“the Temporary Woodlawn Organisation pioneered many of what would become the most effective community organising techniques of the 1960s: rent strikes, picketing of overcharging retail merchants and overcrowded public schools, and sit-ins at prominent corporate offices... In Woodlawn ... the university did not have a base of community support; it was seen as an invading force and symbol of institutional dominance” (p. 73)

This community mobilisation forced the university to abandon its plan to acquire residential property in Woodlawn for redevelopment for the university; that activism also led the university to support two community housing projects, and “a Woodlawn experimental public school district was later developed jointly by Woodlawn community leadership and the university” (p. 73). This hints at a more developmental contribution from the mobilisation, suggesting that the interaction with the university had encouraged the community to work more co-operatively, developing internal social capital (bonding social capital, in the language of Putnam). This bonding capital gave the community a coherence which in turn made it more demanding of other political institutions, and improved its local position. However, this was a situation of conflict and the social capital development outcomes could not be considered as deliberate, rather they were the outcome of a struggle in which the university was initially absent from socialised learning processes.

This nevertheless offers a model – or at least a heuristic – of how universities and communities could interact to increase the social capital of excluded communities. The idea is that this interaction benefits these communities by giving them greater capacity for self-determination and autonomy, reducing their reliance on external experts for improving their fortunes. The key driver in this process appears to be the learning activity through which that community develops social capital. This social capital both bring the community closer together, addressing internal fragmentation, but also make them more demanding and sophisticated in dealing with external partners, addressing their external fragmentation. This suggests that if university/ community interaction could stimulate learning processes, which are inherently social activities, then this may augment those communities’ bonding and bridging social capital. A representation of this heuristic is provided in figure 4 below.

Figure 4 A heuristic for university-community interaction improving community situation within its local political economy



5 FROM A LINEAR MODEL TO CO-CONSTRUCTION

In order to understand the conditions under which an ideal type engagement could take place, it is necessary to consider the conditions under which universities and communities would actively seek to work together. It is clear from the preceding discussion that universities and communities face many barriers in seeking to engage with one another. These barriers dissuade partners from engaging, they slow down engagement, they dissuade and corrode engagements, and reduce the resultant benefits for participants. These barriers are brought together in figure 3 below.

5.1 BARRIERS TO UNIVERSITY-COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

The key question here must be whether some of these barriers are central causes, and other barriers are more symptomatic of underlying problems in co-operation. One view is that funding plays a central role in the barriers between universities and their communities, that universities have the wrong incentives and communities lack the skills to access that funding. However, this ignores the reality that public funders are often cautious and risk-averse, adapting funding regimes to mimic successes rather than using them to create incentives for entirely new classes of output. The main driver of innovation in HE systems are entrepreneurial managers who take risks individually within existing rules and funding regimes, producing successes which become feted as best practices examples, and which others follow, leading to a reshaping of the system.

The causality of the barriers to interaction in these situations is more complicated and contingent. If universities and communities can have agency, then there are no *a priori* barriers to engagement. There do however appear to be complicated, composite causalities where various problems interact to create real barriers to interaction. An example of this might be physical distance, which is not insurmountable, yet it can reduce opportunities for community leaders to interact with universities (Prins, 2005). This in turn can create a feeling by universities that community leaders do not 'pull their weight' and lead universities to regard them as a problem than essential local community partners.

Addressing these composite (mutually reinforcing and overlapping) barriers is certainly difficult, but it is important not to give these barriers unwarranted power by assuming they constitute a vicious cycle which cannot be broken. It is important to look at the place-specific context, the specific local barriers and the strategies attempted to address the lack of engagement. The contingency means that some strategies addressing particular barriers may not work in particular contexts because there are other negative influences.

Drawing on an analogy from university/ business engagement, the same is also true of small firms (Van den Kroonenberg, 1996; Clark, 1998). Becoming an entrepreneurial university (better engaged with small firms) involves senior managers committing to being more entrepreneurial, and then creating and supporting an 'extended development periphery' (spanning senior management to the liaison office). This extended development periphery continually challenges decision-makers to justify how their decisions meet the needs of 'small' firms'. But at the same time, continual interactions with small firms force universities to appreciate their partners needs, as well as providing opportunities for future collaborations.

Figure 5 Barriers which inhibit from universities and communities from engaging with each other

University	Community
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engagement not compulsory • Absence of institutional strategy • Absence of engagement manager <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diffusion of responsibility • Lack of dedicated funding stream <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incentives to lure students • Core funding ignores engagement • Other funders do not demand engagement • No career structure for engagement • Engagement seen peripheral hobby <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do ‘research on a community’ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of subject knowledge • Physical distance from communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Absence of ‘roots’ in communities • Community do not make demands <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community seen as a ‘problem’ • Third parties divert university activity • Other funders buy research ‘on’ communities • Global networks favoured over local links • Excluded communities avoided/ ignored • Town/ gown tensions create student enclaves <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enclaves ‘turn off’ non-trad local students • Difficulty of rewarding student engagement • Engagement not fit into professional curriculum <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professionalisation of engagement routes
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Absence of leaders to sit on boards/ committees • Lack of capacity to mobilise around issues • Misunderstanding of university capacities • Invisible barriers put communities off engagement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal structures exclude communities • Engagement projects have high staff turnover • Community skills mismatch with project demands • Communities lack knowledge absorptive capacity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual activists not repeatable learning • Exclusion from professional engagement discourses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Absence of individuals wanting to engage • Engagement helps cleverest to leave community • Engagement driven by experts not local learning • Absence of individuals with ‘feet in both camps’

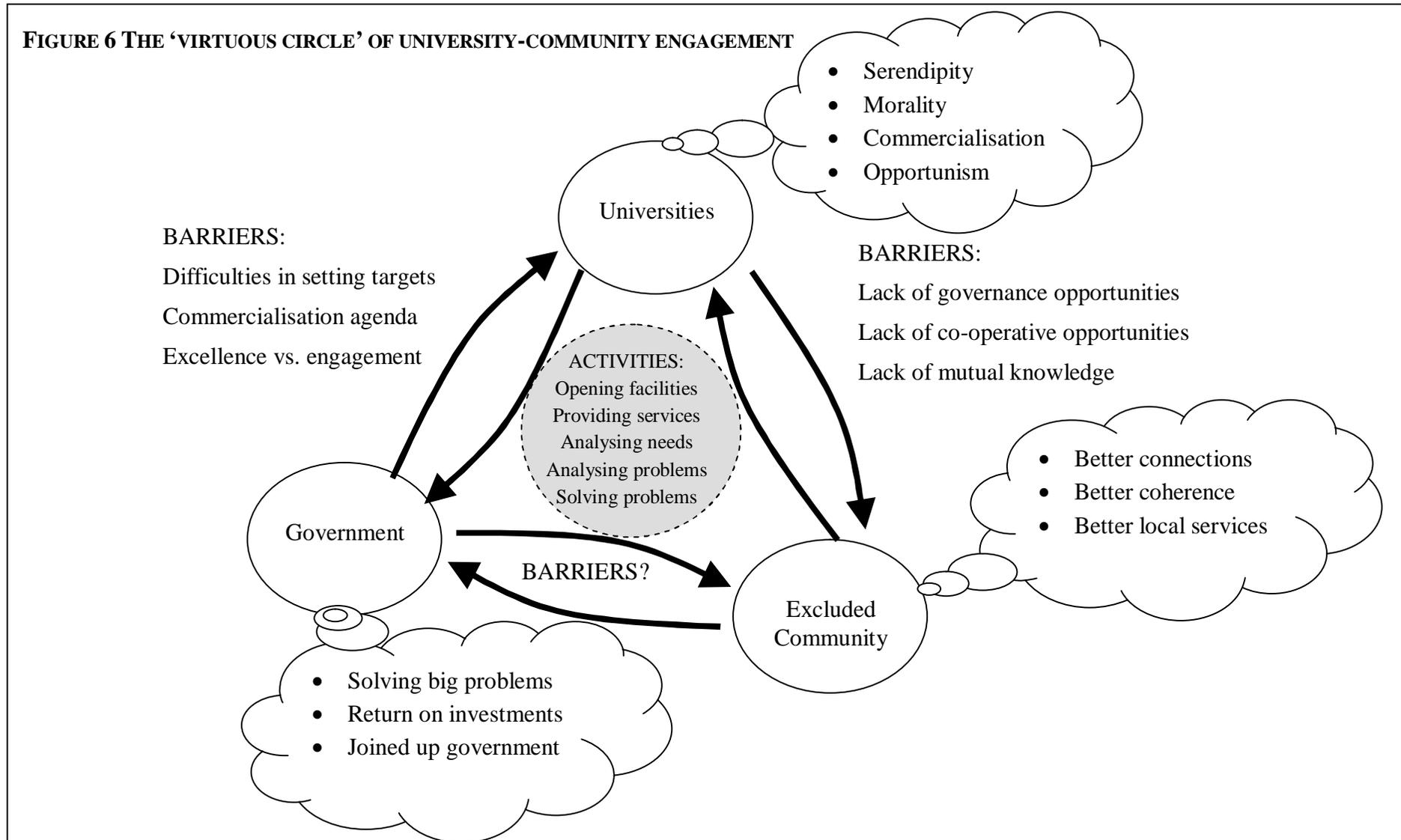
Source: From tables 3 and 4

But what might initiate a process whereby partners start together to work effectively on engagement. *Inter alia* The Kellogg Commission (1999) and the Office for University Partnerships (2000) highlight that such a change in university attitude to engagement can be the ‘large change’ necessary to erode the cycle of barriers which prevent effective community engagement. It is not purely a declaration by senior managers which is important for the comparable process of becoming entrepreneurial, but rather it is the reality of a university creating “service bundles” which are readily digestible by service users (Heydebreck *et al.*, 2000). In providing these service bundles, small firms move into contact with the university, and at the same time become a resource for them (Benneworth, 2007)

This provides one heuristic to think how these composite problems in community engagement could be addressed, creating the kinds of pathways into the university for excluded communities as well as tangible tasks for them to co-operate on, undertake shared learning, and address the barriers to further, deeper and more significant interactions. It is not a perfect metaphor because we have already noted that communities are not purely recipients of these services but have their own demands to which services must be fitted. However, it is a useful way to consider how universities could change their own cultures. What kinds of ‘bundles’ could address the barriers, namely something which addresses enough of these problems simultaneously to improve the foundations for further university/ community engagement?

Clearly, such bundles must primarily be developmental rather than generative, helping socially excluded communities to develop their own social capital. They also offer enough momentum to reverse the cycle of non-interaction and place momentum behind improved university/ community engagement. And critically, they must also be of interest – and value – to the excluded community. Our argument is engagement is an emergent outcome: various actors work together on the practicalities of delivering activities, each for their own reasons, and over time, the barriers to effective engagement are reduced. The heuristic is that as a group of active actors within the university and community develop a set of activities over time, their successes make more passive partners in the university and community accepting of the idea of university-community engagement. This in turn encourages further interactions and makes them more successful in terms of meeting the needs of the two respective partners. This in turn encourages more passive partners to become active in engagement, increasing the size of the learning community and the overall benefits.

We attempt to represent this process of the university ‘becoming engaged’ in the figure below. This heuristic is a ‘best case’ scenario of where an institution does become more engaged, and underpins that engagement by working with its regulatory and community stakeholders to become more supportive of that engagement. Our argument is not that there is a single pathway within this process of becoming engaged, rather that on the basis of the literature review, this suggests that there are a range of pathways which might be more propitious to the development of engagement missions than others. These more successful pathways might be shaped by a number of distinguishing features, such as who initiates the particular activity, which motivations underpin the activity, or how successful activities address the barriers to engagement.



5.2 WHY MIGHT UNIVERSITIES INITIATE BECOMING ENGAGED?

In shifting the focus from the barriers to interaction to the conditions under which universities and communities can effectively engage to develop social capital, it is necessary to understand the kinds of rationale which explain why universities would choose to shift emphasis to becoming engaged. There are political pressures for universities in many OECD countries to demonstrate their greater added value, given increasing competitiveness in the traditional university monopoly of the global marketplace of ideas (OECD, 2003). There is also quite a compelling theoretical argument that community engagement maximises wider public – as well as commercial – benefits derived from investments in universities, and is therefore an essential element of the social compact (Barnett, 2000; Bond & Paterson, 2005).

What these two distinct elements do not do completely explain is why universities might choose engage with communities and *vice versa*. Rather, this is an explanation of why the third mission should be extended to incorporate community engagement. In the context of a crowded institutional environment for universities, and with other actors offering more ready partnership and demonstration of societal benefit, why would universities choose to work with excluded communities? In particular, how could they choose to do this beyond a moral reason, which we have already argued leads to “detached benevolence”, and instead do so out of what Perry & Wiewel (2005) term “enlightened self-interest” in co-dependent co-creativity with these communities (p. 11).

The preceding analysis has already raised a host of reasons why universities might *not* choose to engage with excluded communities. These communities are not easy to deal with, and engagement might appear to depend on a long and slow process of capacity building to configure ‘community’ partners with which they can work. In the preceding discussion of the barriers, two of these barriers appear most relevant in thinking about universities’ decision-making processes (when universities are considering whether to engage or whether to focus on more central missions):-

- Excluded communities are not important for the universities, lacking a mechanism to impose their interests on key university decision-making processes, and
- Excluded communities are not organised in a way to present their interests in ways that universities can clearly see effective ways to meet their needs.

Both these factors reflect the issue that excluded communities are not important to universities as stakeholders. This is not purely a consequence of the fragmentation and lack of co-ordination within excluded communities. The shift from hierarchical government to network governance has had a profound impact on the way HEIs seek to engage regionally (Goddard *et al.*, 2003). Universities have made themselves sensitive to a whole range of influences: in order to participate in networks of resource exchange where funding allocations are made, Universities are increasingly expending effort in participating in those networks to benefit from those decisions networks (Westerheijden *et al.*, 2004; Jongbloed *et al.*, 2007).

Having sensitised themselves to a range of stakeholders, there are implicitly a set of other stakeholders whose interests’ are implicitly downgraded, to which universities are not sensitised. This absence of influence can be seen directly, in that community attempts to mobilise politically to influence universities are often unsuccessful or as in the case of planning issues, reactive (Webber, 2005). Potentially more importantly,

communities' needs are not influential as universities develop their policies, forcing communities to engage reactively, rather than shaping the university's norms, perspectives and attitudes. This can perpetuate the governance logic of non-engagement (*cf.* p. 16) in which hard-to-reach communities are excluded by decision-makers without having the opportunity themselves to challenge the stereotypes and assumptions potentially held by this community.

This failure to address the governance logic inhibiting university interaction prevents the emergence of the culture of engagement which the Kellogg Commission (1999) highlights as being absolutely vital to effective engagement (see Appendix 1). Of course, underlying this remains the question of "engagement for what", to which the answer is to meet their needs and build social capital (Baum, 2000). Underlying this is an assumption that if communities are given the *opportunity* to influence universities, they will mobilise sensibly, and that mobilisation will help develop social capital in those communities. In the following discussion, we therefore put to one side the issue of whether this assumption is realistic in order to focus more on how the governance logic of excluding hard-to-reach communities can be addressed.

5.3 COMMUNITIES REPRESENTED IN UNIVERSITY DECISION-MAKING

There are a variety of ways that universities could address this problem of governance logic, which is to say allow excluded communities to have some kind of rights of representation within decision-making processes. One approach is that as self-governing institutions, universities could simply decide to engage with communities. Those institutions could make a high-level commitment and create a structure to be held accountable to the community. Appointments to management teams and oversight boards could seek actively to draw from communities organisations, particular those with whom the university has had past successful collaborations. Kellogg (1999) highlights that that accountability needs to be diffused through the university by sensitising employment conditions and rewards to a new university mission encompassing engagement.

A second example might be to reflect the fact that universities have made themselves sensitive to a huge range of financial pressures in seeking to reposition themselves in contemporary competitive higher education markets. Providing excluded communities with influence over resource allocations can in turn influence university strategies instrumentally, as they seek to better access those resources through community engagement activity. Examples include the US's Community Outreach Programme (COP) or Canada's Community University Research Alliance (CURA). CURA's explicit intention was to make community interests more central to university decision-making by tying a prestigious funding stream to community participation.

A third example might be that universities responded to pressures from government to involve such communities more systematically in their decision-making. This has already been evident in recent years with the way that business interaction has become more important to universities. The reality of business interaction is that it provides relatively small rewards for universities, but governments have emphasised the symbolic importance of business engagement. Again, taking the example of Canada, in 1998, there was a pact between universities and government to treble university societal impact in return for a doubling of resources provided to the sector. The

Canadian government established the urgency of business involvement, and likewise could establish urgency for community engagement.

It is clear that there are opportunities for these three strands to positively and mutually reinforce. Certainly, research funders are more likely to grant engagement resources to (researchers in) universities with a track record in successful engagement and whose institutional mission explicitly states engagement. Likewise, universities that have a track record of winning resources for engagement activities will find it easier to promulgate the message that engagement is a core university mission ('success has a thousand fathers'). We argue that both of these approaches share the common goal of making the community more important to the university's decision-making, so that community interests and perspectives are genuinely taken seriously.

A stakeholder analysis can formally be used to consider this more systematically, and understand how excluded communities might influence university decision-making. We have already noted that how there is an implicit hierarchy of stimuli to which universities respond, related to funding availability, but also their mission and the tasks placed on them directly by the government and indirectly by their host societies. This can be analysed by classifying the various interests as "stakeholders", and looking at how the resources these stakeholders have to influence the internal decision-taking process of universities.

5.4 A STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS OF UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE

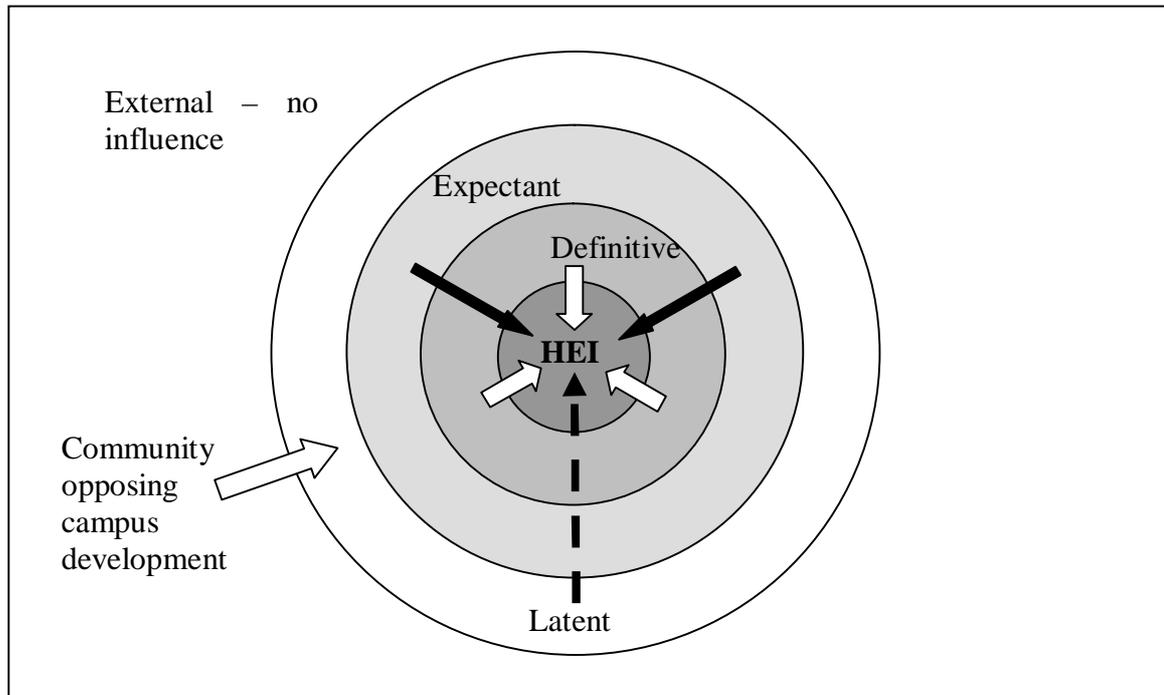
Stakeholder theory was developed in a corporate context to make sense of corporate social responsibility, and how firms balanced fiduciary responsibility to shareholders with the interests of others affected by the decisions taken by senior managers (Freeman, 1984). The argument is that stakeholder 'compete' for an institution's attention and have more or less power to influence the institution's internal decision-making. Jongbloed *et al.* (2007) have adapted this model to university decision-making, which classifies different influences or stakeholders on the basis of how salient they are to universities, or how much regard universities pay to those groups in taking key decisions at the corporate/ strategic level.

One difference between universities and other stakeholders which Jongbloed *et al.* make explicit is that unlike firms and many public bodies, universities are much less hierarchical and the university can be regarded as consisting of internal stakeholder groupings as well as external groupings. Leaving to one side this issue of external stakeholders, Jongbloed *et al.*'s classification is based upon stakeholders' capacities to exploit three 'resources', finance, legitimacy and urgency, draws on Mitchell *et al.*'s (1997) categorisation of stakeholders. Stakeholders use these resources to secure their institutional survival, and pay more attention to the demands of organisations which contribute more resources more directly. Crudely put, the more resources supplied by an stakeholder, the more central they are to corporate decision-making processes, not just financial but also in terms of urgency and legitimacy.

On the basis of these three variables (resources, urgency, legitimacy), themselves adopted from elsewhere, Jongbloed *et al.* classify stakeholders on the basis of how many variables they command; external stakeholders are unable to demonstrate any of the three variables, latent stakeholders one, expectant stakeholders exercise two and imminent stakeholders command all three variables. This is illustrated in figure 7 below. The issue is that when a stakeholder comes with a particular issue to the university, then the university's willingness to take that forward depends on the

salience of the stakeholder to the university. For an excluded community resisting a campus expansion, for example, then it may be seeking to voice its opposition within an environment in which other more salient stakeholders are encouraging development – local and regional development agencies may subsidise building, international businesses may see new laboratories as a good site for collaboration, politicians may see the photo-opportunities in new buildings.

Figure 7 The capacity of stakeholders to influence universities' decision-making



Source: Benneworth & Jongbloed (2009)

A stakeholder analysis helps illuminate why universities have engaged with entrepreneurship and small firms when technology transfer officers generally admit that the engagement is not financially profitable. SMEs are often difficult to work with and lack both the R&D investments and the research-active staff to absorb university knowledges. Universities have been encouraged by their other stakeholders – primarily government – to increase their impact and demonstrate their wider set of contributions. Increasing university-SME engagement can be regarded from a stakeholder perspective as part the HE sector’s wider effort to demonstrate these wider contributions to its most salient partners – government funding bodies.

Benneworth & Jongbloed (2008) note that the stakeholder model is not intended to be a static classification of how particular ‘groups’ relate to ‘universities’ in general, but as a model for understanding how university management prioritise different pressures and stimuli within some time-specific decision-making process. In the case of business engagement, SMEs’ legitimacy and urgency was changed as governmental bodies decreed that they were more worthy of consideration. So what we would expect to observe in the course of “becoming engaged” was that excluded communities would become more salient to the university.

5.5 COMMUNITY AS ACTIVE STAKEHOLDERS IN UNIVERSITY DECISION-MAKING

There appear to be a number of barriers which in turn undermine the salience of excluded communities to universities. Part of it arises from the fact that they lack the funds to directly capture university interest. Another element is the fact that other stakeholders have not argued that universities should do more with these communities, thereby undermining their legitimacy and urgency, and placing them to the bottom of the rank list of university concerns in decision-making. This arises in part because of the widely recognised power asymmetry between universities and excluded communities (Baum, 2000; Prins, 2005; Cobb & Rubin, 2006). This power asymmetry manifests itself in a number of different ways:-

- The low level of quantification of the outcomes of community engagement (with respect to commercial engagement) means that Community Engagement lacks urgency with respect to commercialisation.
- The classification of excluded communities by public organisations more generally as ‘problem’ communities undermines the legitimacy of their demands on universities (Healey, 2006).
- Professionalised approaches to community engagement (Diamond, 2007) channel funds through external infrastructures which communities cannot influence, removing their influence over the resources which aim to help them.

It will not always be practical for government to provide resources directly to excluded communities to redefine their salience to universities, and in the context of global challenges facing universities, few governments are willing to countenance the idea that universities should be judged on regional – let alone social – impact criteria. Universities do have a degree of flexibility to define who they regard as possessing urgency and legitimacy, even where particular stakeholder groups do not have financial resources. Moreover, as Benneworth & Hospers argue, universities may choose to engage with poorly endowed groups (such as SMEs) to build a moral argument to win funds from regional development agencies and other public bodies.

This raises the question of under which conditions do excluded communities become regarded as legitimate and urgent stakeholders. Austrian & Norton (2005) highlight one particular example, of a university seeking to expand its spatial footprint, and a particular poor community already occupy that land. Communities may mobilise to block developments which are seen as undesirable (Hewson, 2007). Given that campus development is a key means of universities’ competitive strategy to attract the most talented students and staff, the threat of restricting campus development improves these communities’ salience of these communities towards that particular (Perry & Wiewel, 2005). Austrian & Norton note that under those circumstances, community engagement can offer universities a way of configuring a community that supports the development plans.

There are other ways that community engagement can allow universities to access resources of interest to them, implicitly recognised in Goddard & Chatterton’s (2000) engagement model (see figure 2). Universities are, as already noted, trying to shape external decisions taken in a range of policy networks. Universities have become increasingly regarded as self-regarding actors rather than self-managing experts. Third-party validation is extremely important to universities in establishing the legitimacy of their claims about the social value of their knowledge with greater

apparent scepticism of universities' own catalogues of that activity. Businesses voices have been important in establishing that universities are effective in commercialisation. Likewise, effective community voices could be useful to universities as allies in shaping a range of external environments, thereby increasing their value to the universities.

This is not a general diagnosis that universities and communities necessarily must engage, but merely indicates that in particular circumstances, universities and communities might be able to find a way to engage in ways that address the power asymmetry, and which help to make excluded communities more salient to those universities. This suggests that where engagement is to be successful, then change will be evident in three places. Firstly universities' internal governance structures will evolve to create external support for their engagement. Secondly, communities will develop social capital, and will be enrolled by universities into their other decision-making networks. Thirdly, there will be flows of resources established between universities and the communities via the engagement.

In one sense, this is hardly surprising because this is precisely the model envisaged in the Goddard & Chatterton (2000) model (*cf.* figure 2), although that model envisages that the interactions are purely local, whilst in this model, local engagement may help universities in their negotiations in extra-regional policy-networks (such as national higher education systems). Goddard subsequently updated this model to take into account the fact that this local interaction has salience in a number of policy networks and global markets within which universities find themselves competing Goddard *et al.*, 2007). Local engagement can therefore become intertwined with much larger efforts.

6 UNIVERSITY (SELF)-INTEREST IN ENGAGEMENT

Substantive engagement between universities and excluded communities would seem necessarily to be underpinned by the identification of activities which benefit both universities and those communities, and in ways in which the asymmetries between the two groups are to some extent smoothed away. In this chapter, building on the idea that the key blockage to becoming engaged is a governance problem in which communities are not salient stakeholders to universities, we consider whether universities could become dependent on resources provided through community engagement.

We note that one important driver of university perspectives on stakeholders are significant projects within the university space which universities become dependent upon to achieve their own ends. Because the universities need these projects to succeed, they are willing to compromise over the direction of those projects, effectively making the interests of their project partners more salient to them. These projects therefore represent a shift in the governance logic of the university. This raises the question of whether it is possible to mobilise shared self-interest projects involving community inputs and interests, which thereby make the community more salient to the university as a stakeholder group.

6.1 BENEFITS WHICH UNIVERSITIES CAN DERIVE FROM THEIR COMMUNITIES

There are a range of benefits which universities can derive from engaging with communities and creating unique shared knowledge assets which help the universities deliver their own core missions. The nature of those benefits to some extent varies with the scope of the interactions and of the collective learning which takes place between university and community.

Routine interactions are those which bring universities into contact with communities and overcome the barriers which may initially inhibit any kind of contact. There are many potential drivers for interactions, and they are unlikely to be driven strategically when first undertaken. Academics may seek to use communities as users for particular projects or engage with communities in undertaking particular activities. Universities may become aware of community needs through the presence of students in those communities as temporary or long-term residents, and they may make academic staff aware of the interests of those communities. Universities may engage with communities as part of their estates development plans, particularly for those universities adjacent to significant deprived areas. Each of those interactions has their very own logic in the process of universities trying to gain particular benefits, such as winning research funds, providing enriched learning experiences, and managing the campus space.

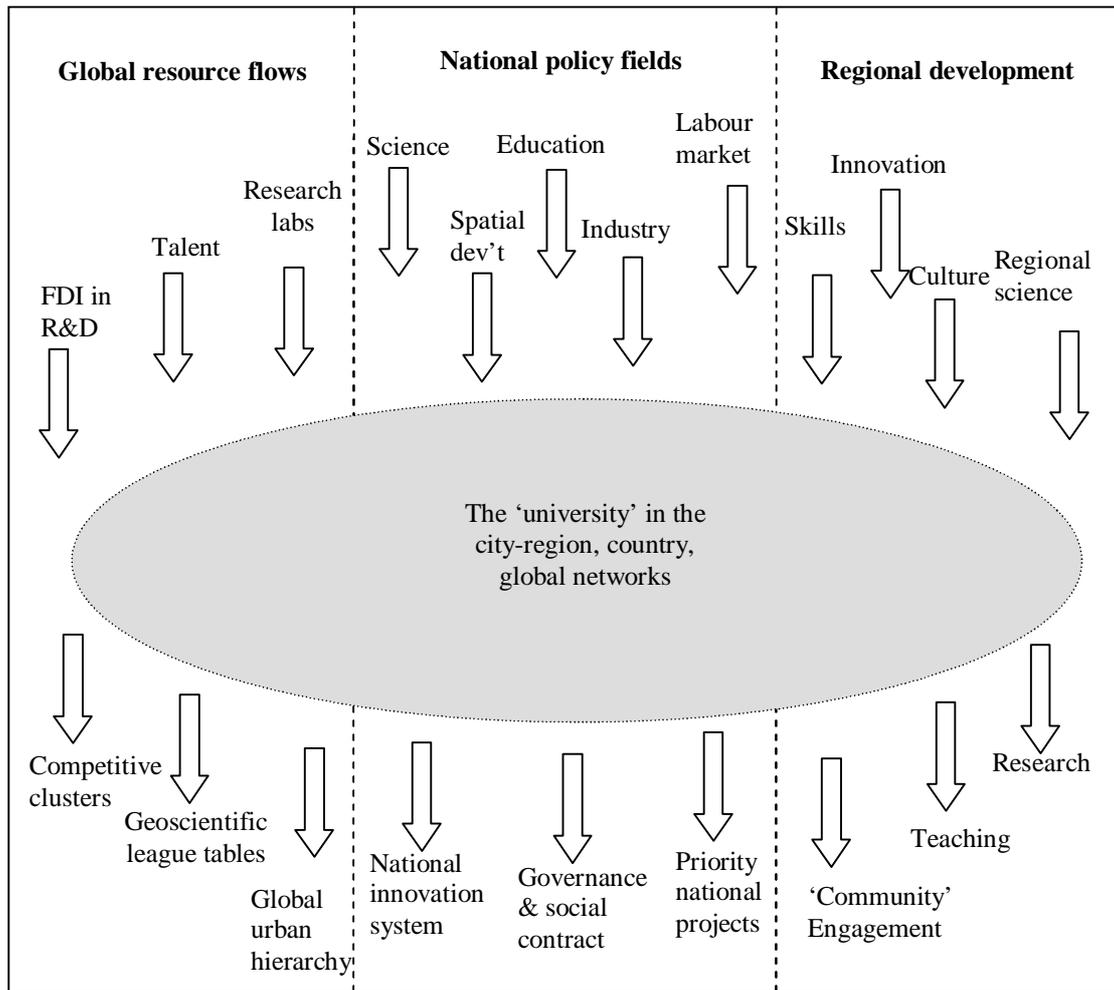
Developmental interactions may arise when universities build up longer term relationships with communities potentially arising from a history of successful engagement activities. The pre-existing knowledge allows the university to have privileged access to certain types of unique or rare community knowledges based on the trust that has already built up between universities and the communities. In such cases, socially excluded communities can provide extreme environments within which to test particular innovations or ideas (an idea well elucidated in the medical

technology field). Universities may also become repositories for particular kinds of moribund skills and knowledges that may yet find value in contemporary settings, preserving those knowledges until they can be effectively restored or for posterity (e.g. extinct Australian aboriginal languages).

Strategic interactions may arise when universities attempt to use their relationships with communities to address particular governance issues within the universities themselves (such as generalised resistance to university expansion plans). Governance improvement is usually regarded in the rather functional way of allowing universities to get their own way by giving them a public interest defence for their development proposals. What seems much less well-considered (and yet is widely accepted in terms of commercialisation through bringing commercial representatives onto university management boards) is the direct role that community representatives could play in bringing new skills and perspectives directly to decision-making forums. Even without including members on boards, sharper community scrutiny can help universities to avoid making short-sighted decisions in their longer-term planning processes and help to contribute to their institutional success.

This effect is illustrated in figure 5 below, which is a simplification of a diagram in Goddard *et al.* (2007). This illustrates how universities link between the different levels and create tangible activities which are locally rooted but themselves embedded within more extensive networks. The archetype of this is a science park which attracts investment from international R&D businesses to co-locate with a university and its spin-off firms, creating a window of opportunity to harness those international investments to stimulate further regional linkages *including R&D investments into the university itself* (Yeung, 2006). Although Goddard *et al.* do not exemplify a community engagement, it is possible to see how something like a centre of excellence in community regeneration which builds on existing solid university-community engagement could create a similar developmental opportunity.

Figure 8 University as integrative force bridging international, national, local scales



Source: authors' own design after Goddard et al., 2007

From figure 8, it is possible to consider that projects become mobilised within the space of the university that also acquire a significance for the university. Consider for example a science city project, which integrates national scientific and regeneration funding, local economic development funding, scientific capital funding from a multi-national corporation and which attracts a number of highly talented new professors to work in the field. The project is sufficiently large to be visible to the university, and for the university to have to be interested in delivering the outcomes sought by those involved in that particular project. The university is keen for the project to succeed out of a sense of self-interest, and that desire for success in turn makes the university willing to compromise around partners' interests. The university becomes reconstituted around the project – because the university has to accommodate it – and in that process, the interests of those sponsoring agencies are made more salient towards the university.

6.2 THE DYNAMICS OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL ENGAGEMENT ACTIVITIES

It is important here not to lose the community dimension of this activity and to reiterate the point made that this mutually beneficial project needs to be something which provides the community with opportunities and motivations to participate in

socialised learning that re-engages them with the knowledge economy. At the same time, that activity could become embedded within an activity which the university regards as being significant to itself. That benefit would be based on three conditions being met, reflecting the needs of the various participants and the interest groups:-

- **Communities** were able to use the asset to better integrate themselves and achieve a greater degree of self-determination within the global knowledge economy,
- **Universities** were able to use the asset to compete for the attraction of talented staff and students, and to win better, more profitable research funding, and
- Both **universities and communities** were able to use the knowledge asset to persuade local institutions to better support their engagement to help it achieve more generalised outcomes.

There are two important ideas captured within this set of conditions that are critical to understanding the nature of university/ community engagement. The first is in the form of the interactive learning process, namely that universities and communities work together to exchange and develop new knowledge, and that knowledge is held between university and community. This is quite a different model to the implicit ‘technology transfer’ model, in which existing university knowledge is exploited in a community setting. This implies a more arduous and resource intensive process, which might be dissuading for policy-makers, but equally reflects the effort involved in addressing social exclusion.

The second idea is a corollary of the first, and that is that the research agenda is jointly set in the learning process, as communities as well as universities identify anomalous or inexplicable results. Research inquiry is used as a means of improving their understanding of the situation, both to understand it but also to exercise control over that situation. This means that communities are important contributors to the research process, and can exercise an influence over how the knowledge itself develops. This in turn gives the ‘community’ leverage over the ‘university’, as particular knowledge trajectories become intertwined with knowledge held in communities.

This interdependence can be interpreted with reference to the stakeholder model previous elucidated. These unique knowledges, capacities and inquiry directions co-produced with universities endow communities with resources by which to increase their salience to the university as stakeholders. This in turn may allow a community increase the influence over university decision-making, and to increase the scope of the university’s engagement with its communities (*cf.* Table 1). This in turn raises the question of how would such engagement function in practise – in short, what physical features would be present when a university was effectively engaged with its community.

6.3 SHARED SELF-INTEREST ACTIVITIES IN ENGAGEMENT

A shared self interest activity that can make a tangible difference to the practice of university/ community engagement needs to be something significant enough that improves both the participating university’s and community’s positions within wider power networks within which their strengths are defined. Engagement may involve both generative (service provision) and developmental (capacity improvement) elements; what is of primary interest are the developmental elements. Changing the position of universities and communities in their respective networks will require

capacity building. This in turn will be dependent on connections which may develop through routine university-community engagement offering ongoing opportunities for collective learning processes between the two actors.

Figure 9 Representation of university/ community interaction and scale of impacts

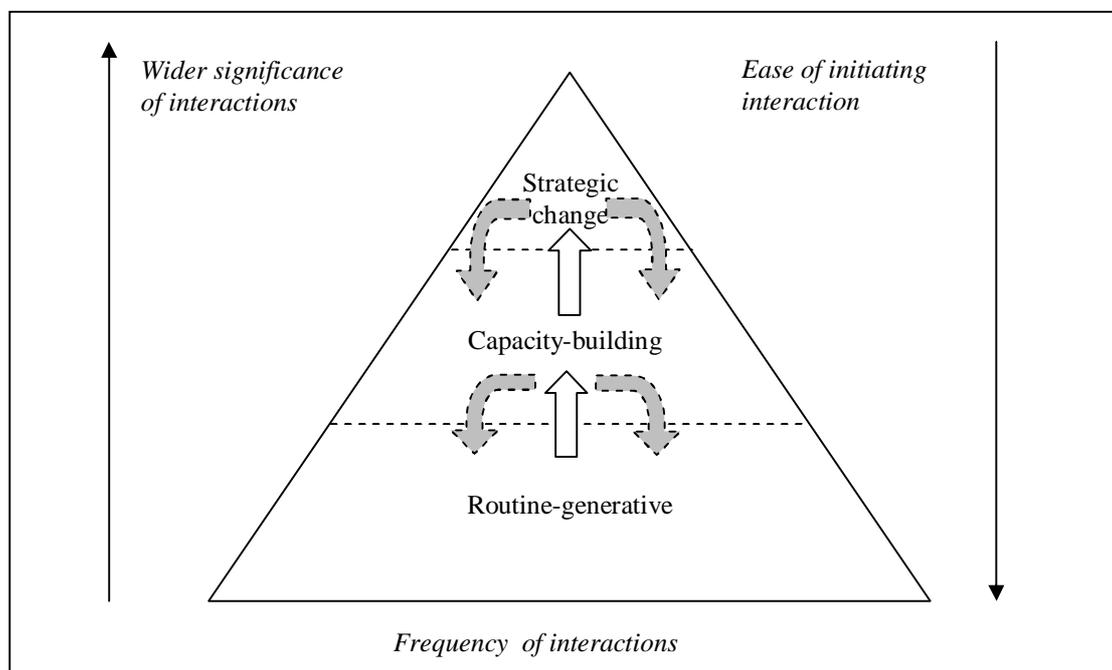


Figure 6 above represents this distinction diagrammatically; if there are sufficient routine interactions then this may develop particular capacity in the actor allowing it to improve its position within the networks within which it finds itself embedded. If sufficient engagement capacity builds up and the benefits are sufficiently significant, then the institution or community might undergo strategic change in which its nature shifts, making engagement a more integral part of what it does, and helping to make the network upgrading a more ongoing process.

This provides a typology for classifying the different types of interaction taking place between university and community:-

- Routine interactions which are relatively easy to undertake but which involve little shared learning or knowledge exchange and leave no lasting impact
- Developmental interactions in which the partners develop capacity as part of the shared learning process, and that capacity helps them to materially improve their position and forming the basis for a more fruitful further engagements.
- Strategic interactions in which the partners significantly alter their goals, aims, missions and visions to reflect the value to them of the engagement process, and making engagement a more central part of what they do.

From this it is possible to consider what kinds of common activities in which both universities and communities could interactively engage which help to improve delivery of both those benefits, making socially-excluded communities more salient to universities and universities more committed to community engagement. For universities, the key issue is that shared activities has to be strategic and sufficiently central to the university's interests to command the attention of key decision-makers. For communities, the activity has to provide the resources to address issues facing the

community which were not possible, to benefit from shared infrastructure and knowledge inputs from the university.

6.4 STRATEGIC CHANGE WITHIN AN ENGAGING UNIVERSITY

Universities are complex institutions, and where such an approach falls short is that it does not address explicitly the fact that difficulties may emerge when universities try to create the background conditions under which these various engagement phenomena can thrive. An alternative approach to classifying engagement levels is offered by Ruiz Bravo (1992) who in attempting to classify how universities *qua* institutions progress in engaging and communicating, offers a five fold classification, based on commonalities of functionalism, scope and commitment to engagement, each mode of governance representing a qualitative improvement on the preceding level. These levels correspond to the *sophistication* with which the university organises its engagement:-

1. Providing information
2. Public Relations
3. Dissemination of academic findings
4. University as a cultural influence
5. Critical engagement

Further detail on these five sophistication levels for university engagement is given on the table on the following page. What is important to note in this classification is the fact that it is additive, so that the outcomes and activities which take place at higher levels include those already taking place at the lower levels. So a university engaging through a “public relations” mode will provide information as well as involving itself in social forums in an informal way. Progression between the classes involves developing the capacities which can deliver new kinds of activities and outcome whilst not undermining what has already been achieved.

Whilst Ruiz Bravo does nowhere state make that argument, and it is clear from Clark *et al.* that university leaders are important in shaping engagement cultures within universities, there is an important point that different modes of engagement – the sophistication levels – may well be evident simultaneously within one institution. The issue then becomes one of consolidating and taking forward those different modes of engagement already underway in that institution, and creating space for individuals to take up those opportunities in enterprising ways. Any strategy for change needs to consider current capacities and how to develop those to the next level, as well as building the necessary relationships and structures to allow those capacities to function at the desired higher level. Becoming world-class in engagement terms involves a slow institutional evolution, optimising relationships with communities to maximise outcomes. We attempt to depict this model in the figure on the following pages.

What is remarkable at this point is the similarity between the levels model being articulated here, and the idea of a transformational relationship. The argument would appear to be that by engaging in these co-learning activities, the university and the community create knowledge that is not only of use to the community but also to the university in achieving its own institutional transformation up the learning levels. Whilst it is common to assume that it is university strategies which lead university engagement activity, this suggests that the relationship might be reversed – the necessary capacity to engage effectively might only build up through real engagement

activities. This changes the nature of the problematic for universities away from how to develop effective strategies towards how to learn from the experiences that key actors within the university have had. This raises the question of how the collective learning within these communities of practice involving excluded communities can in turn engage with other university learning arenas so that managers can access the knowledge held within these communities of practice. At this point it is worth stressing that this is not a trivial task, across a range of dimensions of complexity.

At its most basic level, as already noted in the opening chapters of this report, universities are by their very nature complex institutions, and reflect an overlaying set of institutions and cultures which in turn reflect the conditions through which they have evolved as well as the decisions taken by senior managers within the institutions. Although engagement may be diffused throughout a particular institution, that does not necessarily mean that the culture that underpins that is easily manipulable by strategic practice, nor that universities can easily be reinvented as engaged institutions. They may be resistance and opposition to ideas of engagement which are rooted in a mix of innate sectoral conservatism as well as the need to preserve the cultures within which core missions are delivered. Changing the culture constructively is a huge challenge.

The second issue relates more directly to how the learning generated through particular engagement experiences can be diffused through the university itself. Universities typically involve a range of overlain communities of practice and learning networks which may correspond more or less closely to the strategic organisation of the university. Community engagement is often a peripheral activity within universities – being as it is a peripheral mission – and the question becomes WHO links the learning activities generated to a wider institutional transformation. In the business engagement literature, Clark is clear that this is the role of an inspirational and experienced academic leader, such as Harry van den Kroonenberg in the University of Twente. But given the pressures on universities to respond to commercialisation agendas, this raises the question of whether there is the scope within universities for people with experience of the communities of practice by which their institutions engagement to rise to the senior ranks of the university, and how their connections and contacts can be coupled to the more internal university communities of practice making the key decisions shaping the life of the university.

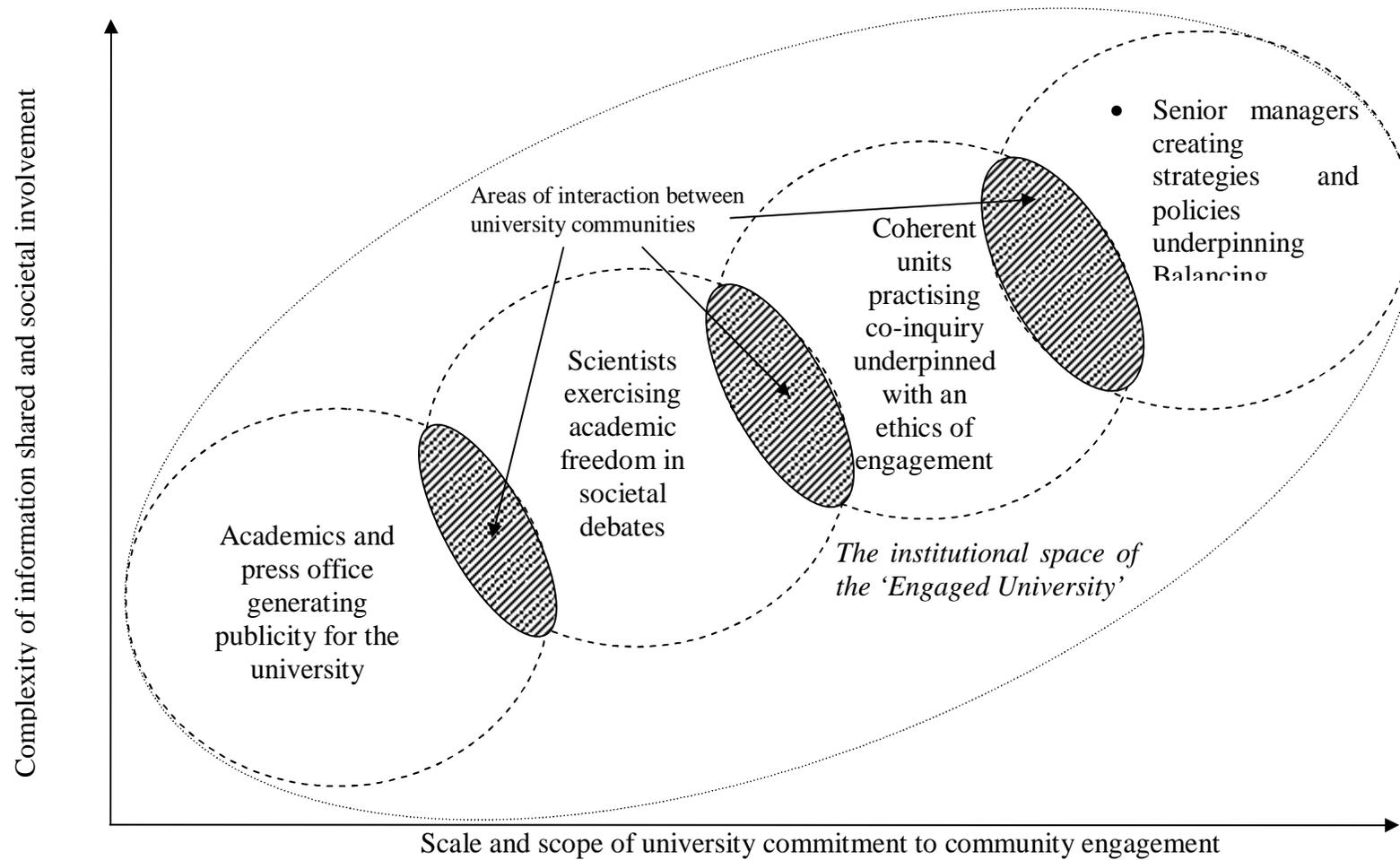
This suggests an ‘ideal type’ for institutional transformation which is set out in figure 10, which attempts to highlight different communities within the university, corresponding to the different experience levels of engagement. A key requirement for a university is for these different communities to cohere into a single institution, where different communities at least tolerate one another’s existence. As much as link points between universities and particular engagement activities are the link points which bind academics to coherent units engaged in co-inquiry. More research is needed into the question of what these link points are, and what kinds of dynamics they have. The heuristic for the ideal type transformation is that an enthusiastic engaged leader identifies well-respected academics who are involved in engagement, and creates pathways for those individuals to build up engaged units within the university, and then these units become the basis for a more strategic institutional reconfiguration. Table 5 and figure 10 attempt to depict the key elements of ‘becoming engaged’ for a university.

Table 5 A developmental model of modes of university/ society engagement with external communities

Mode of engagement	Characteristics of relations	Objective of engagement	University aim	Scope of societal response	Typical examples
1: Providing information	Indirect: general public awareness raising	Informing society of university's plans, projects, opportunities and problems	Providing a positive image for HE in society, and being open about activities	"The university exists and is socially important"	News bulletins, press releases, commentaries, media announcements
2. Public Relations	Direct university presence, but temporary and topic specific	Providing information; developing community rapport; shared events.	Achieve acceptance of university as active social partner (more activity...)	"The university is a present, active community participant"	University representatives in cultural and arts groups; informal discussions
3. Dissemination of academic findings	Direct university participation in societal debates and discussions	Dissemination of university knowledge base in teaching & research	Shape public opinion, build and strengthen a critical learning society	Reflection on university position, then acceptance, rejection, critique	Conferences, round-tables, congresses, symposia, seminars, exhibitions
4. University as a cultural influence	Direct, permanent social presence as partner; reactive to community demands	Improve academic thinking & discussions with critical societal perspectives	Promote reflexive attitudes in community and desire to evolve	New demands on university from social partners; new forms of action	Capacity-building courses, technical assistance, advisory services, free chair
5. Critical engagement	Joint continuous, planned university/ community interaction & governance	Enriching societal development fed back into university practices	Forming a transformatory societal coalition based on reflective principles	Active participation in developing activities and driving change	Participatory social change in social/ economic/ environmental fields

Source: Ruiz Bravo (1992) (translation: P L Younger).

Figure 10 The overlapping communities of interest within a world-class engaged university



7 CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

In this working paper, our concern has been to better understand engagement by universities with communities, particularly engaging with communities that may have difficulties in working with universities which we have referred to as “hard-to-reach” or socially excluded communities. The key problematic for the working paper has been to understand how this can take place within the wider context for higher education of a range of intense pressures on universities to undertake a range of non-necessarily immediately compatible missions. One manifestation of this has been to compress the wide range of engagement activities by which universities provide societal benefits into a much more limited set of ‘engagement missions’, such as Widening Participation or Lifelong Learning.

To circumvent this point, this working paper takes the stance that if community engagement is to be delivered in any serious way, it has to be a mission – or at least an activity that universities themselves take seriously. The paper uses the experiences with the increasing centrality of business engagement to the social compact as a heuristic to understand under what kinds of circumstances non-core (i.e. teaching and research) missions can become important to universities. A first key component is the importance of external stakeholders – particularly government and other social institutions – in arguing that community engagement is something which universities should be doing. A second element is that there have to be direct benefits to the universities, or at least that universities have to be able to appreciate there is value in engagement, and at the very least to be agree that engagement is something that does not harm the institution.

In this final chapter of the report, we begin to sketch the boundary conditions for what might be considered as ‘significant’ university-community engagement, namely that that does deliver benefits both for the community (*cf.* 4.3) but also for the university itself (*cf.* 6.4). The first part of this chapter is a synthesis of the core arguments emerging in this working paper, stressing the fact that university-community engagement is part of the wider university-society compact, and other agents can be highly influential in shaping universities’ attitudes to and opportunities for community engagement. The chapter concludes by setting out on the basis of these key postulates the key questions emerging for an empirical inquiry into university-community engagement which can answer the big question of whether particular kinds of engagement are ‘significant’.

7.1 A SYNTHESIS OF THE CORE ARGUMENT

The core argument of this report has been to consider the changing opportunities for engagement with excluded communities by universities at a time when their societal relevance is being increasingly emphasised. There are already many benefits which universities create for their communities, and many of these are spill-over effects which arise out of the core missions of universities, namely teaching and research. There are specific dedicated activities which universities might use to engage with hard-to-reach communities just as they might choose to engage with other stakeholders such as government or business. Yet, at the same time there are a range of pressures which are restricting universities’ opportunities to engage with excluded communities – and other stakeholder groups – out of a need to preserve competitiveness and core resources.

In this very competitive environment for universities, there are clear barriers which restrict their opportunities to engage with communities. In part, there are a set of barriers which are based on universities characteristics, that universities do not see engagement as an important mission, that they lack the capacity to engage with these communities and individuals lack an interest in engagement. On the other hand, excluded communities are also very hard to engage with – they lack internal coherence, a socialisation to the norms of the governance society, and highly-educated individuals may abandon those communities. But there does seem to be scope for engagement with universities – if communities can overcome these barriers – to improve the overall situation of those communities.

Taking an alternative perspective on the way university knowledge benefits excluded communities allows a better understanding of these barriers. Effective engagement begins from a genuine partnership between universities and these communities, working together to build a shared understanding and platform for future co-operation and development. What seems to inhibit this process is that such communities are systematically overlooked by university decision-making process, something which a stakeholder analysis is well positioned to analyse. It is not just that community groups lack the resources to pay universities for their assistance, but there is a wider tendency to regard these communities as problems needing solving rather than voices with a right to be listened to. A key basis for community engagement therefore involves providing these communities with a voice in university decision-making.

However, a voice in decision-making is not enough, because the process of becoming engaged relies on a through-flow of engagement activities by which both partners realise the benefits, and by which capacity for engagement builds up. This requires that universities are continually aware of the benefits which engagement can bring, and critically, in the process of wanting engagement to succeed, reconfigure themselves as an institution to make community stakeholders more salient to them. At the same time, the community needs to see the clear benefits in engagement – and being involved in university governance structure, so engagement needs to provide opportunities for socialised learning and social capital development. Over time, a set of smaller projects can upscale within a university, and help to transform the institutional culture, although not all individual staff members will necessarily be oriented towards engagement.

This raises the very important issue of the difficulty and depth of the transformation with an institution as complex of that as a university (*cf.* 6.4). It is important to stress that this transformation is not represented as a simplistic process in which universities can easily work with a range of community partners to become an engaged institution. Engagement is to some degree an emergent property, the outcome of the interaction between university and community partners, and also between engaged university staff and other internal constituencies within the university. This suggests that the topology of that transformation is important, and there is a need to consider how ‘successes’ and ‘engagement stories’ are constructed and transferred within particular institutional settings.

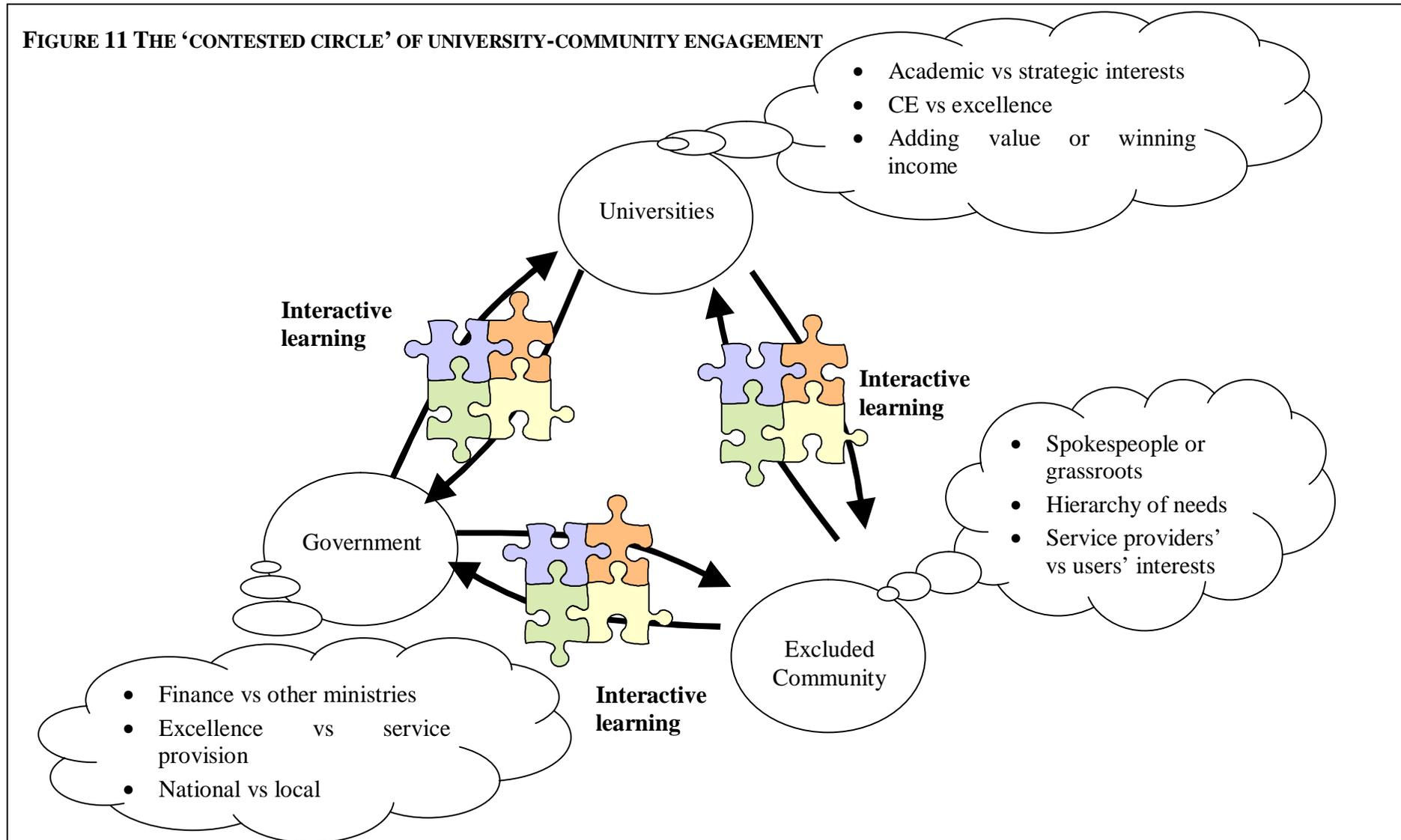
In accepting that engagement is a difficult process, where many interests (including those of third parties – societal and governmental stakeholders), the problem domain also shifts somewhat towards looking at the compromises made and conflicts arising as the idea of engagement moves through the institution. The idea of ‘detached benevolence’ as an engagement model is therefore a lowest common denominator – it

is what can be achieved with a minimum of conflict, and therefore with the lowest level of compromise. That is achieved by placing the interests of external stakeholders – including the excluded communities themselves – outside the range of discussion, and reducing societal benefit to that already occurring from the university. Returning to the idea of the ‘virtuous circle’ of university-community engagement (*cf.* 5.1) what is clear is that the progress within this development is not straightforward.

There are two modifications necessary to this concept to accommodate the difficulties of progress and also the fact that the groups themselves are not homogenous. In the first instance, what needs further explanation is the grounds under which ideas and learning do successfully move between partners despite the presence of barriers. What kinds of value can community engagement bring that enable the idea to be accepted by other actors and help to drive forward progress in a virtuous manner, whilst recognising that virtuous progress is by no means assured?

In the second instance, there is a need for a much closer look at the dynamics of those engagement activities within the groups currently bracketed together as university, government and community groups. Government is clearly split between Ministries which can have very different interests in community engagement – it is much easier for departments of social affairs to demand universities fix broken communities than science ministries who need their funding to deliver excellent teaching and research. Likewise, within universities, there are clear gaps between managers and academic departments and sub-units in terms of what is of value in achieving their own goals and aims. Finally, there is an issue around the ‘community’ – we have deliberately black-boxed the community to focus on the university dimension of engagement, but even within relatively homogenous communities there is the question of where is the ‘community’ interest and who speaks for the community.

What remains to be proven or explored here is the dynamics between the various activities and their underpinning communities of practice which shape the way that effective engagement activities are translated into institutional attitudes to engagement, which in turn shape the way that government and society regards community engagement as a university task. There are many learning communities evident in figure 11 below, and the way they inter-relate – if at all – influences the way that social learning between two partners, the academic and the community – helps to reposition excluded communities within the wider local and national political economies from which they are excluded. The focus therefore needs to not just be on individual learning communities, but on the way in which different communities interact, who moves ideas and concepts between different communities, and whether that does produce ‘significant’ community engagement, namely that which improves the position of that community within its wider political economy.



7.2 FROM A MODEL TOWARDS AN EMPIRICAL RESEARCH AGENDA FOR UCE

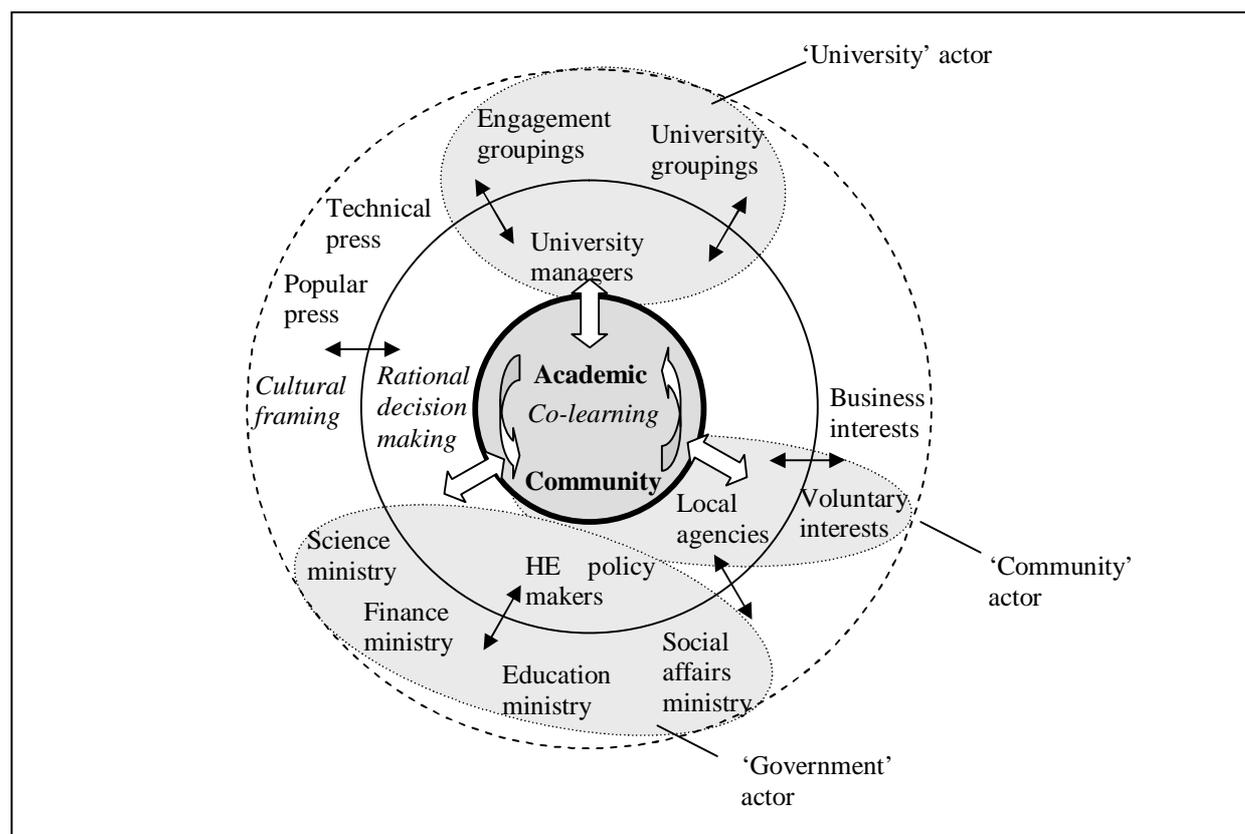
The final part of this paper is to think through how this model for how university-community engagement might become significant could be studied in practice. The basis for the model is that engagement is a difficult process to initiate and sustain in practice, because it depends on building engagement activities that meet the needs of a range of partners. At its core is a set of co-learning activities between individual academics and community members, with clearly defined shared interests and needs. The university actors in effect use the community as an interesting laboratory in which to extend their studies, whilst the community learn about themselves in the process of generating new knowledges about their situation, and that improved knowledge helps to strengthen their societal position.

There is then a second set of interests whose relative alignment shapes how easy it is for their principle actors to achieve their tasks. The particular policies and structures created by universities to support community engagement shape the environment within which the principal actors are able to create these new activities. Likewise, the direct decisions taken by higher education funders can create incentives and reward outcomes by those active in community engagement. There is an interaction here between universities and policy-makers – eye-catching university instruments can shape the way policy-makers think about university-community engagement, whilst direct stimuli can initiate new policy experiments by universities.

There is then a third set of interests which condition how effectively successful engagement activities are able to flow outwards and drive strategic transformation within universities and communities. There are many actors active in this field within the university, community, government and society. The culture of acceptance within universities determines how effective it is for strategic direction and policies to embed engagement within core university activities. The wider rhetoric of the societal compact and relative valuations for university missions by government (often outside the science ministry) may shape the kinds of arguments that universities feel able to advance. Societal pressures from parliament, non-governmental organisations or pressure groups may in turn compel universities to produce some kind of collective response or statement of activity (such as the Kellogg report).

The fairly well-understood process of co-learning is one element of university-community engagement, albeit a critical one. That co-learning is embedded within a layer of rational/ direct policy-making which shapes the wider environment for community engagement. That rational policy-making is in turn embedded within a wider, and more fluid culture of competing pressures and interests which determine the kinds of visions that universities and policy-makers have for engaging with excluded communities. It is not therefore sufficient to only study the co-learning process – what is also necessary is to explore in more detail how this co-learning diffuses outwards and influences rational policy-making, and how that in turn interacts with the discourse of university engagement which frames the way key actors conceive of the appropriate missions for university. A stylised depiction of this is given in figure 11 below.

Figure 12 A stylised model of the embedding of university-communities engagement within rational decision-making and cultural framing processes



So the empirical research challenge is to place this co-learning activity – which is already relatively well understood in these two wider contexts, the directly rational policy context, and the much more fluid cultural frame within which engagement takes place. This requires a detailed consideration of how particular activities are taken forward within particular institutional and discursive spaces, here highlighted as the lighter shaded areas, and the interplay between the different levels. This suggests that ‘becoming engaged’ is simultaneously constructed by actors on a number of different levels with a degree of interplay between the levels. What is not well understood is what are the connections between these levels and how this is influencing the emergence of engagement in practice. It is these connections, and the dynamics of the idea of engagement, as framing the environment for the practices of co-learning, which is the key dimension for further empirical exploration.

8 OTHER PROJECT OUTPUTS

8.1 RESEARCH PAPERS

Benneworth, P. S., Charles, D. R. & Madnipour, A. (2010) “Universities as agents of urban change in the global knowledge economy” *European Planning Studies* (forthcoming).

Benneworth, P. & Jongbloed, B.W.A (2009) “Who matters to universities? A stakeholder perspective on humanities, arts and social sciences valorisation” *Higher Education* DOI 10.1007/s10734-009-9265-2

Benneworth, P. & Sanderson, A. (2009) "Building institutional capacity for HEI regional engagement in a sparse innovation environment: a case study of Knowledge House" *Higher Education Management and Policy*, March 2009.

8.2 CONFERENCE PAPERS & PRESENTATIONS

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Benneworth, P. Humphrey, L., Charles, D. R.; & Hodgson, C. (2008) "Universities and community engagement: addressing the causes of social exclusion" Paper presented to *Bridging the divide, celebrating the city, 3rd Joint AESOP/ACSP Congress*, Chicago, USA, 6th-11th July 2008.

Benneworth, P. Humphrey, L., Charles, D. R.; & Hodgson, C. (2008) "Excellence in community engagement by universities" paper presented to "Excellence and Diversity in Higher Education. Meanings, Goals, and Instruments" *21st Conference on Higher Education Research (CHER)*, Pavia, Italy, 10th-13th September 2008.

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10 APPENDICES

10.1 APPENDIX 1 A SEVEN-PART TEST

(from *The Engaged Institution: returning to our roots*)

Seven guiding characteristics seem to define an engaged institution. They constitute almost a seven-part test of engagement.

1. **Responsiveness.** We need to ask ourselves periodically if we are listening to the communities, regions, and states we serve. Are we asking the right questions? Do we offer our services in the right way at the right time? Are our communications clear? Do we provide space and, if need be, resources for preliminary community-university discussions of the public problem to be addressed. Above all, do we really understand that in reaching out, we are also obtaining valuable information for our own purposes?

2. **Respect for partners.** Throughout this report we have tried to emphasize that the purpose of engagement is not to provide the university's superior expertise to the community but to encourage joint academic-community definitions of problems, solutions, and definitions of success. Here we need to ask ourselves if our institutions genuinely respect the skills and capacities of our partners in collaborative projects. In a sense we are asking that we recognize fully that we have almost as much to learn in these efforts as we have to offer.

3. **Academic neutrality.** Of necessity, some of our engagement activities will involve contentious issues— whether they draw on our science and technology, social science expertise, or strengths in the visual and performing arts. Do pesticides contribute to fish kills? If so, how? How does access to high quality public schools relate to economic development in minority communities? Is student “guerrilla theater” justified in local landlordtenant disputes. These questions often have profound social, economic, and political consequences. The question we need to ask ourselves here is whether outreach maintains the university in the role of neutral facilitator and source of information when public policy issues, particularly contentious ones, are at stake.

4. **Accessibility.** Our institutions are confusing to outsiders. We need to find ways to help inexperienced potential partners negotiate this complex structure so that what we have to offer is more readily available. Do we properly publicize our activities and resources? Have we made a concentrated effort to increase community awareness of the resources and programs available from us that might be useful? Above all, can we honestly say that our expertise is equally accessible to all the constituencies of concern within our states and communities, including minority constituents?

5. **Integration.** Our institutions need to find way to integrate their service mission with their responsibilities for developing intellectual capital and trained intelligence. Engagement offers new opportunities for integrating institutional scholarship with the service and teaching missions of the university. Here we need to worry about whether the institutional climate fosters outreach, service, and engagement. A commitment to interdisciplinary work is probably indispensable to an integrated approach. In particular we need to examine what kinds of incentives are useful in encouraging faculty and student commitment to engagement. Will respected faculty and student leaders not only participate but also serve as advocates for the program?

6. Coordination. A corollary to integration, the coordination issue involves making sure the left hand knows what the right hand is doing. The task of coordinating service activities—whether through a senior advisor to the president, faculty councils, or thematic structures such as the Great Cities Project or “capstone” courses—clearly requires a lot of attention. Are academic units dealing with each other productively? Do the communications and government relations offices understand the engagement agenda? Do faculty, staff, and students need help in developing the skills of translating expert knowledge into something the public can appreciate.

7. Resource partnerships. The final test asks whether the resources committed to the task are sufficient. Engagement is not free; it costs. The most obvious costs are those associated with the time and effort of staff, faculty, and students. But they also include curriculum and program costs, and possible limitations on institutional choices. All of these have to be considered. Where will these funds be found? In special state allocations? Corporate sponsorship and investment? Alliances and strategic partnerships of various kinds with government and industry? Or from new fee structures for services delivered? The most successful engagement efforts appear to be those associated with strong and healthy relationships with partners in government, business, and the non-profit world.

(Kellogg Commission, 2001, p. 12)

10.2 APPENDIX 1 DEFINITIONS OF UNIVERSITY/ COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

From *University Community Partnerships—Current Practices, Volume 3*,

“**Service Learning** contains descriptions of university programs in which students engage in service activities for credit as part of their coursework. Service learning activities may consist of actual coursework or the provision of a community service that is related to a specific course of study. Generally, service learning requires students to reflect, write, or otherwise develop their understanding of the issues they have encountered through their work.

“**Service Provision** describes noncredit student and faculty initiatives that take the form of coordinated, sustained, long-term projects targeted to a specific community. These activities are designed to foster and nurture community partnerships that benefit everyone involved.

“**Faculty Involvement** profiles faculty members who embody the driving force behind activities within the community. These activities are not necessarily related to course work. Instead, they are often related to an area of interest that generally addresses a faculty member’s established professional development goal.

“**Student Volunteerism** includes tasks driven primarily by students. These activities are short in duration, unrelated to course work, and provide students with worthwhile positive experiences while allowing them to fulfill noncredit graduation requirements of volunteerism in community development.

“The **Community in the Classroom** category depicts specific courses for local residents designed to enhance community building and community capacity. These are nondegree, non-credit courses that support the institution’s outreach mission.

“**Applied Research** describes specific, defined, pragmatic data collection, analysis, and reporting. The purpose of this targeted research is to define needs, guide program planning, assess outcomes, or otherwise contribute to efforts to improve conditions within the community.

“**Major Institutional Change** portrays initiatives that change the mission, promotion and tenure criteria, awards, and course offerings of colleges and universities. A specific activity may even overhaul administrative processes to meet an institution-community goal.”

Source: Office of University Partnerships, 1999, p. 3.