'We Don't Believe You Want a Genuine Partnership': Universities Work with Communities.

September 2007

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Abstract

‘Community engagement’ has been slow to become a legitimate part of the work of Higher Education Institutions in the UK, and the extent to which different universities subscribe to this agenda is variable. This paper will draw on one part of a large five-University project on ‘knowledge transfer’ from Universities to the community around urban regeneration. We will describe of the participative processes of developing collaborative projects. Different stakeholder interests, as well as barriers to effective collaboration will be explored and discussed in terms of a model of organisational resource maximisation. The implications for embedding community work into Universities will be examined.

Introduction

University-community engagement is not new. It is an international policy and practice. Service learning and community service are cornerstones of the South African transformation of Higher Education sector (NCHE, 1996); it has been promoted in the USA under the banner of civic responsibility for over 20 years (Ehrich and Hollander, 1999), and is reflected in the Science Shop movement (Leydesdorff and Ward, 2005; Fischer, Leydesdorff, and Schophaus, 2004), pre-figured by the Research Exchange developed in Manchester in 1983 (Kagan, 1985). University-community engagement work and is now exhibited in an academic journal in Australasia (Australasian Journal of University Community Engagement, which began in 2005), and in Europe (through Living Knowledge: International Journal of community based research).

The forms of engagement include service-based learning (SBL), community service (CS) and community based research (CBR) with most attention paid to SBL and CBR (Calleson, Kauper-Brown, and Seifer, 2005; Kelly and Sullivan, 2001). Both of these, learning and research, parts of the core business of Universities, with Community Service more strongly reflecting contributions universities might make, through their students and staff, to communities, beyond their core business.

Recent strategic interest has grown in ‘Third Stream’ activities (those other than Teaching and Learning and Research). In the UK, these initiatives are variously known as third stream or third leg activity; outreach, knowledge transfer or knowledge exchange. Public engagement, linked to the opening of new student markets, widening participation in higher education in order to meet Government's high ideals for a 50% participation rate in higher education is another contemporary agenda. It is interesting to note that the boundaries between different third stream activities are blurring. What used to be 'reach-out to business', has now become 'reach-out to business and the community'; what used to be teaching company schemes for knowledge transfer, has now become knowledge transfer partnerships and incorporate public and voluntary sector partnerships; a recent community engagement in higher education conference was dominated by discourses about and papers on public appreciation of (hard) science and the use of university museums and galleries by the public.
Within this context, the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), (underpinned by its most recent strategic plan) has supported, not only university -community partnerships, but also inter-university collaborations. HEFCE (2006) strategic plan states:

We want to focus more on our support for HE to contribute to wider social agendas. This includes its contribution to civic life and developing civilising values; social, community and environmental support and regeneration; cultural, intellectual and moral enrichment; and participation as a nation and as individuals in global development, communication and problem-solving. (p.37).

Further, the plan states:
We will continue to promote and support collaboration – between HEIs, as well as between HE and users and other stakeholders – as an intrinsic feature of third stream activity (p.39).

Watson (2003:16), the then Vice Chancellor of Brighton University and a leading exponent of community engagement, suggests that the shift in policy and practice is a fundamental shift in values and purpose for Universities.

In terms of community it presents a challenge to universities to be of and not just in the community; not simply to engage in “knowledge-transfer” but to establish a dialogue across the boundary between the university and its community which is open-ended, fluid and experimental.

He describes both 'inside out' and 'outside in' pressures for change and engagement, the distinction pointing to the possibility that it is not only Universities that are to set the terms of engagement. External demands of the needs of employers and the economy more generally on University activity are well known. Similarly, some of the needs of the public sector, particularly in terms of training the workforce, are also well known. But in the context of community engagement, the very real possibility looms, that the needs of third sector organisations - community and voluntary sector groups - as well as the most vulnerable and marginalised people and their quality of lives, might exert some influence over how a ‘Community of Practice’ of those working in university-community engagement might be sculptured.

It is in this context that the Urban Regeneration: Making a Difference project has emerged.

Urban Regeneration: Making a Difference

Urban Regeneration: Making a Difference (UR-MAD (sic)) is a project that is funded by the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE). It
requires collaboration across four universities (MMU, UCLAN, SAL, UNN\(^1\) on projects which address community needs in the areas of Community Cohesion, Crime, Health and Well-being, and Enterprise – all in turn with a focus on urban regeneration. Each of these areas is a plank in Government national and regional policy agendas. The business plan for the project (UR-MAD, 2006:1) identified two aims:

1. To address key urban regeneration challenges in the North of England though interdisciplinary collaboration between the partner universities and practitioner organisations, particularly in the public and voluntary sectors, and to enhance their collective impact on society.

2. To build a long term strategic alliance between core university partners while developing a distinctive form of knowledge transfer (KT), which is both teaching and research-driven, in order to meet the needs of organisations and professionals in business and the community.

The plan (UR-MAD, 2006:3) outlined the three-fold need for the project, which was submitted to, and funded by the HEFCE Structural Development Fund to the tune of 3.16 million (SDF)\(^2\). These were:

1. The need to tackle the real, complex problems facing communities in the Northern region, where social, economic and physical infrastructure issues are closely inter-twined;
2. The need for change in management practices and the culture of academic staff in the universities to develop their engagement with business and the community through cross-institutional and inter-institutional collaboration to enable them to address those problems in society effectively.
3. A need to provide a demonstrator initiative designed to bring about transformational change by building the evidence base to make the case for a broader involvement by Higher Education (HE) in government agendas relating to the economy and society.

Urban regeneration was the focus of the project as all the universities are from city regions, each facing multiple challenges in economic, social, physical and political factors, and unified by an economic development bringing together the different regional development associations (Moving Forward: The Northern Way(2005) Business Plan 2005-08 from Northern RDAs). The four themes were identified to reflect the strengths of the different partner universities and to map onto major social policies. Each Higher Education Institution (HEI) was to lead on one of the themes, but all were to contribute to all themes. MMU is the lead HEI for Community Cohesion, subdivided into Community Psychology and Wellbeing; Urban Education; and Sport and Physical Activity, again chosen to reflect existing strengths in the university.

\(^1\) Manchester Metropolitan University; University of Central Lancashire; Salford University and University of Northumbria with Bradford University an associate partner

\(^2\) SDF supports large-scale structural and strategic change in the Higher Education sector that HEIs could not achieve without additional HEFCE funding.
Community Cohesion

The rationale for the Community Cohesion theme was given in the delivery plan (UR-MAD, 2006:8)

Progress on increasing life chances for all is a fundamental element of building strong cohesive communities and a dynamic society and economy. Conversely where tensions have developed between different ethnic groups, such as in some Northern towns in the summer of 2001 ...(where significant disturbances took place)... deprivation and lack of opportunity have been significant contributory factors. Public services play a vital part in creating opportunities. Collaborative work between HE and civic and community based partners will focus on addressing the cross-government (targets) aimed at reducing race inequality and building community cohesion (Home Office, 2005) Partnership working between the HE sector and their public and voluntary sector partners will encourage a sense of identity and belonging through participation in education, work and social activities, and through mutual understanding of cultural difference.

Our Roles

Our roles in this project are to lead and manage the MMU lead theme of Community Cohesion through the plural roles of academic lead and project manager-and- action researcher.

We bring to the project a number of things: a community psychological perspective, underpinned by values of community, stewardship and social justice (Kagan & Burton, 2005); a commitment to working with those most socially marginalised (Burton and Kagan, 2005); experience of working on transformational change in HEIs with relation to widening participation (Duggan and Rice, 2005); and interest in exploring progressive organisational change through concepts borrowed both from the environmental movement and soft systems analyses (Kagan, 2007). We both belong to the Research Institute for Health and Social Change (RIHSC) at MMU, and are involved with a programme of work on regeneration and wellbeing (e.g. Choudhury and Kagan, 2005; Kagan et al., 2006; Boyd et al., 2006; Kagan, Castile and Stewart, 2005; Kagan, 2006; Raschini et al., 2006)

Our understanding of Community Cohesion is somewhat broader than that encapsulated in the project delivery plan, as outlined above.

We go along with the definition of a cohesive community as one,

that is in a state of wellbeing, harmony and stability. (IdeA 2006, www.idea-knowledge.gov.uk )
The Local Government Association (LGA, 2004:7) considered, in its guidance to Local Authorities for how to support the development of cohesive communities, the following characteristics of a cohesive community:

A cohesive community is one where:

- there is a common vision and a sense of belonging for all communities;
- the diversity of people’s different backgrounds and circumstances is appreciated and positively valued;
- those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities;

and

- strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds and circumstances in the workplace, in schools and within neighbourhoods………….

They go on to describe what is involved in creating community cohesion:

Promoting community cohesion involves addressing fractures, removing barriers and encouraging positive interaction between groups. Community cohesion is closely linked to integration as it aims to build communities where people feel confident that they belong and are comfortable mixing and interacting with others, particularly people from different racial backgrounds or people of a different faith.

Diversity is, then at the heart of community cohesion, and schisms can occur in and between any areas of diversity, fracturing cohesion. The Audit Commission (2006) identified 10 areas of diversity in communities, of relevance to community cohesion. These include:

- Age equality: older people
- Age equality: young people
- Community engagement
- Customer focus
- Disability
- Gender
- Human rights
- Race
- Religion
- Sexual orientation

Project Development within Community Cohesion Theme

Within the overall UR-MAD project, staff within the universities were invited to bid for funding for projects. These had to be: collaborative across the HEIs; driven by community needs; involve community partners; be interdisciplinary;
and address specified and pre-set outputs (as identified in the delivery plan - these were framed in knowledge transfer terms). This was to be an exercise in internal and external partnership development, collaboration and cultural change (within universities and between universities and the community).

At the start, there were no project guidelines available or processes for developing and approving bids. Early on we recognised that, notwithstanding challenges of overall project co-ordination and management (both across and within universities), within community cohesion there were challenges to:

♦ identify community partners and viable projects addressing their needs across the three sub-themes;
♦ Identify colleagues in partner universities who had complementary expertise to share and combine;
♦ Clarify what community cohesion and regeneration might mean to the different partners involved;
♦ Work across knowledge transfer managers and academics in the universities;
♦ Identify viable projects within the timescale (maximum 18 months)

Pre-empting guidance from across the project, we, in community cohesion, decided to undertake a development process that sought to reflect community psychological values and practices, and be:

♦ Led by the interests and needs of community and voluntary sector and public sector groups
♦ Open, transparent and inclusive
♦ Facilitate 'contact before content' and bring people with different interests together in order to develop ideas.

In some of our previous work we have used the metaphor of the 'ecological edge' to describe the space developed, maintained and worked within for partnerships across organisations (Choudhury and Kagan, 2000; Kagan, 1994; 2006; 2007; Burton and Kagan, 2000). The ecological edge is the space between two different eco systems in which natural resources are varied and rich. The first development task was, then, to create an ecological edge in which to work to develop understanding between universities and community groups, in order to go on to develop feasible projects.

**Community Cohesion events**

We established a series of Community Cohesion Partnership Events, beginning with a day event involving as many interested academics as possible from the different HEIs coming together along with community partners.

This was followed by three half day events building interest and ideas within each sub theme of Community Psychology and Wellbeing; Urban Education
and Sport and Physical Activity. Each of these events included both community partners and academics.

In between each event, notes were written up and circulated widely, along with pen sketches of the interests of relevant staff in the different HEIs, and summaries of project ideas that had emerged through discussion.

Each event was organised around participative processes, designed to stimulate discussion and the development of relationships in short periods of time.

**First event**
At the first event, after a ‘getting to know you’ ice breaker exercise, in which participants found out about each others’ involvement in communities, attendees were divided into groups who defined themselves as either members of communities or members of universities and discussed three key areas:

- Challenges of regeneration
- Experiences of working in University-community partnerships
- Mutual benefits of working across sectors – expectations of increased university-community and inter-university partnership

In addition, groups explored the tensions and complexities around two key questions:

- What is Urban Regeneration?
- What is Community Cohesion?

Each group then fed back to the whole group, and differences in expectations and understanding were exposed.

Gleaned from this activity were some salient themes and narratives, particularly from community partners:

**Community perspectives on University-community engagement**

From the outset, some cynicism from community groups was expressed, regarding the intentions of the University partners. Whilst there was enthusiasm for the possibilities of working together, one group of community partners expressed forcibly their disbelief at universities genuinely wanting to work in partnership.

*We don’t believe you want a genuine partnership. With academia, it never feels as if the balance is right because knowledge is power and academics tend to have a kind of knowledge which is conveyed in a language which seems to be more powerful than the language used in communities. Our language is as valuable,… and is the meat of the very work you produce.* (Community-group 1 summary feedback)
The same group, however, could see the potential for more involvement with universities.

*We had never thought, before today, of the value that could have been gained...through...informed practice. In the community we never reflect – always reacting. Therefore, having good, informed reflection coming from the universities might improve community practice...Good academic research leads to reflection on the ground.* (Community-group 1 summary feedback)

A cautionary note was sounded, though, about ensuring a genuine partnership.

*(the community) should not just pay lip service in relation to feeding into research. We need to know we are being genuinely listened to. (This is about) parity of esteem – there needs to be a genuine feeling we have been there together.* (Community-group 1 summary feedback)

The second ‘community’ group also drew attention to both the potential and precautions that derive from working with universities.

*Experiences of working with universities has been generally good. There is kudos by association – sometimes we are listened to more by service providers. (University researchers) put terms and understanding and theories behind their actions. For example, we didn’t know we were deprived until our group was written about in those terms.* (Community-group 2 summary feedback)

Nevertheless, a number of challenges were presented for good university-community working. Community groups were often working on the edge of funding, and this contributed to greater complexity in their operations. If universities came in without understanding this, their involvement could be damaging. The solution was to work with communities from the outset, not just at the end of some project or form of activity.

Another challenge was in terms of overall approach and attitude.

*(Universities) must learn from the community. It is essential they go beyond obvious activists and community representatives and do not take credit for the work. This should be shared...*(also) engage with people’s aspirations and values, not just their basic needs, and to address social as well as physical programmes.* (Community-group 2 summary feedback)

The mutuality of working across the university-community boundary was mentioned again in terms of resources.

*There can be mutual benefit. But universities must financially value information and working within communities.* One way would be to
trade information and knowledge for means to support developments.
(Community-group 2 summary feedback)

Action research was seen by Community Group 1 as the means through which universities and communities might work together. The possibility was raised that through university involvement, informed feedback about project work could lead to better practice. It was recognised that good academic research enables reflection for practitioners on the ground who often 'operate from the gut' rather than in an informed way. Ideally, action research would involve local people as researchers and be a joint venture.

Community Group 3 summed up the values necessary for working with communities thus:

Be the change you'd like to see in the world.

University or HEI perspectives on University-community engagement

University perspectives were, on the whole, optimistic and positive, which is hardly surprising as those who attended the workshop were those who valued community engagement. At the same time, there was an element of realism about actually working with communities.

Expectations of this project raises the possibility of excitement, a learning experience and knowledge exchange, of drawing together different perspectives. However, this kind of work can be bruising, is low priority and not seen as a high priority by Universities, and raised the possibility of a lack of skills on our side (HEI group 1 summary feedback).

The benefits of the work include:

Shared learning, the possibility of improving things, the possibility of bringing in real life accounts to teaching and research, street credibility for students, and the feeling that it is the right thing for academics to be doing. The work provides opportunities for universities to be a good neighbour and throw some clarity about what the purpose is of Universities. (HEI group 1 summary feedback).

The last point was echoed by another HEI group which made the point that universities should not be delivering research that does not meet community needs (HEI group 4).

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3 University groups included academics and development or knowledge transfer managers. The latter pointed out after the workshop that their perspective was distinct from that of academics and they should, perhaps have formed their own group in order to clarify and discuss the issues under discussion. As it is the academic and development manager voices are merged
The need for universities to be clear, however, what they were offering in practice, was raised by a different group (HEI group 2). HEI group 4 considered that it was through delivery that trust between universities and communities might grow and care needed to be taken that researchers did not impose their agendas on the work.

Whist the advantages of collaborative work with communities was endorsed by all the HEI groups, it was also noted that the work was often frustrating, saturated with bureaucracy and frequently did not fit with university or funding timescales (HEI group 3). (A similar problem existed for community groups whose funding cycles did not necessarily fit with university academic cycles).

The issue of funding and financial resources was raised, with the need to recognise that the time of community partners should be paid for from within university-community engagement projects. The possibility was raised (HEI group 4) that engagement with universities was yet another burden on communities, many of whom were turned off by the possibilities of partnership and experienced ‘consultation fatigue’. The key was to develop long term relationships that were not bounded by short term funding. Time and resources would be needed to link with the most excluded and marginalised people in the regeneration process: short term work necessarily meant that universities were most likely to engage with ‘easy’ to reach groups.

Long term relationships were also seen as underpinning the development of innovative ways to measure or assess both the work undertaken in the community and the university-community collaboration. With short term projects, ‘easy’ metrics, but not necessarily meaningful ones were often used. Evidence was needed of what worked for whom and in what context, but information was not always available and researchers found they encountered strong gatekeepers within the regeneration profession.

Major challenges identified by all the HEI groups were those of not replicating work that has already been undertaken; working with power which emerged in terms of knowledge and expertise (often in unpredictable ways), class, faith, availability of resources and so on; the need for interdisciplinary and interprofessional working; and working out ways of involving community partners so that they feel engaged.

Community and HEI perspectives on regeneration and community cohesion

Within urban regeneration, academics identified the ambiguity and confusion of terminology. Different people involved used the same terms differently.

Regeneration policy and practice was seen as discriminatory in its nature through funding discrepancies (some areas received no funding, others large amounts). Those on the borders of large scale regeneration projects felt particularly marginalised.
It was noted that often terms such as social cohesion, wellbeing, even participation mean little to residents, who remain concerned for things to improve, locally.

A need was identified for a re-focus on people, and for any work on regeneration to be with people. This would move regeneration practice away from the visual and symbolic impact of change, achieved through for example, housing renewal. Urban regeneration could be seen as an ethical process which has consequences for how people think and believe, but a question remains as to whether there are any real consequences for people’s lives. On the one hand change may lead to improvement of wellbeing. On the other hand there is a danger that ‘initiative overload’ would lead to cynicism. A balance would be needed between accentuating the positives within an area and managing decline.

Sustainability needs to be considered from the outset, and implemented early on so there is a local legacy when the funding dries up. And yet, community participation was thought to usually be far too late on in any regeneration process. The built environment receives a lot of attention, and quality of life issues get neglected. Overall, regeneration was recognised as being complex, but the process of regeneration poorly understood.

In terms of information about and evidence for the impact of regeneration, it was recognised that there was an emphasis on measurable and deliverable outcomes in regeneration. This had led, possibly to a focus on the superficial aspects, and the more qualitative, rich information was missing. Equally, longitudinal studies were thin on the ground in favour of short term studies. The potential benefits of community-university engagement around regeneration might include redressing the evidence base through: sharing knowledge, bridging the gap with academic communities, knowledge of techniques and approaches, and the implementation of independent evaluations BUT differences within communities must be understood.

Community cohesion frameworks were thought to clearly reflect Government agendas. Nearly all the impetus for community cohesion policies had been negative and there was wide agreement that university-community collaboration should move towards identifying assets not pathology. The assumption underpinning some community cohesion statements (as well as regeneration ones) that gentrification is the way to improve localities needed to be challenged.

Finally, academics noted that different theories permeate the field, variously emphasising class, culture, ethnicity, social and human capital, civic responsibility and citizenship. Similarly, there are different theoretical formulations of the nature of community and how it evolves and changes, with or without formal regeneration input. One of the challenges for academics is to present and develop theoretical ideas that make sense to local people and are not set aside from them. In regeneration work there is nearly always a geographical base to conceptions of community, but this may not be the most
useful way to think of communities in relation to community cohesion, where social schisms extend beyond localities. Feedback from the development day, from both academics and community members, was that it was a useful day, one where everyone had begun to identify the tensions and challenges in university-community collaborative work, as well as with the concepts and practices of regeneration and community cohesion. As one academic put it, the day was

*Where organic relationships began*

How can we best understand what was going on when we worked together as academics and community partners to identify challenges and opportunities within the *Urban Regeneration, Community Cohesion* project?

**Communities of Practice**

Etienne Wenger has written many articles on his theory, ‘Communities of Practice’ (CoP) which he originally developed with Jean Lave (see Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991) *Situated Learning Legitimate Peripheral Participation* Cambridge. Cambridge University Press). It is an idea derived from situated cognition, which sees learning and identity as entwined processes. It is useful in many different contexts as an approach to knowing and learning and has a place in aiding our understanding of collaborative processes within the Community Cohesion theme in the Urban Regeneration: Making a Difference project. Wenger defines CoPs as places where:

> ‘collective learning results in practices that reflect both the pursuits of our enterprises and the attendant of social relations. These practices are thus the property of a kind of community created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise’. (Wenger, 1998:45)

There are three crucial characteristics for a CoP to exist although it must be highlighted that, according to Wenger, not everything called a community is a CoP.

- **Domain**-not merely a network of connections between people: it is *about* something. Identity is defined not by a task but by an area of knowledge that needs to be developed and explored

- **Community**-build relationships that enable them to learn from each other. Members engage in joint activities, discussions that enable them to address problems and share knowledge. *‘Not just a Web site or library’*

- **Practice**-body of knowledge, methods, tools, stories and documents shared and developed together. Not a community of interest but an accumulation over time of practical knowledge in their domain, which makes a difference to their ability to act individually and collectively (Wenger, 2004:3).
The notions put forward in Wenger’s theory that define a CoP do resonate with the identity of those who are participating in the Community Cohesion theme. We do appear to have the three key characteristics so could be defined as a CoP. The key issue is how to really understand CoP within the context of this work. We have already begun to develop an identity moving through the ‘domain’ characteristic of a Community of Practice in the context of our project as we all recognise that Urban Regeneration working in partnership with universities and communities in the North of England is an area of knowledge sharing and, in turn, knowledge creation that needs to be developed and explored. It will only be when collaborative projects are being implemented that we can explore further the ‘Community’ characteristic of a CoP and indeed the development network sessions described, certainly engaged us in joint activities. It is the ‘Practice’ characteristic which defines a CoP that appears to lead to sustainable outcomes.

Could such a theory contribute towards a legacy for change and success through trans-disciplinary collaboration and a shared vision for HEI-community engagement?

**Partnership development and the creation of 'ecological edges': from ecology to organisational transformation**

In order to understand this developmental stage in terms of 'edge effects' it is necessary to develop the concept from ecology to organisational transformation.

Ecologists define distinct biological communities, characterised by a set of populations living in a particular area or habitat. Such a community will be organised: it has characteristics in addition to its component individuals and populations, and these elements interact in an organised way, for example through metabolic flows and transformations (e.g. Odum, 1971: 14). Examples of such communities include forests, grasslands, or ponds. The transition or edge between two or more communities is known as the ‘ecotone’.

Examples are the transition area between forest and grassland, or the tidal area of a river estuary. The ecotone may have a considerable size, but will not be larger than the adjoining communities. The ecotonal community will contain many of the organisms found in each of the overlapping communities, and in addition may contain organisms that are characteristic of, or even restricted to the ecotone. Often, both the number of species, and the population density of some, are greater than in the ‘pure’ communities. Furthermore, the junction between communities often acts as a kind of net or sieve for resources such as humus and seeds - they accumulate at the boundary. This enrichment in terms of variety and density at the join between communities is known as the ‘edge effect’. The forest edge, or the rocky shore are both examples of ecological edges which are rich in diverse resources. Human settlements and methods of food production, particularly traditional methods, create or increase the extent of edge.
Just as it is possible, through the design of sustainable systems of ecological development, to increase the relative contribution of the 'edge' to each adjoining community, so it is possible to create a larger edge effect in organisational and community development and thereby maximise its benefit to the system as a whole.

We need to be clear that we are using ‘edge’ here as a metaphor. An edge effect in a natural ecological system is not necessarily the same thing as an edge effect in a human community or organisational system - the mechanisms, the transactions, and the mediations will be different.

Quite often community psychological projects involve working across boundaries and the UR-MAD project involves a number of different boundaries. These include outside-in boundaries - the boundaries of engagement; and inside-out boundaries - the boundaries of collaboration.

Outside in boundaries include:
- Boundaries between community group(s) - community, voluntary and public sector groups;
- Boundaries between citizens and community groups
- Boundaries between community group(s) and universities
- Boundaries between different types of activities - services and action of community groups and research, consultancy or teaching in universities

Inside out boundaries include:
- Boundaries between different universities
- Boundaries between different disciplines
- Boundaries between academics and knowledge transfer (or development) managers
- Boundaries between engagement and other academic practices.

At each boundary is the possibility of an 'edge' that maximises resources and enriches ideas and practices. The edge effect is the phenomenon of enrichment through alliances and collaborations. When edge is actually created we notice an increase in energy, excitement and commitment.

What characterises all of these boundary settings (whether edge is significantly created or not) is the problem of spanning social entities with greatly differing modes of operation, power structures, cultures, physical environments, practices, values and ideologies.

We have choices about how best to work at the 'edge', and can identify at three main types of strategies for working across boundaries:

**Methods of working across boundaries**

Figure 1 shows different ways of working across organisational boundaries.
**Working within boundaries**
Development and change targeted at each community separately. This strategy, in the UR-MAD project would have meant we gather resources within the universities and then explore resources in the community. This is the strategy of ‘getting our (university) house in order’ and being clear what Universities want from the projects and then seeking community partners. It is the universities that define the agenda and terms of engagement, possibly each one separately, inviting others to joins later on. Later stages of community cohesion project development may be described in these terms.

**Working at the interface**
Development and change targeted at each partner separately but with early attempt to bridge. So each university develops its own ideas, using the printed material provided about staff interests from the others in order to develop ideas. Community partners may already exist or be sought at any stage. Universities set the terms of engagement and attempts are made to bridge across agencies and groups. Some parts of the community cohesion projects may be described in these terms, especially when other university partners are added at late stages of project development and without discussion.

**Maximising the ‘edge’**
Using natural resources - getting people from different communities to work together and utilise the expertise of each. Community cohesion theme started off by maximising the edge, through face to face discussions between partner universities and people working in community organisations. The extent to which they continued to work in this way varied, some resorting to interfacing at least across some of the boundaries and others prioritising working within boundaries but with some interfacing elements.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Method</th>
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<th>Schematic example</th>
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<tr>
<td>Working within boundaries</td>
<td>Development and change targeted at each community separately.</td>
<td>Energy inefficient and unlikely to lead to co-ordinated change in the common domain.</td>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Diagram" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>Working at the interface</td>
<td>Attempts to bridge communities. Discipline 1 from one university works separately from discipline 2 from another</td>
<td>Energy intensive: some likelihood of co-ordinated change, but effort is on the margins of each community area of concern, so sustainability is questionable.</td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Diagram" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>Maximising the 'edge'</td>
<td>Using natural resources - getting people from different communities to work together and utilise the expertise of each. Face to face collaboration and joint development and implementation of ideas</td>
<td>Energy efficient and high likelihood of leading to sustainable and co-ordinated change.</td>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Diagram" /></td>
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These are of course ‘ideal types’: in reality almost any piece of work will involve some elements of each strategy. However, the comparison among these abstracted strategies is illuminative. It suggests that in working to increase the edge and working with the edge, a project will be most likely to maximise the amount and variety of resources available to it. It will also be more likely to preserve the best features of adjoining systems and to enhance the likelihood that developments will be sustainable ones.

We have described some of the ways in which the developmental stage of project development within the community theme can be understood by the creation and maintenance of ‘edges’. As the project proceeds, we will be able to see ways in which different projects have maximised, increased or maintained the edges created, or whether the pulls to work within boundaries remain too great.

For the project overall, it will be necessary in the future to identify ways of increasing ‘edge’ for maximum sustainability, and it is worth considering some of the ways in which this can be done, as it is useful to consider any sustainability strategy from the outset.

**Strategies for increasing edge**

How might a productive inter-community edge be increased? We suggest the following strategies, which divide into strategies for creating and maximising edge, and strategies for the careful stewardship of the edge. These examples are not linked to university-community engagement, but are offered from other kinds of community psychology projects. They will be useful as a guide to consider the development of the UR-MAD projects.

**Creation and maximisation of edge:**

The following strategies have in common the maximisation of points of contact between distinct communities and organisations.

- **Location and co-location** of projects, teams, events (e.g. a research assistant looking at the impact of regeneration on local people’s well being is based in the accessible neighbourhood regeneration offices).
- **Formation of inter-organisations** with membership from more than one sector (e.g. an inter-generational initiative has a steering group drawing from education, local government, community, and local business organisations).
- **Creation of new settings** (temporary or long-standing) that bring elements together - (e.g. community festivals that bring diverse sections of a community together - members of the public have fun in each others’ company, while those who set up the event learn to work together).
- **Conduct of activity in other locations**, that is in territory associated with another sector (e.g. a health promotion programme operates in a shopping centre rather than from a clinic base).
- **Creation of multiple points of contact** (tessellation) (e.g. a University department sends students to work on a variety of community projects in a particular community, and invites community members to hear students
presenting their projects. Meanwhile staff members establish a mentoring programme to strengthen community leadership skills with community activists, and develop joint research projects. Community activists contribute to academic and professional conferences and identify further sites for action research).

**Stewardship of the edge**

Whilst the 'edge' is usually enriched by the adjoining communities, with bad stewardship it can become barren and impoverished, supporting little of environmental benefit. Working at the 'edge' therefore has responsibilities to preserve the very best of all adjoining communities and this may present further challenges for a project in the future. The following strategies are possible ways of protecting and supporting the edge community.

- **Recognise ‘edge species’** and encourage them. (e.g. a community activist develops skills and credibility in mediating between her ethnic minority community and the police. She is careful to maintain her profile in her base community, continuing to live and socialise there, and she shares her skills with members of what started as her support group).

- **Encourage fairness in resource exploitation** (e.g. a group of mental health service survivors are paid the going rate as consultants to a project on service planning).

- **Pool resources between sectors** (e.g. a local government department provides financial support and office accommodation for a community initiated project on support needs of people with long term conditions).

- **Respect the uniqueness of each community**, or else the edge can become a site of unproductive conflict.

**Conclusion**

Roderick Floud (2001), president of Universities UK (2001-3) said of university-community engagement:

Universities have been doing these things for many years, but there is now a clear recognition that this work should be explicitly funded and encouraged. And there has been an increasing expectation within the policy community and the general population, that universities should contribute to the regions in which they are based. ….The challenge for universities is to make the current activities and good practices that these funding sources support, permanent and more central to their mainstream missions. The challenge for government is to clarify how third mission funding will be made permanent, and remove the uncertainties that prevent some universities from making the longer term commitment necessary for these activities to make a substantive difference.
He omitted to outline what the challenges for communities are, but perhaps the UR-MAD project will go some way to convincing them that we are, indeed, genuine in our interest in partnership. Whilst there are some motives of Universities of which we should be justly suspicious, there is a long tradition and commitment from some of us to meaningful engagement and to the permeability of university boundaries with communities. For the first time, we are now pushing at an open door and it is up to us to develop the trust and authentic engagement that will lead to a permanent transformation within universities. We should not forget, though, that just as there are some HE agendas that are favourable, there are others that militate against effective engagement. There will be major challenges ahead to integrate, for example, engaged practice with the Research Assessment Exercise and programme accreditation, a view echoed form the Australian experience of community-HEI engagement (Winter and Wiseman, 2005).

Similarly, Savan (2004: 382/3), talking of the Canadian experience of community based research partnerships, highlights the necessity and challenges of long term collaborative engagement, requiring commitment from both university and community sides (as opposed to shorter term contractual, project based or consultative engagement). She says:

Both short- and medium-term community-based research projects are enhanced by ongoing university-community partnerships. These long-term collaborations foster the trust and shared values critical to successful work involving partners based in widely differing institutional settings. Partnerships enduring over a period of many years provide a stable context for both short consultative and medium-term contractual community-based research projects. The long-term collaborative partnerships permit a secure base for the exploration of mutually important and interesting research trails......but as the longevity, stability and beneficial outcomes of partnerships grow, so too do the institutional supports required to foster them...Generally the longer the project, the more tightly linked the partners and the more involved both (for all) partners are in all stages of the research process.

It is only in this context that communities will start believing us!
References


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