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Higher Education as Social Change:
Seeking a Systemic Institutional Pedagogy of Social Change

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I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or part to another university for the award of any other degree.

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University of Sussex
DPhil (Development Studies)

Higher Education as Social Change:
Seeking a Systemic Institutional Pedagogy of Social Change

Summary

This thesis explores the institutional development of social engagement (SE) programmes within higher education institutions (HEIs). Since the 1990s, universities in the United States and Canada have become increasingly active in directly addressing social issues such as poverty, social exclusion and political participation in their own local communities. The past decade has seen similar developments at universities in the United Kingdom. At the global level as well, there are increasing discussions about the role and responsibilities of HEIs in human and social development. To facilitate their engagement with wider social issues, HEIs frequently create SE programmes which coordinate activities between university-based actors and community-partners.

A significant body of literature exists on SE programmes; however, these writings fall into two categories: firstly, promoting the concept of university engagement and, secondly, evaluating the impacts of such programmes on communities or students. What is far less theorised or researched are the intermediary processes which enable the social engagement aspirations of HEIs to come to fruition, generating these documented impacts. This study aims to produce new knowledge and insights on how university SE programmes are created and institutionalised over time.

This research is a qualitative study of SE programmes at three HEIs, two in the UK and one in the US. The data for the study has been drawn from primary programme documents, participatory workshops and interviews with more than one-hundred staff, academics, students and community-partners involved with these programmes.

The research suggests that, despite differences in size, mission and national context, there are common enabling factors which lead to the creation of these programmes and which facilitate their successful institutionalisation within their respective institutions. Moreover, the research also suggests that the presence of these programmes catalyses unexpected outcomes *within* the HEIs themselves, such as changes in the formal curriculum as well as changes in the overall learning culture of the institutions where these SE programmes were located. Considered together, these findings suggest that the presence of these programmes contributes to the development of a systemic "institutional pedagogy" which encourages students, staff and academics to engage with important social and developmental issues in their local communities, and often more widely as well

Acknowledgements

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List of Abbreviations

AAHE	American Association of Higher Education
AI	Appreciative Inquiry
AP	Atlantic Philanthropies
AR	Action Research
ASB	Alternative Spring Break
BSCKE	Brighton Sussex Community Knowledge Exchange
CE	Community Engagement
CLECE	Center for Liberal Education and Community Engagement
CoP	Community of Practice
CPD	Community and Personal Development module
Cupp	Community University Partnership Programme
CVS	Council for Voluntary Service
CVSF	Community and Voluntary Sector Forum
DOS	Dean of Students
DPhil	Doctor of Philosophy
GACER	Global Alliance for Community Engaged Research
GUNI	Global University Network for Innovation
HDI	Human Development Index
HE	Higher Education
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council for England
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HSI	Housing Sewanee Incorporated
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IDS	Institution of Development Studies
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
LLCs	Living and Learning Communities
LSE	London School of Economics
MA	Masters programme
MAP	Masters in Participation, Power and Social Change
MPhil	Masters of Philosophy
NCCPE	National Coordinating Centre for Public Engagement
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NHS	National Health Service

OM	Outcome Mapping
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PPSC	Participation, Power and Social Change team
RP	Reflective Practice
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SC	Social Change
SE	Social engagement
SIPSC	Systemic Institutional Pedagogy of Social Change
SL	Service-learning
SRG	Senior Researchers Group
SSM	Soft Systems Methodologies
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UoB	University of Brighton
VC	Vice Chancellor
VISTA	Volunteers in Service to America
WIP	Work in Progress

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Aims of the Thesis and Research Questions

The chapter begins with the research questions the thesis intends to explore: firstly, to understand how higher education institutions (HEIs) create and institutionalise social engagement (SE) programmes; secondly, to understand how—if at all—such programmes influence the curricula and research activities of the institutions where they are located; and thirdly, to explore how—if at all—such programmes influence the non-curricular aspects of institutional culture and process which also contribute to student learning, referred to in this thesis as institutional "learning culture." Through an illuminative analysis across three distinctly situated case studies, this thesis looks for patterns in the creation and institutionalisation of these programmes within their respective HEIs. As little empirical data exists around these questions, this research aims to shine a light of enquiry into this area generally, so that foundational aspects of this nascent body of knowledge can be developed. As such, the purpose of the study is not to compare these programmes against one another, but to aggregate experiences and learning from all three cases to generate a more complete picture of the institutionally enabling factors which create spaces for these alternative ways of working within HEIs and to understand to what extent such programmes catalyse outcomes *within* the HEIs themselves.

In this chapter, I briefly discuss my personal motivations for this research, then explain in more detail the focus and scope of the enquiry. I provide a brief overview of the current state of affairs in the higher education (HE) sector globally, suggesting how this research makes a contribution to the field. The chapter ends with an outline of the thesis' structure.

Personal Motivation for the Research

The research topic is a personal one, which correlates closely to my own experience as a student from a small rural community in Tennessee who was thrown into the incredibly foreign culture of an elite liberal arts university. Although the university was located only an hour from my family's farm, the culture and attitudes inside the institution differed fundamentally from those in nearby communities, including the one in which I

had grown up. For this reason I had difficulty finding my place inside the university initially. Eventually I came upon the work of the university's Outreach programme, which worked extensively in the local communities, trying to direct university resources toward community needs. It was an ideal location for a boundary-crosser such as myself. I worked with the Outreach programme frequently throughout my undergraduate career and eventually returned to the university after having graduated to take a staff position as the assistant Outreach coordinator. I worked in this position for four years, during which time my understanding of university-community relationships deepened tremendously. Ultimately, I came to feel that the university was capable of contributing much more to the community than our programme alone was achieving. I moved on to graduate school with many questions about how HEIs could contribute more effectively to community development and social change (SC). This thesis grows out of those years of professional experience and several subsequent years of deep study and reflection on these questions.

Evolution of the Research Focus and Scope of the Enquiry

Although I came to the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) with a very definite area of interest, the specific contours of this thesis took time to materialise. The evolution of my research questions, my methodology and my case studies unfolded in the following manner. I had originally considered case studies in developing countries; however, there is limited literature about SE programmes in Southern countries.[1] Without an existing body of literature regarding Southern SE programmes, it was difficult to construct a focused study to address a particular lacuna in the data. Moreover, without a wider body of research to contribute to in a specific Southern country/policy context, it seemed unlikely that my singular study would have much potential to influence university managers or policy-makers in those locations.

Most existing literature in this field pertains to Northern HEIs. As will be detailed in Chapter 2, within this Northern body of literature there are significant gaps around issues of institutionalisation. This study was constructed to directly address those issues. Another particular refining choice was made to avoid institutions which had from their inceptions functioned as highly engaged institutions. As such, I started down a third

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[1] In the current discourse of development studies, the world's developed countries are frequently referred to collectively as the "Global North," while the world's developing countries are referred to collectively as the "Global South."

path of looking for more conventional HEIs which had undergone processes of change that, over time, had enabled them to become more capable of SE. The focus of the thesis thus became the institutional change processes that enabled this shift. This seemed quite a feasible and exciting road forward, and one that might provide useful insights for those working within universities who are looking to move their institutions toward more meaningful forms of community engagement (CE) and SE. The specific "unit of analysis" within the HEIs would be their SE programmes, exploring the systemic mechanisms and processes which had enabled these programmes to come into being and to explore if/how these programmes had influenced their wider institutions over time. Given the fine-grained analysis I was hoping to attain in terms of institutional processes and mechanisms, the suggestion was made by my supervisors that I should embark down a road of "reflective practice" (RP), and thus focus on institutions where I had existing relationships with these types of programmes; locations where I could achieve a high level of institutional buy-in and access. Based on this feedback, the Outreach programme at the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee, where I had worked for ten years was an obvious choice, along with IDS's innovative MA in Participation, Power and Social Change (MAP), which was attracting significant interest from community-engaged researchers and educators around the world. In time the Community University Partnership Programme (Cupp), an internationally recognised programme which focuses university research capacity toward urgent community needs, at the University of Brighton (UoB) was added as a third case.

Higher Education Sectoral Context

This research is timely and relevant as the role of universities is in the midst of being reshaped by a changing landscape of economic, social and political factors. As government financial support for HE has declined globally, most notably in North America, Europe and East Asia (Altbach, Reisberg *et al*. 2009, 72), there has been a heavy push by policymakers toward the "marketisation" of universities, so that they become more adept at generating their own revenue. This movement toward a rent-seeking orientation for the sector has been heavily contested. At issue are not only the institutional cultures and structures within HEIs, but also larger questions about the future role of HE, of how HEIs should contribute to society and human development. The idea of the "3rd stream" for HEIs, while originating within the marketisation paradigm, has opened up wider possibilities for those who believe that not only should

universities be engaged in the wider world economically but also socially, thus placing universities in deeper relationship with local communities and in deeper collaboration with the forces of civil society.

Anticipated Contribution of the Research

I feel this research can contribute significantly to these ongoing global debates about the future direction of HE by providing detailed explanations of how certain programmes which prioritise SE have evolved and effectively embedded themselves within their respective institutions. Understanding how these programmes came to be and how they potentially influence curriculum and institutional cultures provides a basis for improved understanding of processes of change within HEIs which build capacity for SE. Generating such knowledge is essential for enabling reformers to develop theories and strategies for institutional change that can enhance the capabilities of HEIs to contribute to human development and SC.

This is particularly important as the institutional dimensions of such programmes have been little studied or theorized. A significant gap in the literature exists around the institutionalization of SE programmes. There is a critical need to better understand how to sustain SE programmes, as they often exist at the far margins of their institutions and are extremely vulnerable to closure/elimination by university managers who do not see an immediate value in the work of these programmes, which rarely generate revenue for their institutions. Through this research, I aim to provide a deepened understanding of how SE programmes can be embedded and sustained within HEIs, despite such challenges. This research will also explore ways in which such programmes can make substantive contributions to the curricula and learning cultures of their institutions, thus benefiting their home institutions as much as their external constituencies.

Intended Audiences

The findings of this research will be of much interest to those who work for and in collaboration with university SE programmes. The success of these programmes is often measured purely in terms of their contributions to the community—understandably so as this is their *raison d'être*; however, this thesis also encourages those engaged in these activities to hold the mirror up to their own institutions to look for indications that these programmes may be catalysing unanticipated outcomes inside universities as well. This research could be utilised by HEI managers, who have SE aspirations for their

institutions, by providing them with proven processes and mechanisms for successfully institutionalizing such programmes.

Moreover, the conceptual framework for this research draws on cutting-edge ideas from systems and complexity thinking, and some readers may find this thesis of value because it maps out my own efforts to convert systems/complexity concepts into viable research instruments for generating empirical data and analysing it. Systems/complexity concepts have gained much attention recently for providing insights into multidimensional processes of change in human systems, such as in organisations and communities, where change is often nonlinear and seemingly unpredictable. There is significant discussion of these concepts and my utilisation of them in the methodology, as well as in the conclusions chapter which examines extensively the contribution of systems/complexity concepts to this research.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis will be organised in the following manner:

- Chapter 2 (*Literature Review*) draws together various bodies of literature which inform the conceptual and analytical frameworks for this research. It will focus initially on issues of HE in human and social development. I will point out some gaps in this existing literature and describe how my research questions have evolved with an aim toward filling in some of those lacunae. Next, the chapter provides an introduction to the general principles of systems and complexity thinking. This is followed by a review of relevant concepts from the field of organisational learning and development. These concepts are then integrated in a framework called the "systemic institutional pedagogy of social change" (SIPSC).

- Chapter 3 (*Methodology and Research Contexts*) plays several important roles in the thesis. First, it traces the evolution of the study, delineating the important choices that were made regarding the research topic, methodological approach and case studies, while also providing justification for these decisions. Having explained the logic for selecting these particular cases studies, I then provide some context about these SE programmes both in terms of their home HEIs and

in terms of the wider environments in which they operate. Next, I describe my pre-fieldwork preparations and the development of a generative research tool. Subsequently, I elaborate on the methods I used during the fieldwork. After exploring some challenges of the fieldwork and the research approach, I discuss the post-fieldwork period and how I set about selecting, coding and analysing the data I had collected using an analytical framework developed from systems/complexity thinking and organisational learning concepts.

- Chapter 4 (*Analysing the Creation and Early Development of the SE Programmes*) explores the findings from the case study data which relate to the creation and institutionalization of the SE programmes. Drawing on the concept of "prochronistic change," the chapter looks at the dynamics of institutional history and context in shaping the creation and conceptualization of these programmes. Parallels in leadership dynamics will be explored as well as the action-oriented, emergent nature of the work of these programmes. Finally, the chapter will discuss how the staff members who manage these programmes tend to have different professional backgrounds than their colleagues in the HEI .

- Chapter 5 (*Analysing Outcomes Pertaining to Curriculum, Pedagogy and Research*) uses the concept of "outcome mapping" to identify unanticipated outcomes which have been catalysed by the SE programmes. The chapter explores the findings from the data which relate to the outcomes pertaining to curricula, pedagogies and research practices at their respective institutions. Empirical findings are presented which demonstrate the new modules, courses and pedagogical approaches these programmes have helped to pioneer at their institutions. Using systems/complexity concepts, the second half of the chapter investigates the processes and mechanisms of change which have enabled these empirical outcomes. Initially, the chapter explores how the programmes promoted their approaches through constructing academic role models. The analysis then reveals how the programmes were a point of convergence for many kinds of actors, how they built learning structures to promote these approaches and, finally, how the SE programmes widened their initial networks by providing resources intra-institutionally.

- Chapter 6 (*Analysing Outcomes Pertaining to Learning Culture*) also uses outcome mapping to surface unanticipated outcomes. The chapter initially presents empirical findings, identifying outcomes catalysed by the SE programmes which pertain to university learning culture. Data will be presented about how these programmes have influenced conceptions of the spatial boundaries of their institutions and how they have influenced institutional strategies and discourse. The chapter also details how the programmes have become pervasive influences on the non-curricular campus environment as well. Using concepts drawn from systems/complexity thinking, the second half of the chapter will analyse how these programmes facilitated these shifts in institutional culture and process. Analysis reveals processes of key actor advancement within the HEIs, institutional citizenship, institutional holism and strategic collective action which have enabled these shifts.

- Chapter 7 (*Conclusions*) draws together the essential empirical and conceptual findings from the thesis. It begins by reviewing the empirical findings of the study. The concept of the SIPSC is revisited in light of these findings. Some limitations of the research process are discussed. The chapter then shifts to examine the conceptual findings of the study. The utility of systems/complexity concepts for revealing institutionally enabling processes is interrogated. The enabling factors from the analytical chapters are reviewed and compared with anticipated factors from the generative fieldwork tool. The related factors are then categorised into four general areas of institutional support for SE programmes. The findings of the study are then situated in relationship to the debates and lacunae identified in the literature review, identifying some implications for how this research partially fills these gaps while also opening up new pathways for future research.

Conclusion

The chapter has introduced the research questions and the scope of this thesis. In the next chapter, key empirical and conceptual literature will be reviewed in order to identify gaps in the existing body of knowledge which this research seeks to address.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter draws together various bodies of literature which inform this study. It focuses initially on the changing context of the HE sector globally, then focuses on issues of HE in social and human development, including a brief typology of SE programmes within HEIs. I then map some gaps in the existing literature, noting how the research questions of this study have evolved with an aim of filling in some of these important lacunae. The chapter then draws together several bodies of knowledge that were foundational in creating the conceptual and analytical frameworks for the research. The concepts of pedagogy and social change are explored and specific definitions for this research are articulated. Following this, the fields of systems thinking and complexity are introduced as a precursor to developing the analytical lens for this work. These concepts are then supplemented by ideas drawn from field of organisational learning and development. In the final section of the chapter, these multiple strands of theory are woven together to construct a conceptual framework which underpins this study.

The Changing National and Global Contexts of the HE Sector

The overall context in which HEIs operate has shifted significantly over the past thirty years. The research "multiversity" has lost the financial backing of governments it once enjoyed. The rise of neoliberal economic approaches in the early 1980s began to induce fundamental changes within HEIs as government subsidies began to decline. Over the intervening years, government support of HE has continued to diminish, leading countries like the UK to implement student tuition fees at universities for the first time ever in 1997—fees rates which are expected to triple in 2011 in response to a 40% reduction of government subsidies for teaching in British HEIs. Since most national HE systems are predominately populated by publicly-funded HEIs, such reductions in government support have resulted in drastic changes over the past three decades; changes that have placed HEIs in a state of ongoing financial instability, with universities expected to behave more like market-oriented corporations by taking increasing responsibility for generating their own funding. This "marketisation" of

higher education has had a tremendous impact both on the institutional cultures within HEIs and on their educational goals, significantly reducing their ability to function as social critics and change actors (Altbach 2008). As a result, the relationship between HEIs and society is deteriorating (Olsen 2000). Management practices such as "flexible labour" have significantly reduced the number of full-time faculty, leaving many younger academics in non-career-track "adjunct" positions. Moreover, market priorities have begun to alter the relationship between HEIs and their students. Students have lost their unique roles and are increasingly considered fee-paying "consumers/customers."

Such practices are also deeply related to the "internationalization" trend in HE. With declining public subsidies and rising fees, home-country students are often priced out of the market for public university education, particularly in the US and Europe. As a result HEIs increasingly promote themselves in international markets in order to attract additional full-tuition-paying students, with a result that universities are less focused on meeting the needs of students in their own countries and communities. International cooperation agreements which enable this kind of "student mobility," similar to Europe's Bologna Process, are also now in place in South America, Africa and East Asia (Altbach, Reisberg *et al*. 2009). As government-managed HE systems become further unable to meet the needs of local students, private, for-profit HEIs are increasingly the most feasible route for lower-income students, particularly in the US context as Kamenetz has documented (2010).This trend is not limited to North America alone, however; Altbach *et al.* note that for-profit HEIs have become an easier entry point for students to HE in national contexts around the world, with these for-profit HEIs being the fastest growing portion of the global HE sector (2009, xiv). However, educational goals for students in such institutions are seen to be shifting increasingly in an instrumental direction wherein the aim of learning is construed more and more narrowly as "human capital development," in preparing students for specific workplace roles rather than building students' capacities for critical analysis and life-long learning. Altbach and Welch have argued that this "commercialisation" of HE in both public and for-profit universities threatens to undermine the sector, as degree qualifications lose their perceived value when they are seemly sold *en mass* as a means of revenue-generation for their institutions (2010).

The economic levelling of globalization has added yet another dimension to these changes as universities the world over increasingly imitate American HEIs. This homogenizing effect has been perceived as "institutional monocropping" (Evans 2004). Cary puts it more bluntly when he says "there is only one status ladder in HE; everyone wants to be Harvard" (interview in Kamenetz 2010, 57). International league tables tend to focus institutional energy away from local issues and priorities (Ordorika 2008; Taylor, Okail *et al*. 2008) where HEIs could have a more direct impact on social change.

Higher Education, Development and Social Change

Although the increasing marketisation and internationalisation of HE are attenuating the university's ability to engage with local issues and wider social issues, HEIs have a long history of engagement with society. Indeed, one of the earliest universities in the world, Taxila (located in what is now Pakistan) began operating in the 7th century BC with the motto "service to humanity" (Tandon 2008). More recently, land-grant universities in the United States played a significant role in the massification of HE for working-class and rural populations (Silver 2007; Altbach 2008; Menand 2010). HEIs in Latin America have played significant roles in SC through transforming the role and function of the university, most notably in Chile in the 1960s and 70s under Salvador Allende (M'Gonigle and Starke 2006). Early participatory action research movements, originating in Latin American HEIs (Fals-Borda 1984), called upon universities and academics to play an active, engaged role with the people affected by the problems they studied as social scientists.

In international development, there were once high expectations that universities would be driving forces for change and modernization in the post-colonial era. Lauglo (1982) and others wrote extensively about the importance of building partnerships between HEIs in developed countries and those in developing countries. However, there was a distinct and unequal division of labour in this arrangement as Northern universities were expected to transmit existing ideas and technologies to developing countries while the Southern universities were "very much at the receiving end" (Altbach, quoted in Lauglo 1982, 19), creating a "vicious circle" of institutional inequality that many believe still persists (Groenewald 2010). In the late 1960s, as the initial hopefulness surrounding international development dimmed, the contribution of HEIs faded somewhat

(Lemasson 1999). Lemasson suggests that only in the 1990s was there renewed enthusiasm for HEIs to engage directly in development. He says as a result there has been a "virtual explosion" in these types of activities (1999, 9).

The first decade of the 21st century has seen the role of HEIs in development become an increasingly central issue in global debates. With the advent of the "knowledge society," knowledge itself is increasingly viewed as the most essential driver of economic and social development (World Bank 2002). Moreover, within "knowledge economies" certain types of knowledge are valued and privileged, particularly knowledge which leads to scientific and technological innovation. Because universities have traditionally been the engines of innovation through research, HEIs have re-emerged as key players in global debates on development and change. Universities are again seen as potential drivers of economic and social development. As well, the beginning of the 21st Century saw the creation of the Millennium Development Goals, which has fuelled a global resurgence in development research, as countries and private donors have ratcheted up funding for research related to the Goals. These events have opened new spaces for universities to engage in hands-on development activities and research and to take part in a global conversation about the inadequacies of the current global system.

Indeed the rapidly changing landscape of the higher education sector globally has stimulated much reflection about the role of HE in society. The breakdown of the dyadic relationship between the state and the university is historically significant, signalling a seismic shift for the future of universities. Although the origins of universities reach back to the middle ages, where they were initially ecclesiastical institutions, since the late 17th century, universities have been strongly allied with governments. According to M'Gonigle and Starke, "The university began to shift from a religious mission to one oriented to building the emerging nation-state" (2006, 27). This linkage between the university and national governments has endured for some three centuries, but has weakened substantially over the past four decades. Conventional wisdom argues that the future of universities lies in the private sector, that their survival requires the adoption of profit-oriented business models, in becoming more like international corporations which prize efficiency, innovation and quality. Such conventional wisdom largely ignores the role in social change that universities have

played in the past and leaves little vision for such a role in the future. Write Gaventa and Bivens,

> Knowledge production which is driven by motivations of efficiency or market value is unlikely to be transformative or contribute to social justice. Space and time have to be left for iteration, relationships and imagination (2011, 24).

Universities occupy an important and unique space that lies at the cross-roads of the market, government and civil society. Rather than become purely creatures of the market, it is important for universities to maintain this intermediary space, particularly to counter-balance the power of the market by supporting the voices and knowledge of civil society and social movements. SE engagement is an important mechanism through which universities can advance this counter-balancing role, enabling academics to engage with the wider currents in civil society, thus finding a way to off-set the polarising pressures of marketisation, which often pull researchers away from local and social issues. SE provides institutions and academics with histories of supporting social change spaces to continue their work under a new nomenclature.

Room to Manoeuvre

In many instances SE itself is a form of resistance to the commercialisation of knowledge that the global knowledge economy has created. As certain disciplines are privileged, others are marginalised or eliminated. In particular, extramural and continuing education programmes that have traditionally allowed universities to engage with their communities have been scaled back or cut entirely (Hall forthcoming). Writ large, as HEIs lose their perceived value to their communities through the elimination of these kinds of programmes, they also lose perceived value as "public goods" that should be supported by the state. Greenwood has argued that SE is an important mechanism through which universities can resist marketisation and redefine themselves as visible contributors to their communities and society as a whole (2007). Likewise, Hall argues that many working in universities hold an axiological position that "the benefits of [academic] knowledge production, as a point of public morality or public accountability need to benefit society" (2011, 13).

These diverse sectoral currents and tensions have become drivers which have created broader interest and opportunity for universities to innovate with various forms of SE.

As such, the SE programmes discussed in this study should not be seen as isolated programmes. According to a recent paper by Hall,

> Community-university engagement is one of the strongest trends cutting across our university campuses these days. There has been a veritable explosion of writing on community-university engagement in the past five to six years (2011, 5).

Thus the programmes in this research are representative of this much broader trend.

While financial necessity has forced HEIs to engage more with private sector forces, these very same changes have also created parallel opportunities for universities to engage with communities and the public more broadly and have opened a space for HE to redefine itself as a vital component of the public sphere. The discourses which are driving sectoral changes toward marketisation also leave some room for manoeuvre and response. Concepts such as the "3rd stream" open up spaces for collaboration with actors beyond the university. The 3rd stream is premised around HEIs generating income from new collaborations with the business community, in addition to government-funded research contracts (1st stream) and student fees (2nd stream).

> The dominant idea here is one of encouraging and persuading universities to engage with a wide range of business organisations to assist in technical innovation (Watson 2007, 13).

The Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) institutionalised this concept in 1999 when it created the "Higher Education Reach Out to Business and the Community Initiative." Increasingly, the 3rd stream is becoming a central pillar of the British HE sector, accounting for more than £3 billion of revenue in financial year 2008-9 alone (Lea 2010).

However, the 3rd stream can also be interpreted as applying to community and civil society actors, not simply businesses. Early on, communities were noticeably absent from this policy. More recently community initiatives have not been completely excluded from this discourse (Watson 2007, 49). However, the low priority granted to community benefit has been sharply criticised:

> Any conceptualisation of the 'third stream' project is incomplete without a social dimension beyond business—but equally the term 'community' has also typically seemed an afterthought (Laing and Maddison 2007, 13).

Institutional leaders like UoB's Watson and Laing, have pushed for a reconceptualisation of 3rd stream engagement that is as much about SE as about economic engagement. Such discussions parallel debates which began in the United States and Canada in the 1990s after the publication of Boyer's *Scholarship Reconsidered* (1990) which opened up discussions about the need for academics to be in relationship with the wider world through their research. Later, Boyer coined the influential expression "the scholarship of engagement" (1996). The resulting North American discourse on "engagement" interlaced well with the UK discourse on the 3rd stream. The British Higher Education Funding Council for England is, at the time of this research, in the midst of a £10 million study to better understand and promote "public engagement" by British HEIs.[2] As these debates have continued to expand in the US, Canada and the UK, they have also spread to other national HE sectors around the world.[3]

Increasing Discussion of the Social Commitment of Universities

There have been increasingly widespread discussions about alternative paths for HE which envision the sector contributing actively to social development and not only to economic development. In only the past few years, multiple global meetings of HE leaders have convened to ask these questions. Conferences have been organised under the agenda of "reinventing HE"—in Thailand in 2007 and in Spain in 2010. The 2010 Conference of the Commonwealth Universities focused on "Universities and the Millennium Development Goals." The most recent Global University Network for Innovation (GUNI) forum discussed the "social commitment of universities in human and social development."[4] The growing Talloires Network[5] recognises university presidents from different parts of the globe who have made public commitments toward

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[2] See http://www.publicengagement.ac.uk/get-involved/action-research-beacons-group
[3] The HE sectors in Australia and South Africa in particular have embraced engagement as a means of addressing major social inequalities, especially through educating disadvantages populations (see Howard, P., J. Butcher, *et al*. (2010). "Transformative Education: Pathways to Identity, Independence and Hope." Gateways: International Journal of Community Research and Engagement 3.) The North American discourse on engagement and service has often been critiqued for conceptualising universities (and their students) as separate from disadvantaged communities (see Butin 2005).
[4] See http://www.guni-rmies.net/info/default.php?id=119
[5] See http://www.tufts.edu/talloiresnetwork/

increased SE by their institutions. Likewise, the Global Alliance for Community Engaged Research (GACER),[6] created in 2008, seeks to bring together community-based researchers from HEIs around the world to deepen the practice of engaged research. Furthermore, the final resolution of the 2009 UNESCO World Congress on HE explicitly mentions enhancing the social and developmental roles of HEIs as one of the main agenda items for the coming decade (UNESCO 2009). As such, UNESCO aims to use HEIs "as an engine for addressing global problems." [7]

A Typology of Social Engagement Programmes

The frequency of such global meetings suggests growing energy for reimagining the role of HE in promoting development and SC. However, it is important to note that many participants in these meetings are not simply imagining alternative forms of HE; they are arriving with years of experience of doing things differently. Initiatives which engage students and researchers in social issues are not uncommon, but these have traditionally been decentralized and entrepreneurial, resting on the shoulders of individuals. More systematic efforts to organise and promote university-community engagement began in the 1990s in the US. Spurred by government funding, HEIs began to develop and implement student volunteering programmes. These efforts eventually broadened into a discourse on "service-learning" (SL), although most early efforts in SL were distinctly separate from the curriculum of learning institutions (Lawry, Laurison *et al*. 2006). SL proponents argued the pedagogical benefits of engaged learning, but made slow progress. The locus of action for these programmes was generally seen to be in the community—external to the university—hence the term "outreach" was also commonly used.

In the UK, the 1997 Dearing Report on the future of HE emphasised the role of HEIs in contributing to inclusive democratic societies. Similarly, North American scholars, most notably, Boyer (1996), argued that SL was not enough, but that HEIs needed to place the full weight of their institutional capacities toward solving important social challenges through "engagement." This shifted the focus toward HEIs contributing both in terms of teaching and research. Around this time, in the UK, the 3rd stream agenda appeared. These different discourses catalysed a variety of programmes in which universities tried in different ways to apply these concepts in practice. Such

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[6] See http://communityresearchcanada.ca/?action=alliance
[7] See http://academicimpact.org/index.php

programmes were given names which often reflected the discourse which was dominant at the time when the programmes were created: community service, outreach, SL, or CE. To some extent, each programmatic discourse involves an implicit "theory of change," with earlier concepts such as community service and outreach suggesting that change happens through student service/charity. Such implied assumptions have been heavily critiqued by Butin (2005), Stoecker (2008) and others. Later terminology involving engagement has fared better and has become the primary language of such programmes in the UK. British academics Millican *et al.* argue that the term "service" is connotative of paternalism and power imbalances, in both relational and institutional senses, and conceptually tied to a "now outdated 'welfare' rather than 'rights based' approaches to community development" (2007, 159). However, American academic Furco argues that SL does suggest a more equal distribution of power, with aims of mutual benefit, as compared to concepts such as volunteerism and community service (1996). As such, the terms "service" and "engagement" are often still used interchangeably in the US. A more recent categorisation for these types of university-community interactions is "community-based research" (CBR). Like engagement, the CBR discourse is also focused on the overall institutional contribution of HEIs.

The Missing Middle

A significant body of literature exists regarding the work of SE programmes. This literature falls into two general bodies: aspirational/normative and programmatic impacts. Aspirational works point toward the value of HEIs becoming more engaged. Within this category are many aspirational statements by individual HEIs detailing their future plans to "become engaged universities."[8] The other major body of literature focuses on programmatic impacts of SL and engagement activities. Because engaged pedagogies have been slow to gain acceptance in HE, a large volume of studies have been conducted in order to demonstrate that engaged methods improve student learning; Eyler *et al.* 's annotated bibliography of SL research includes thirty-one studies which "report that SL has a positive impact on students' academic learning" (2001). Within this category much literature focuses on methodological issues such as teaching through SL. Indeed the American Association of Higher Education published an eighteen volume set of case studies documenting classroom methods for incorporating SL into

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[8] For an example see
http://www.research.usf.edu/vpfr/ubotwg/attachments/Executive%20Summary%20of%20the%20Community%20Engagement%20Task%20Force%20Final%20Report6%203%2009.pdf. These are documents laying out plans for what the HEI plans to do in the future.

teaching within a variety of academic disciplines (AAHE 1999). Similarly, much research in the field is focused on the external outcomes of particular projects and interventions within communities.

However, there is also a third—and much less robust area of literature—which is most relevant to this thesis. This literature stands between the aspirational and the results-based work and looks at processes of institutionalisation, examining the intervening processes and steps through which institutional aspirations of engagement are put into practice within the organization that then lead to project-driven outcomes.

> To date, the vast majority of service-learning research has explored aspects of student and faculty involvement in service and service-learning. Now we can see that involvement in service has real, but poorly understood, impacts on institutional structures, policies, resources and decisions (Holland 1997, 31).

Holland responded to this omission by producing a study which involved twenty-three case studies at American HEIs to look at levels of institutional "commitment." Her analysis resulted in a matrix consisting of four "levels of commitment to service" which examined factors such as faculty and student involvement. Although the study provided a useful assessment tool, Holland acknowledged that the study did not provide much illumination for how HEIs moved "across the continuum" from one level of commitment to another (1997, 39). Subsequently Bringle and Hatcher (2000) authored a quantitative analysis of SL institutionalisation based on a questionnaire distributed to 179 American HEIs. The research suggested some characteristics of universities with high levels of institutionalised SL, but the findings presented a static picture. The authors noted that the methodology of the study precluded analysis of the actual change processes which yielded these outcomes:

> It does not provide any evidence about which steps occurred prior to which campus changes, how and why campus culture to support service-learning changed, or how obstacles to change were dealt with and overcome (Bringle and Hatcher 2000, 286).

There were few other comparable studies in this area. A 120-page annotated bibliography of SL literature compiled by Eyler *et al.* (2001) confirms that only about 10% of the research conducted in the field of SL in the North America between 1993

and 2000 examined institutional issues. Most of these were large-scale analyses tracking the growth of the SL movement across the American HE sector—thus sectoral institutionalisation—rather than fine-grained, nuanced analyses of how such SL programmes interact with individual institutional systems. Since 2000, there have been few intensive studies which examine institutionalisation in the sense in which it is explored in this thesis, regarding the internal processes of change which facilitate the structural embedding of such programmes.[9] Stoecker (2008) and Hartley *et al.* (2005) have produced articles in this general area, however with a specific focus on institutional factors which hamper successful engagement with community partners. Several more extensive texts explore these issues at individual universities (Benson, Puckett *et al.* 2007; Percy, Zimpher *et al.* 2007; Rodin 2007). However, these are often firsthand accounts by the institutional leaders who directed these change processes themselves, thus providing little space for wider perspectives. These texts are also quite similar in that they focus on large, American universities in urban settings. A more diverse set of institutional examples is found in the autumn 2009 edition of *New Directions in Higher Education* (Sandmann, Thornton *et al.* 2009) which offers a follow-up assessment of twenty-six American HEIs which have been labelled as "engaged institutions" by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Although this report has provided some important information for this thesis, this particular body of research encounters one of the problems discussed earlier in this paper—that looking at HEIs which already excel at SE is not as helpful in terms of understanding institutional change processes as looking at those institutions that are still actively in a process of transforming themselves in order to become engaged institutions.

Even as the overall production of literature related to SE programmes increases, the same pattern holds true. In 2009, *The Journal of Community Engagement and Higher Education* was launched. Of the seven articles in the inaugural edition, six dealt with project planning or outcomes but only one examined institutional issues.[10] As was true in the 1990s, the literature in the field continues predominately to justify and measure

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[9] While nuanced empirical research into how HEIs institutionalise engagement remains sparse, organisations such as the Talloires Network (www.tufts.edu/talloiresnetwork/) (see Chapter 6) and the Campus-Community Partnerships for Health (www.ccph.info/) advocate for HEIs to commit publically to engagement and to undertake self-audits of the engaged work they are already doing.

[10] See http://discovery.indstate.edu/ojs/index.php/joce/issue/current

university engagement through outcomes on students and on communities/target groups. While these are essential measures of the work of such programmes, this lens is directed at only half of the overall picture. By focusing on institutional change issues within HEIs, this thesis hopes to illuminate the unexplored side of that picture and to provide clearer insights on what outcomes these programmes create within the universities themselves once they take hold, as well as providing a better understanding of the processes and mechanisms that enable the programmes to be created in the first place.

Research Questions

Based on the gaps in the existing literature regarding the institutionalization of SE programmes within HEIs, specific research questions are posed:

1. What are the institutional factors that enable SE programmes to develop and become embedded within their HEIs?

2. To what extent—if at all—has the presence of these SE programmes catalysed outcomes within the institution pertaining to teaching, pedagogy and research? If such outcomes are discovered, what are the processes and mechanisms that enabled these outcomes?

3. To what extent—if at all—has the presence of these programmes catalysed outcomes pertaining to the overall "learning culture" within the institutions? If such outcomes are discovered, what are the processes and mechanisms that enabled these outcomes?

Table 1: Research Questions

A Conceptual Framework for the Research

I have called the conceptual framework for this study the "systemic, institutional pedagogy of social change" (SIPSC). This framework relies centrally upon concepts drawn from two bodies of literature. The "systemic" dimension draws upon systems and complexity thinking, while the "institutional" dimension is informed by literature on

organizational learning and development. In this section, I will briefly introduce the central concepts from these bodies of thought. Prior to this, however, I will address and clarify two other core terms from the framework: pedagogy and SC.

Pedagogy

In its most basic sense pedagogy is the methodology of teaching. Walker argues that pedagogy, as a concept, has all but disappeared from academic discourse during the current period of marketisation within HE, replaced by discourses of quality and learning outcomes (Walker 2006). Arguing for a return to pedagogically-focused practice, Walker explains that in its fullest sense, the term carries deep relational connotations as well as methodological ones: "It involves not only who teaches, but also who is taught, and the contextual conditions under which such learning takes place" (12). The past several decades have seen a rise in "instrumental" pedagogies that suppress such issues of relationship and context in favour of maximising content and the transfer of information. Such forms of "banking style" education have been heavily critiqued by educational theorists such as Freire (1971) and Illich (1999). These writers surface issues of power that such instrumental teaching tends to ignore. Freire, Palmer (1993; 1998) and others emphasize the relational dimension of pedagogy, between the teacher and learner, between the learner and knowledge, and between the learner and the world, underscoring that pedagogy is more than simply a discussion of technique; it is not simply the "how" of teaching, but also the "why," including the experience and the relationships of learning. For bell hooks, emphasising relationships of learning means that every student in a classroom is enabled to speak and have an opinion, and that each student recognises the right of their peers to have a voice as well (1994). For Palmer, a relationship of learning is one that extends beyond the classroom so that students have access to a literal relationship with the educator that exceeds the instrumental exchange of content and information and which can ultimately influence students' lives and behaviours (Palmer 1993).

Such a conceptualisation of pedagogy, that incorporates relationships within and beyond the classroom, is inherently systemic rather than binary. It includes not just teacher and student, but the overall experience of learning, including the relationships between teacher, student, knowledge and context. Ingraham has introduced the relevant notion of a "systemic pedagogy" which "engages the intersection of social issues,

institutions and community" (Ingraham 1996, 3). Pascarella and Terenzeni likewise advocate for a movement from pedagogical "myopia to systemic thinking" (2005). They note in their review of thirty-five years' worth of academic studies on how students learn in universities that researchers consistently create a binary focus, either on how the classroom curriculum promotes cognitive development or how the extracurricular environment supports psychosocial development, but almost never considering the two aspects together in a holistic, systemic manner (Pascarella and Terenzini 2005). "The tendency is to overlook the full richness and range of the things that influence student learning," Terenzeni writes, arguing further that "organisational influences are frequently overlooked in the research" (Terenzini 2007, 20). As such, this thesis views pedagogy explicitly as a holistic term, which involves both the curricular and institutional experiences of a learner. Thus in the chapters ahead, the research will focus both on the curricular elements of pedagogy (Chapter 4) as well as the organisational/institutional elements (Chapters 5 and 6).Considered together these elements constitute the basis of a "systemic institutional pedagogy" which is both holistic and immersive. This concept will be explored further later in this chapter.

Social Change

Guijt defines SC as "the conscious effort to counterbalance the impact of economic, social and political injustices on the vulnerable, marginalised and the poor" (2008, 7). However, because of the significant political and material ramifications determined by how SC is defined and measured, its definition is contested and elaborated differently in various circumstances, generally in accordance with differing political agendas. In a strict sociological sense, SC can indicate any sort of broad change within a large social group or in the structures that impacts these groups (Macionis 1987). Most interpretations of SC, however, are suffused with certain normative values. The terms "social justice" and "social progress" speak more specifically about the implied meaning of SC. Sztompka has noted two primary elements embedded in the theory of social progress: "(1) a directional process which (2) steadily brings the system closer to the preferred, beneficial state (or in other words, to the implementation of certain values selected on ethical grounds, such as happiness, freedom, prosperity, justice, dignity, knowledge, etc.)" (1993, 8). While the term SC is often used by civil society organisations, it has also been utilised by government and private sectors groups. However, their definitions tend to focus narrowly on the financial and material

dimensions of inequality. In its fullest sense, social justice cannot be measured by such quantitative outcomes only alone; processes and relationships are also involved. As such, social justice recognizes the need for more egalitarian distribution of resources, but also the need for the greater inclusion of all groups socially, culturally and politically. Jackson emphasizes that in "viewing society as socially constructed by those with more power, at times against those with less, it seems clear that widening the circle of political deliberation is crucial for constructing a fairer and more just society" (Jackson 2008, 4). Thus, as a critical term within this research, SC should be defined as the evolution of institutions and societal structures toward the goals of social justice which include: equitable and sustainable distribution of material resources; equitable distribution of power through participatory governance structures; and the realization of human rights for all individuals.

Systems and Complexity Thinking

System and complexity ideas are intrinsic to the conceptual and analytical dimension of this study. Systems thinking originates from two very distinct roots, biological science and systems engineering. From the biological perspective, systems thinkers argue that knowledge and understanding gained by reductionism is of limited value.

> The ideas set forth by organismic biologists during the first half of the [20th] century helped to give birth to a new way of thinking—systems thinking—in terms of connectedness, relationships, context. According to the systems view, the essential properties of an organism, or living system, are properties of the whole, which none of the parts have. They arise from the interactions and relationships among the parts. The properties are destroyed when the system is dissected (Capra 1996, 29).

Ultimately the whole of any living creature is greater than the sum of its parts because the complete organism or system exhibits certain "emergent" properties that are not present in any of the individual parts, and therefore analysis should be holistic.

> Systems thinking concentrates not on basic building blocks, but on basic principles of organization. Systems thinking is "contextual," which is the opposite of analytical thinking. Analysis means taking something apart in order to understand it; systems thinking means putting it into the context of the larger whole (Capra 1996, 29).

In contrast, the more dominant systems engineering approach was a by-product of WWII, where technicians were faced with designing evermore complex and self-automated equipment. Because of the mechanical nature of their work, systems engineers thought in terms of "hard systems"—systems that were tangible and palpable. Although the systems engineering approach had much influence in technical fields, it proved much less effective in organising human systems.

A significant methodological shift in the use of systems concepts occurred in the 1980s with Peter Checkland's introduction of "soft systems" methods (SSM)(1981). Critiquing hard systems approaches, he writes:

> None of these approaches pays attention to conflicting worldviews, something which characterises all social interactions. In order to incorporate worldview… it was necessary to abandon the view that the world is a set of systems (Checkland and Poulter 2006, 21).

Thus, in soft systems thinking, the idea of "systems" becomes a heuristic device. There was no belief that the systems were literally "out there." According to Checkland and Poulter, "The notion of systemicity ('systemness') appears in the process of inquiring into the world, rather than in the world itself" (2006, 22). Thus SSM processes are not interested in literal systems but in systems of thought and individual worldviews that contribute to and complicate action in human systems.

Out of the soft systems approach also grew the "critical systems" school of thought. This group of systems theorists were particularly concerned with the role of power in systemic research. Midgley (2000) interrogated extensively the impact of "boundary setting" in systems analysis. In order to create a manageable field of action, systems researchers needed to define explicitly the terrain of what would be in the system and what would be outside of it. Midgley was concerned about the power relations involved in this boundary setting process, of who determined boundaries and who was left out by the boundaries that were drawn. Similarly, Churchman argued for an "ethics of whole systems." His concerns were about the systemic effects of interventions. Even if a bounded system was successfully changed as a result of an intervention, Churchman argued there might be the unintended, negative effects of that change on groups and actors which were outside of the "boundary" of the system (1979).

In recent years, systems concepts have experienced a revival and reconceptualisation within the discourse on "complexity." As in the soft system view, complexity thinking argues that "systems" are an artificial construct. However, unlike soft systems thinkers, complexity theorists do believe in a literal system—one single ubiquitous system in which everything is intrinsically interconnected. Because all things are connected it is ultimately impossible to have a full grasp of—or full control over—any situation. Like their soft systems predecessors, complexity practitioners argue that effective interventions can be organised by defining "systems" through an intentional process of boundary setting. Complexity theorists such as Snowden have responded to the critical systems thinkers' concerns about setting systems boundaries by emphasising the need for continual reassessment and reformulation of system's boundaries, particularly as complexity thinkers argue that it is ultimately impossible to stand outside of the system (Snowden 2009). Thus boundaries should be fluid, expanding or contracting to take in emergent streams of data which may reveal new insights about the designated system. Setting boundaries allows researchers and practitioners to designate a small piece of reality and then take action to influence it. Thus complexity actually takes an ontological position between hard and soft systems thinking, in that complexity sees the world as single actual "hard" system that can be acted upon by mentally designating small parts of the overall system—temporary, bounded "soft" systems—upon which to take purposeful action.

Systems/complexity thinking's most specific contribution to this thesis is around its application of concept of "emergence." As noted previously, emergent properties are properties of the whole, as such as the "wetness" of water that is found in neither hydrogen nor oxygen (Zajonc 2010, 81). Complexity thinkers apply the idea of emergence to processes of intervening in human systems to make the important point that what is achieved through an intervention, or "probing," is not always what is planned or intended. Traditional planning tools, such as the "logical framework," set a specific goal and enumerate incremental steps toward that goal. The quality of the intervention is afterward evaluated according to the extent that this goal was achieved. Complexity thinking argues that such processes have set the boundaries too narrowly, looking only for the changes that were intended, thus missing other emergent, systemic consequences which may have resulted, though unintended. As Peter Senge emphasises,

"conventional forecasting, planning and analysis methods are not equipped to deal with dynamic complexity" (2006, 71). All that a conventional assessment will discover is that the intervention did or did not achieve its primary goal. In contrast, complexity practitioners argue for methods which are more broad and systemic in their analysis. Looking for unintended outcomes of an intervention, as well as intended ones, they argue, will provide a better understanding of the functioning of the system itself, clarifying *why* an intervention may have worked—or not worked—and providing a feedback loop that better informs learning for future interventions on the system. This area of complexity thinking has been quite influential in the design and analysis of this study. More will be said on this topic in Chapter 3 regarding "Outcome Mapping."

Underlying the concept of emergence is another fundamental systems/complexity principle, that of non-linearity. Although the same development project/model may be implemented in two very culturally and geographically similar communities, the outcomes may be quite different. Complex human systems are non-linear in that results may vary drastically because of very small differences in the communities and people's behaviours in those locations. Likewise a single human system may be inconsistent in its response to organised interventions. A programme which was ineffective in its previous implementation may have a much better outcome when implemented again in the same location at a different time under different conditions. This principle of non-linearity fundamentally separates hard systems thinking from soft systems and complexity thought, and from the dominant cultural assumptions of how change happens in society. Indeed, the hegemonic "theories of change" in modern society are premised on linearity.

Embedded "theories of change" (TOCs) have been much debated in recent years in the field of development (Eyben, Kidder et al. 2008; Ortiz-Aragon 2010). The non-linearity premised by soft systems/complexity thinking represents a major shift in the conceptualisation of human development and social change processes. Indeed the major conceptual model that underpinned much of the early phases of the global development project was Rostow's "economic stages of growth" (Rostow 1960). From this model's perspective, all that was necessary for countries in the South to become developed was to engineer a few preconditions—widespread education, development of a banking/finance systems, the emergence of entrepreneurs—and the economy of the

country would "take off" and, after progressing through a predetermined number of stages, arrive at economic modernity as exemplified by Northern countries. This assumption that societies are basically machines and can be engineered to achieve desired outcomes is at the heart of most Enlightenment thought and science. This epistemic perspective has influenced the development of modern social "science" disciplines, which in many ways attempt to mimic Newtonian scientific methods (Rostow explicitly describes a Newtonian worldview as the dividing line between "traditional" and modern societies (1960)), seeking to discover dependable principles about society which can then be used to change society in what are perceived to be beneficial ways. Embedded in much of this thinking is a consistent belief in a linear TOC, that once principles have been derived they can be applied in such a way that they will achieve consistent outcomes. Much government policy and planning is rooted in these assumptions. Likewise, development interventions are often constructed around a "logical framework" which is premised around generating smaller intermediary outcomes which will lead directly to larger more substantial goals. As Snowden (2000) has acknowledged, linear planning is quite effective in working with "complicated" systems, such as airplanes or information technology networks. While these are intensely sophisticated systems, they responded in a predictable fashion. The same input or action will lead to a consistent result. Snowden distinguishes these from "complex" systems, which inherently include human systems. In complex systems, there is no one-to-one correlation between an action and outcome. Because people are inconsistent in their behaviours, because they can learn and manipulate systems, there is no linearity or predictability. Thus the non-linear theory of change which is implicit in soft systems/complexity thinking does not look for fundamental answers or solutions. Rather it looks for patterns, multiple varieties of solutions that may emerge from complex human systems responding to similar phenomena. As such this thesis does not attempt to advance an overarching claim about its findings being definitive or transferable to other institutions. Instead these findings offer some insights into the kinds of activities which may be generated by and flow from the development of SE programmes within HEIs. Each institutional context will be unique, though there may be some overlap and resonance with the cases elaborated upon in this study.

Several other systems and complexity concepts have also been key components of this study, particularly during the analytical phase.

> - *Prochronistic change*—systems are a product of their history and carry with them path-dependencies and built-in assumptions that are often unacknowledged but strongly constrain action within the system
> - *Adaptive Agents*—social systems are not mechanistic and predictable because they are populated by adaptive agents who consciously work to understand and reshape the patterns and processes of the system
> - *Attractors*—underlying patterns of ordered activity that can sometimes be mapped within the seemingly chaotic behaviours of a system
> - *Bifurcation Point*—point in the evolution of a system when it suddenly moves from one attractor pattern to another
> - *Fractals*—a form of patterning discernable in complex systems in which the most minute element of the system exhibits most all of the characteristics found in the whole system

Table 2: Additional Key Concepts from Systems and Complexity Thinking

These concepts will be explored in greater detail in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

More than I had anticipated, I found systems/complexity thinking a tremendously helpful rubric for pulling together strands across these case studies, allowing for "comparisons between cases and systems previously not related" (Ramalingam, Jones *et al*. 2008, ix). By design, the analytical methods derived from systems/complexity look for patterns of interactions of parts rather than focusing directly on the parts/objects being studied. As Senge notes, this allows for enquiry "into the systemic consequences of actions, rather than just focusing on local consequences" (Senge 1994, 21). Likewise Ramalingam *et al.* argue that "complexity generates insights that help with looking at complex problems in a more realistic and holistic way, thereby supporting more useful intuitions and action" (2008, ix). For this reason, systems/complexity concepts have long been at the heart of much organisational learning theory.

A Systemic Conception of Power

The systems/complexity lens adopted in this thesis implies not only a non-linear theory of change; it also implies a poststructuralist view of power, what might be described as

a Foucauldian conception of power. Such an understanding of power focuses more on relationships than structural impediments to action and freedom. According to Foucault, "Power is not an institution, a structure, or a certain force with which certain people are endowed; it is the name given to a complex strategic relation in a given society" (1980, 236). From such a perspective, power is not static, but rather understood to be continually in flux, generated through social relationships and impacted by continually shifting human aims, actions and patterns of behaviours. Whereas more traditional views of power may attribute power to certain individuals or certain institutional structures which may block action, the poststructuralist view does not see power as a thing, a noun, but instead as a process "exercised from innumerable points in the interplay of non-egalitarian and mobile relations" (Foucault 1990, 93-94).

Because systemic analyses are likewise focused on relationships rather than structures, the systemic conception of power is implicitly relational and congruent with the Foucauldian perspective. Therefore a systemic theory of change is underpinned by a systemic conception of power. Critical systems theorists such as Midgley (2000) maintain that systemic research always involves issues of relational power. Likewise, complexity writers such as Stacy argue that all organisational cultures, patterns and habits are a reflection of embedded power relations (2003). Thus through a systemic analysis, the power relations/dynamics of particular system/institution can be surfaced and better understood.

As such, the exploration of power in this thesis does not seek to locate static institutional blockages which impede social engagement by HEIs, although such barriers obviously exist and have been cited in the literature previously. Rather the thesis seeks to explore how such blockages have been overcome by institutional actors by shifting power relations within their HEIs. Such an analysis will illuminate how certain collaborations and strategic actions within the universities have led to the convergence of multiple capillary streams of power which have influenced institutional practices and norms in such a way that new spaces and opportunities for social engagement have been created. In the final chapter of this thesis I will return explicitly to the issue of power and reflect on the utility of systems and complexity concepts for surfacing and clarifying power relations in the institutions where this research was conducted.

Organisational Learning and Development

Given the institutional focus of this research, organizational learning/development theory plays an important conceptual role. The concept of organizational learning is generally attributed to Argyris and Schön (1978). The theoretical body of work built around this concept is quite distinct from the traditional understandings of organisational "management," which Deming suggests is premised around "a holy trinity" of "planning, organising and controlling" (quoted in Senge 2006, xiv). Instead, organisational learning is informed by biological and systems concepts.

> An organization is like an organism each of whose cells contains a particular, partial, changing image of itself in relation to the whole. And like such an organism, the organization's practice stems from those very images. Organization is an artifact of individual ways of representing organization. (Argyris and Schön 1978, 16).

At a basic level, organisational learning is the institutional capacity to generate, analyse and communicate information and to have this knowledge readily available so that it can be factored into future organizational decisions. These theories experienced a strong revival in the 1990s through Senge's work on the "learning organisation" (1990) which attempted to distil organisational learning into five "disciplines." Senge considered systems thinking the key skill which bound the others together successfully: "Systems thinking is the fifth discipline. It is the discipline which integrates the other disciplines" (Senge 2006, 11-12). More recently, Burns has incorporated systems/complexity thinking into large scale action research (AR) inquiries which have involved hundreds of individuals spread across dozens of geographically separated offices of the same organisation (British Red Cross)(2007) as well as many different organisations all within the same sector (the British HE sector)(Squires and Burns 2010). Thus, these concepts and techniques can be applied within a single organisation or across multiple cases.

Of particular importance to this thesis is a set of concepts drawn from Argyris and Shön's early work on organisational learning. Their theory of "loop learning" (1978) can be useful in understanding how organizations evolve over time. Loop learning is an important component of this thesis' analytical framework. These researchers suggested two modes of loop learning, "singe-loop" and "double-loop" learning. Single-loop

learning simply involves improving the efficiency of operations for established activities. It involves primarily methodological changes.

> When the error detected and corrected permits the organization to carry on its present policies or achieve its present objectives, then that error-and-correction process is single-loop learning. Single-loop learning is like a thermostat that learns when it is too hot or too cold and turns the heat on or off. (Argyris and Schön 1978, 2).

Double-loop learning emerges when problems are intractable and current methods for addressing issues are insufficient. This form of learning involves much deeper reflection on institutional activities, resulting in substantive changes in procedures and policies, possibly even changes in goals, values and mission. "Double-loop learning occurs when error is detected and corrected in ways that involve the modification of an organization's underlying norms, policies and objectives" (Argyris and Schön 1978, 3). As such, it is about "questioning the role of the framing and learning systems which underlie actual goals and strategies" (Usher and Bryant 1989, 87). Sterling has succinctly described the evolution from single to double-loop learning as a movement "from doing things better to doing better things" (2003, 134).

The concept of loop learning has been particularly helpful in this research in analyzing the institutional changes that occur within HEIs as they develop their capacities for SE. As the institutions studied in this research experienced deepening levels of institutional change over time, single and double-loop learning proved to be a functional framework for sorting and categorising these changes. Initial changes catalysed by SE involved the revision of curricula, in the adding of new content to existing modules or the creating of new modules with a focus on engagement, as well as the emergence of more locally focused research. Within the context of this study, these changes fit well with the general meaning of single-loop learning, in which these HEIs experienced a change in established practices. Over time, the HEIs also began to experience more systemic changes because of their SE work, which influenced institutional discourses, identities and processes. Within the context of this study, these changes fit well with the general meaning of double-loop learning, in which these HEIs experienced change as individuals and groups within the universities began to apply SE practices and methods *within* the institutions, leading to the development of new university programmes and

activities. Loop learning is used in a specific sense in this research to represent two levels of deepening institutional change, from changes in practice initially to changes in function later. This is not a strict interpretation of Argyris and Schön's concepts, but one tailored to the context of this study.

A Convergence of Ideas Around Learning

Concepts of organisational learning, as well as systems/complexity thinking, have been essential to this research and are intrinsically bound up in the topic and process of this enquiry. I wanted to conduct a study within a complex, social, institutional system, hence the utility of organisational learning/development concepts; however, given that the aims of the SE programmes are to engage with the wider environment outside of the university, I also needed a framework that enabled me to work across institutional boundaries, to illuminate the relationships and interactions of an organisation embedded within a larger geographical context and a wider policy arena—only then would I be able to analyse how an HEI changes in order to develop the capacity to engage with its community and the wider currents of SC in society. Burns' work affirms this incorporation of systems/complexity thinking, noting that systemic approaches to action research are "crucial because complex issues cannot be adequately comprehended in isolation from the wider system which they are a part" (2007, 1). As such, systems/complexity theories are a necessary and vital component of this research, in order to make sense of these interacting systems and levels. These concepts appear throughout the thesis and provide not only a lens for framing the research but also a methodological approach for gathering and analysing that data.

Moreover, these ideas have also broadened my perceptual frame of what learning in HE includes. Traditionally student learning is understood as what happens in the classroom. However, from a systems/complexity perspective, the distinction between classroom spaces and non-classroom space is seen as artificial. The literature regarding both complexity and pedagogy illuminate a perspective in which student learning is not bounded by the classroom but is shaped by the whole of the lived experience within the HEI. This tacit learning that occurs within the wider institutional environment is often referred to as the "hidden curriculum" (Palmer 1981). The hidden curriculum is inferred from what institutions reward and value versus what they do not. To identify the hidden curriculum in HEIs, Margolis asks: what kind of research is funded; what are the

sources of research funding; what departments receive higher salaries; what kinds of organisations does the institution want their graduates to find employment with after graduating; what is the demographic composition of the institutional management; and ultimately how do such factors construct a code of attitudes and behaviours for academics and students within the HEI? (2001). The hidden curriculum thus encompasses the way the university functions, its internal ways of working, and the ways students experience and interact with that institutional environment. Those who write about the hidden curriculum suggest that students may learn as much—if not more—tacitly from what they observe in the day-to-day functioning of their institutions as they do actively in their classes. However, not all student experiences outside of the classroom are unplanned. Many universities, particularly those with residential campuses, also operate some form of "student life" office which coordinates activities and works to enhance the quality of campus life for students. Both the tacit and intentional components of the student life experience will be considered together in this particular study. This combination of factors is defined specifically in this research as a university's "*learning culture*."

Thus, an intrinsic supposition of this research is that student learning is not derived exclusively from teaching, but is filtered through all three primary domains of university activity: teaching, research and SE—and additionally through the overall functioning of the institutional system, those institutional processes and patterns which comprise the institutional learning culture. It follows then that an HEI's "institutional pedagogy" cannot be summed up by the content of its curriculum and the methods of its faculty, which constitutes only classroom pedagogy. An institutional pedagogy is more holistic, emerging from the systemic interactions among these five dimensions:

Figure 1: Interacting Dimensions of an Institutional Pedagogy
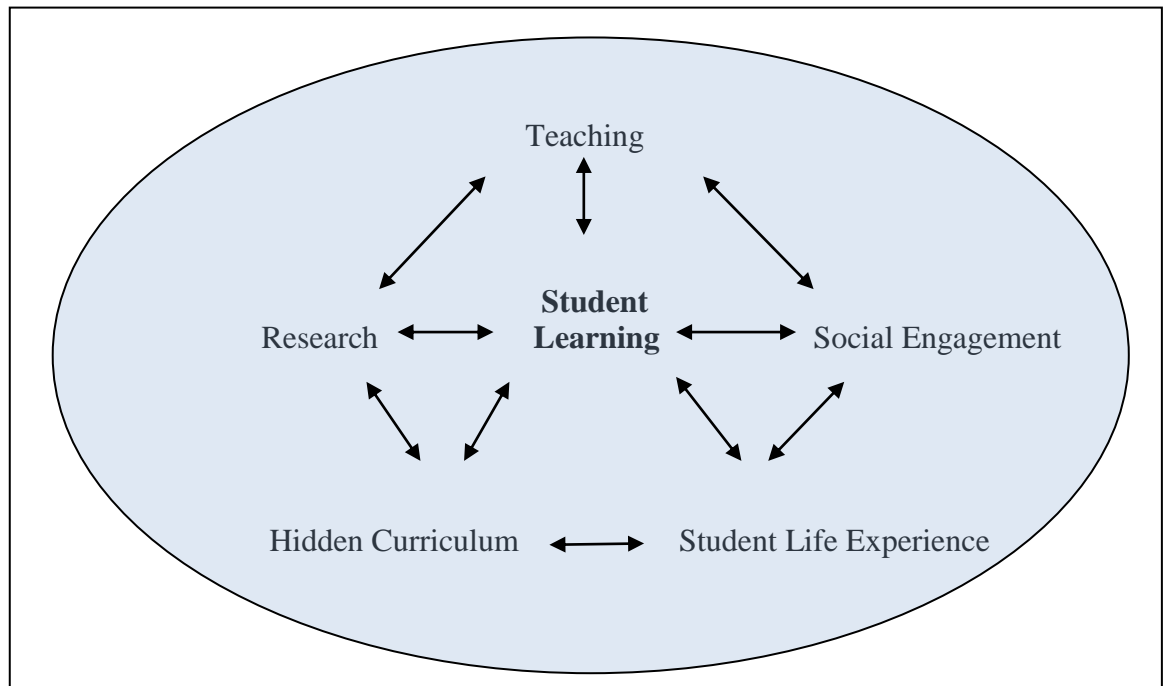
Constructing Meaning for the Concept of a SIPSC Through This Research

Thus, the idea of a SIPSC that is being *explored and developed* in this thesis is about the synthesis of content and process at the curricular and institutional levels. It is important to note, however, that the above diagram is not a roadmap of the research in this thesis. The SIPSC is not intended as the analytical framework for the research; rather it will be one of the outputs of the research, to be revisited at the conclusion of this study and viewed in light of the research findings. At this stage, the SIPSC is a hypothetical model rooted in the systemic, immersive conceptualisation of pedagogy elaborated earlier in this chapter. The above SIPSC model is a generative idea, based in the literature and in my own experiences of working in SE, a model that I hope to flesh-out with empirical evidence and insights gained from the investigation and analysis of the three case studies. Thus the SIPSC is an end goal of this research rather than a starting point. As such, this thesis hopes to discover some partial elements of what a SIPSC might look like in practice and how it develops within an HEI. A core argument of this thesis is that SE programmes like the ones studied in this research can contribute to a greater capacity, awareness and synthesis of these ways of learning, for students and for institutional actors as well. Thus, understanding how these programmes create change

within HEIs provides a better basis for understanding how a SIPSC might be conceived, articulated and developed intentionally.

The thesis uses the concepts from this chapter to explore how such programmes come into being (Chapter 4). Subsequently it explores if the presence of these programmes within the institution influences the formal curriculum, including practices of teaching and research (Chapter 5), and also if these programmes influence the overall learning culture of the institution (Chapter 6).

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed core literature pertaining to the topic of the study, as well as literature essential to the concepts utilised in the enquiry. The following chapter will explore how these concepts guided the development of the research questions, contributed to the formulation of fieldwork processes and supported the development of an analytical framework for the data.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH CONTEXTS

Introduction

This chapter will describe the overall process of the study, retracing the critical junctures, explaining the rationale for the decisions which shaped the enquiry, and elaborating on the methods through which the research was carried out and the data analysed. The chapter begins by reviewing the early phases of the research which occurred prior to the fieldwork. This section ends with an explanation of how the cases for the study were chosen. The subsequent section of the chapter provides some basic information about the SE programmes, as well as their institutional and geographic contexts. This is followed by a discussion of my preparations for the fieldwork, after which the fieldwork itself and fieldwork methods are described. Some of the practical and conceptual challenges of the research process are then explored. The chapter ends with a detailed explanation of the data analysis process and the writing-up phase of the research.

Evolution of the Research

The following sections detail the evolution of the study during the first year of research.

A Widely Useful Project

I have a quite specific personal ambition of creating a new undergraduate institution with a curriculum which is structured around active engagement with processes of community development and SC. Although no such institution of this kind exists currently, a handful of highly innovative programmes and institutions around the globe exhibit various elements of what I hope someday to create. Initially, I envisioned my doctoral studies as an opportunity to explore and document the work of these innovative organisations.

As I began to engage more deeply with the literature regarding the societal role of HEIs and to attend conferences in which these topics were at the centre of the discussion, it became clear to me that my passions and interests for an alternative vision for HE were

more widely shared and of-the-moment than I had known. In HEIs the world over, academics were actively discussing ways in which universities could contribute more directly to the pressing needs of society. I realised that the questions I was interested in were not so far removed from the questions that many in the mainstream of the HE sector were asking.

I recognised that by concentrating my research on a few highly unusual HEIs—many of which had been created within an alternative paradigm of education—my findings would be of small value to people working within mainstream institutions who are striving to create spaces to do things differently. That is, highlighting the unusual work of unusual universities would be largely tautological and thus not highly applicable to the typical institutional settings within which most academics or HE managers find themselves working to create change. I reflected on what research, then, might be valuable to these institutional change actors.

This led me to a focus on the institutional change processes themselves: to locate largely mainstream academic institutions which had developed, over time, the capacity to engage with the wider world in innovative ways. While the focus would be partially on cataloguing these institutions' forms of community interaction, the analytical dimension of the research would be focused on the processes of institutional change which had enabled these HEIs to develop these capacities.

Such a piece of research I felt would be a widely useful project, providing a basis for a better understanding of institutional change processes within HEIs which support engaged ways of working at the institutional level. This information I believed would be of value to those within and outside of universities looking for ways to engage HEIs more deeply in processes of community development and SC.

Determining the Unit of Analysis

It was immediately clear that I would not be able to research even one university in its entirety. I needed to identify a more manageable unit of analysis on which I could focus my attention and research efforts. Fortunately, determining the entry point of my enquiry was a relatively simply choice. Within many engaged HEIs, there is a specific office or programme which focuses on interfacing with community issues and provides

an infrastructure for SE activities. I made a choice to focus on this particular kind of subsystem within the institution.

As I began to focus on SE programmes, I found the gap in the literature, referred to in Chapter 2 as the "missing middle," regarding the institutionalisation of such programmes. Most research generated about these programmes pertains to student and community outcomes. Of the limited literature that does exist on the topic of institutionalisation, most of these pieces focus on institutional disablers, constraints and structures which have prevented these kinds of programmes from being taken up more broadly. I envisioned my research looking in the opposite direction, for the institutional enablers which had allowed such programmes to succeed in spite of potentially challenging contexts, looking specifically for the institutional processes and events which had precipitated the formation of such programmes, as well as how those programmes had interacted systemically with—and potentially influenced—the rest of the institution.

In order to achieve these aims, I needed to explore institutional systems in detail in order to better understand the interactions and processes which enabled these programmes to come into being and to function sustainably within their institutional environments. To acquire data at this fine-grained level, I therefore adopted a case-study approach.

Why Case Studies?

In this section I will briefly review literature which explores the value and appropriateness of the case study approach for research of the kind undertaken in this study. The limited literature pertaining to this research area, and the depth of analysis needed to address these issues, required that this research be carried out in close contact with SE programmes. The use of case studies allowed me to "close-in on real-life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice" (Flyvbjerg 2004, 428). Further, case study methodologies are consistent with the systemic approach of this project, as case study methods are ideal for in-depth, "holistic" investigations (Sjoberg, Williams *et al*. 1991). Given the foundational nature of this study—in attempting to build the field of knowledge around how HEIs change in order to develop capacities for engagement—the role of the case studies in this research

was illuminative; that is, I chose programmes, in alignment with Eysenck's justification of the case study approach, "not in the hope of proving anything, but rather in the hope of learning something!" (1976, 9). Thus this effort did not aim to verify a specific hypothesis, but to shine light on an important, under-researched area.

Incorporating Appreciative Inquiry, Action Research and Reflective Practice
Understanding processes of change within an institution would require intensive immersion. However, I could not simply go to an HEI's campus and observe, as an objective outsider, unknown and disconnected, the internal institutional processes in which I was interested. To penetrate the institution's surface and reach these SE progammes, I needed the support and buy-in of the HEIs where I would conduct my research. Beyond simply gaining permission and research clearance, I required high levels of access to the SE programme staff, as well as to a wide variety of people involved in the programme within and outside of the university.

Achieving this level of access, I concluded, would most likely be accomplished through an approach of appreciative inquiry (AI),[11] an approach for organisational learning and change which looks for the positive outcomes within a given context or situation, rather than aiming primarily for critique.[12]

> It proposes, quite bluntly, that organisations are not, at the core, problems to be solved. Just the opposite… AI offers a positive, strengths-based approach to organisational development and change management (Cooperrider and Whitney 2005, 1).

The AI approach was appealing both as a method and as a framing device. As a frame, it helped to negotiate the challenges of access to the programmes and various individual informants. Moreover, the AI methodology enabled me to pitch my research as an opportunity for learning for these HEIs and the SE programmes themselves. Thus, it allowed me to position my research enquiry within larger package that would be appealing to the HEIs and their SE programmes; I could tell potential case study institutions, "I am impressed with what your SE programme is doing. I would like to

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[11] Throughout the text I have used the British spelling of "enquiry," except in specific reference to appreciative "inquiry," where I have retained the American spelling used by the originators of this methodology.
[12] See Annex 3 for a more detailed description of appreciative inquiry and its specific application in this research.

understand how your institution developed these programmes and capacities. I think in so doing that my research will provide an opportunity to locate the strengths and enablers of these programmes, and so help them to improve and become more effective in their work."

The value of the AI approach is contested, however. The methodology has been critically scrutinised by several researchers and action-research practitioners, including Fitzgerald *et al* who argue that AI is overly focused on looking at the bright side of organisations and is thus "Pollyana-ish" in its outlook (2001). Likewise Reason worries that ignoring the "shadow side" of organisations and groups can reify existing problems by ignoring power relations (2000), or inadvertently create expectations which are unrealistic (Rogers and Fraser 2003).

The criticism that AI ignores power is worth addressing directly, as this would appear to generate a potential methodological contradiction with the analysis of power relations that is embedded in systemic research approaches. However, it is important to recall that a systemic view of power is interrogates relationships and patterns of behaviour rather than seeking to locate static barriers/structures which are said to hold or exert power. In a systemic approach, power relations can be deduced from these patterns of institutional activity. Further, it is not necessary that these issues be addressed directly through a lens of power during the generation of the data, as this may result in unreflective assertions of power residing with certain institutional actors rather than encouraging a more subtle inquiry into "defaced" power (Hayward 2000). Using AI, organisational activities can be assessed as to their ability to achieve specific goals of the organisation, or those goals of specific actors within the organisation. Some behaviours may be more successful than others in achieving such goals while other actions may be repeatedly blocked. Such blockages often represent power asymmetries. However, rather than focusing on unblocking such systemic impediments, the AI approach explores possible alternative routes within the system which may by-pass the blockage. The aim is thus to aggregate multiple institutional strategies through which actors have successfully by-passed blockages regarding SE activities. As such, AI does not suppress inquiry into power, rather it looks for ways of creating and enhancing alternative relationships and behaviours through which power can be created/redistributed to circumvent and redefine existing problematic power relations.

Moreover, several theorists and practitioners have responded to the power critique of AI, arguing that the methodology can be used in a multidimensional manner which captures both the positive and negative aspects of an organisation. In particular Grant and Humphries have developed an approach they label as "critical appreciative inquiry" which infuses AI with the perspectives of critical theory, arguing there is potential for "fruitful synergy" in this combination of perspectives (2006, 402). Specifically, they claim that the AI approach is a compliment to critical approaches, which may themselves be overly focused on diagnosing power imbalances and impediments to freedom, but may not necessarily generate ideas for action as a response to the challenges which are surfaced. Thus AI is a pragmatic addition to such approaches as it generates spaces and strategies of possibility which emerge "out of *grounded* examples in the organisation's past" (Cooperrider and Whitney 2005, 29, italics original). Grant and Humphries further argue that the extent to which power is addressed in AI is dependent upon the facilitator rather than inherent in the methodology itself. Like Midgley's "boundary critique" of soft systems approaches (2000), they find that facilitators of AI can suppress "participant perceptions of a relative power imbalances" by drawing a boundary too narrowly around positive outcomes and experiences (2006, 413). They suggest instead providing room for participants to articulate negative experiences as a needed precursor to articulating more positive and proactive future actions. This perspective informed my inquiry of the SE programmes. Although my overarching goal was to discover enabling factors which facilitated the success of these programmes, I would not attempt to dampen or ignore discussions of disabling factors and problems that might likewise arise in the course of the research.

Furthermore, the AI approach offered an opportunity for research participants for learning and change while at the same time serving as a process for generating data. By conceptualising my research as an opportunity for reflection and learning for the SE programmes themselves, I was implicitly committing myself to an action research (AR) approach. As Checkland and Poulter emphasise, "The pattern for the action researcher is to enter a human situation, *take part* in its activity, and use that experience as the research object" (2006, 17, italics original). As stated previously, a detached approach based on disengaged observation would have garnered little useful data within the institutional contexts in which I was interested. Rather I needed to "take part" in the

work and activities of these programmes, in order to understand the systemic processes through which they function. By explicitly aiming to contribute to these programmes via my research, I was further moving away from an objectivist research orientation by seeing myself as a part and participant within my research, which is consistent with an AR approach. Significantly, however, I did not adopt a participatory action research (PAR) approach. In PAR, the research questions would have been completely emergent, arising from the concerns of the people working within the case study contexts. Within a strictly AR approach, however, I as the researcher retained the authority to set and shape the research agenda.

In further discussing these challenges of institutional access and programmatic buy-in with my supervisors and other colleagues, there remained some concerns, specifically that engaging with universities that were completely new to me would require a great deal of time, irrespective of the appeal of the AI approach: time to build relationships, to gain trust and access, to locate the key players in the university and in the community. This was a particularly challenging difficulty given that the study arguably needed more than one case study in order to persuade that the research findings were not completely idiosyncratic to a single HEI. Given that gaining access and connections to a single institution could consume most of my allotted year of field work, I pondered how I might reduce this lead time. The suggestion was then put forward of my research being an extended form of reflective practice (RP), to return to institutions where I had done work previously, at universities where I had strong relationships already in place and where I had credibility and extensive knowledge of the institutions and contexts. Such an approach helped to address many of the daunting issues of access, networking and credibility. Moreover, this also put me in a stronger position to make a positive contribution to these programmes via my research, in that I would have deeper knowledge of the institutions which extended before and after the windows of my fieldwork, allowing me to locate my findings within a wider frame of reference.

The choice of RP further strengthened my commitment to an AI approach. In returning to institutions where I had strong relationships—indeed returning to them *because* of these strong relationships—I felt it important to maintain and improve these relationships through the research process itself. As such I wanted a non-pathological method for engaging with these programmes and institutions. A more purely critical

approach, or one more explicitly focused on power relations, might upend the very relationships that had brought me to these institutions, relationships that I wanted to maintain throughout the research and beyond. I had seen a close colleague, a student from the MAP programme, engage in an explicit power analysis of his organisation in India as part of his MAP action research project. Although he had worked for the organisation for seven years and was deeply committed to this community development NGO, his research process quite literally blew up in his face when he presented his findings, which starkly pointed to significant power asymmetries within the organisation. Within days of presenting his data, he was forced out of his position by the leaders of the organisation and made to leave the NGO completely. Learning from his hard lesson, I wanted to be both cautious and pragmatic in the approaches I used in this research. By choosing a combination of systemic analysis and AI, I felt I could surface important issues within these programmes and their respective HEIs in a manner that would not create controversy or damage existing relationships, including my own with SE programmes and their staff members. Moreover, as I knew from the start that I would not anonymise my informants, it was imperative that I not commit to methodologies which might result in fault-finding or laying blame on certain individuals within the institutions for particular problems which might have been found during the course of the research.

Choosing the Cases

Having seen much practical and methodological value in the choice of RP, the process of determining my case studies became a bit less daunting. Early on I had considered cases in the global South; however, I found there was limited literature about such programmes in Southern countries, with most existing literature in this field pertaining to Northern HEIs. Without a wider body of research to contribute to in a specific Southern country/policy context, it seemed unlikely that my singular study would have much potential to influence university managers or policy-makers in those locations. Nonetheless, even with limiting my consideration to only Northern HEIs, there remained a large number SE programmes which were viable options for the study.

By looking through a lens of RP, however, I had a much more narrow range of options. The obvious choice was to include the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee, USA, where I had worked in the university's community outreach office as a student

and staff member for almost a decade. From an RP perspective, IDS itself also came into view as an important case study option. As a team member of the Participation, Power and Social Change team (PPSC), I had a direct connection to arguably the most innovative MA programme that the Institute offered, the MA Participation, Power and Social Change (MAP). Unlike other MAs at the Institute which are predominately classroom-based, the MAP programme is structured around a year-long process of AR in which the MA students carry out projects in cooperation with their home communities and/or organisations. The story of how that programme came to be and how it had been received by the institution offered rich material for a case study. Here again, because of my existing connections and relationships, I would have access to the heart of the institution and all the key actors.

A third potential case was also close at hand. Since arriving in Brighton, I had been engaging with staff from the University of Brighton's Community University Partnership Programme (Cupp). I had been hearing about Cupp's innovative work on CE even before landing in the UK. Given that UoB was more a typical research "multiversity" model than either Sewanee or IDS[13], it also seemed like a valuable addition to my research, providing an institutional context to which many working within in the HE sector could easily relate. I did not have the same insider's access as at the other locations, but given that I was approaching my work as an appreciative inquiry and had some existing relationships with Cupp staff, it seemed a feasible opportunity. There was also arguably a value in including one case in which I was an outsider and would be required to approach the situation with entirely fresh eyes. Also because IDS and UoB shared the same geographic and policy contexts, incorporating Cupp into the research would not be as challenging as adding a third case from a different country with different cultural, sectoral and policy contexts.

I chose ultimately to conduct research with all three programmes, as all of the cases offered different and exciting opportunities for learning and contributing. Indeed, the programmes themselves are quite different from one another, in scale and in form. As will be more apparent further into this thesis, each of the three SE programmes is quite

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[13] IDS, while at once a financially autonomous research institute, is also connected to the University of Sussex, thus enabling the Institute to confer academic degrees. The institutional culture of IDS, however, is largely self-contained and distinct from the university's institutional culture, despite sharing the same campus.

distinct. Although Cupp and Outreach share parallel in missions in reaching out directly to their neighbouring communities, they operate on two entirely different scales. Cupp has a 300% larger staff than Outreach, a 600% larger budget and operates within a university with a student population 1300% larger than that of Sewanee. Moreover, MAP stands out as dissimilar in form or function to either Cupp or Outreach. Rather than being focused on community engagement first and foremost, MAP is at heart a teaching programme. It enrols students who subsequently engage with their communities, which are dispersed around the world, but this is a second order function of the programme rather than its institutional *modus operandi*.

Although many forms of research analysis are premised on comparing similar objects, a variety of other methods postulate the benefits of comparison across dissimilarity (DeFelice 1986; George and Bennett 2004). The systems/complexity ideas that are at the core of this research have often been used in constructing such dynamic forms of analysis which draw together various categories of objects and cases. Even before choosing the cases, I had become interested in the notion of "abductive" analysis which permeates much systems and complexity writing. Abduction was popularised by Gregory Bateson, one of the bellwethers of modern systems thinking. He argued that comparing things which were alike only generated a more detailed understanding of that particular category of object. Instead he advocated for the comparison of dissimilar objects in an attempt to find the "pattern that connects" them (Bateson 1979). Bateson's thinking was built upon the earlier work by logistician C. S. Peirce who formulated that only by mapping outlying examples onto existing frameworks could new information actually be created, because an element of intuition was required for anticipating the how the objects could connect before actually finding a way to prove that connection (Peirce 1906/1976). Like systems and complexity thinkers, Bateson and Peirce were not interested in parts or components but in processes and patterns of interactions. Thus Bateson sought out cases which were "analogous" (139) rather than similar, linking them together by "lateral extension of abstract components" (Bateson 1979, 142).

Thus all of the programmes in this study are linked according to their larger goals of supporting community development and social change. Shifting to a systems/complexity lens opened the doors to such an abductive form of analysis. This has been particularly important in this research, where there is little empirical material

related to the research questions. In building this new field of inquiry, this kind of lateral analysis has been essential in illuminating general principles of organisation and forms of influence that these kinds of SE programmes are capable of exhibiting. As such, this lens opened up new possibilities for comparison with these cases. Viewed from a "results driven" perspective, Cupp would be in a very different echelon than the other programmes in this study. However, by shifting to a lens which takes into account systemic influence, these formerly incomparable cases begin to demonstrate many important parallels in trajectory and outcomes despite differences in scale, form and context. Further, I as stated at the beginning of the thesis, the purpose of the study is not to compare or rank these programmes against one another in a competitive manner according to their outputs or capacities, but rather to aggregate experiences and learning from all three distinctively structured and situated cases to generate a more complete picture of the institutionally enabling factors which create spaces for these alternative ways of working within HEIs.

Moreover, these three cases considered together created an interesting complimentarity in that each programme approached SE from one of the three traditional foci of university activity—teaching (MAP), research (Cupp) and service (Outreach). At the institutional level, the political economy of each university is also unique. UoB has the most traditional funding structure, still receiving major (if declining) subsidy from the government. IDS, while still receiving some government funding through research contracts, is much more entrepreneurial and must generate the majority of its revenue. Sewanee is a completely private institution, its funding base fully dependent on student fees and outside donations. As such, this multi-sited enquiry also offered the possibility of a more composite view of issues at the centre of the research. As Burns notes, a systemic action research process is "characterised by establishing multiple action inquiry streams across an issue terrain, enabling multiple perspectives to be surfaced" (Burns 2007, 19).

I was also very fortunate at this point to have Cupp's academic director Angie Hart join my existing supervision team of Peter Taylor and John Gaventa, both of IDS. Having advocates of my research within two of the case study institutions has bolstered my research tremendously and helped me gain deeper insights into these institutions.

 All three cases produced extensive, rich data. As will be discussed later in this chapter, organising the data from all these cases in a way that gave each adequate treatment has been one of the most persistent challenges of the writing process. Nonetheless, the choice of three case studies was quite worthwhile, in spite of the extra work and challenges this has presented.

Case Study Programmes, Including Their Institutional and Geographical Contexts

This section provides background on the three SE programmes and the institutions that house them. It will also describe the external contexts that these programmes were created to engage with.

The three programmes studied in this research are the MAP programme at IDS (UK), Cupp at UoB (UK) and the Outreach programme at Sewanee (US). Given that the nature of this work is illuminative, my purpose is not to compare these cases against one another, but to aggregate the learning from all three examples to generate a more complete picture of the institutionally enabling processes at work within HEIs that contribute to the development of programmatic and institutional capacities to engage with communities and wider processes of change. Each programme is quite distinct:

- *MAP* offers an innovative pedagogy of SC based on popular/reflective/transformative principles. It works to achieve change by building the capacity of SC practitioners through action-reflection on their SC activities during their coursework at IDS and also during an extended field placement in each student's local context/organisation.

  MAP is housed at IDS, which is located on the campus of the University of Sussex in Brighton, England. IDS was created in 1966 in the wake of the colonial independence movement. As British civil servants who had managed the colonies for the Empire were recalled to Britain, governance of the former colonies was placed in the hands of local officials. The British government created IDS as a training centre to help strengthen the capacities of these civil servants in the former colonies (Jolly 2008). From the 1960s to 1980s, IDS was largely underwritten by the British government. However, Thatcherism led to significant reduction in funding for the Institute. By 1997, Jolly notes that IDS

had moved from "a partially secure funding base to a wholly insecure funding base" (2008, 50). To make up for this lost source of funding, IDS evolved toward a business model which was much more reliant on external grants and consultancies carried out by research Fellows. Such research consultancies continue to be a core pillar of the Institute's work. However, because IDS is attached to the University of Sussex, there has also always been a teaching programme that has been coupled with the research mission of the Institute. This originated as short courses for civil servants but over time grew into a more formal, academic programme which granted MPhil and DPhil degrees. In recent years, the Institute has expanded its teaching programme at the MA level.

Although IDS is located in Brighton, its institutional focus on developing countries has resulted in the institution generally having weak links with the local community, with a few notable exceptions. As such, the geographic context of IDS is better understood as global and multi-sited rather than a literal local context. This is particularly true of the MAP programme which involves participants from around the world, most of whom spend the majority of their time in the MA programme conducting AR in their own home contexts. Thus the target context of MAP is more dispersed and non-contiguous than in the other programmes.

- *Cupp* has quickly become the UK's most notable community-university partnership programme, garnering national and international attention. In particular, it has developed innovative processes and structures for knowledge co-production and become an impressive example of how the research capacity of a large multiversity can be focused upon community needs.

Cupp is housed within UoB, which is located in the city of Brighton on the south coast of England. UoB is an agglomeration of five formerly distinct institutions with diverse educational aims—including art, education, sport, science and technology, and nursing—some of which were founded in the 19th century. As the neighbouring University of Sussex was not created until 1961, these small institutions, which in time coalesced into UoB, were for many years the primary source of further and vocational education in the region. As such these

institutions were responsible for training teachers, nurses, electricians and other professionals who were essential to the growth and development of the Brighton area. In 1970, the School of Art and College of Technology combined to form Brighton Polytechnic. All polytechnics in the UK were converted into universities in 1992.[14] Although the "former polytechnics" are generally clustered at the bottom of the UK university league tables, UoB has been among the most successful of this group, ranking much higher than many of its "1992 university" peers.

Brighton presents a distinctive local context for the university. Its proximity to London (fifty minutes by train) and as well as its being home to two major universities contributes to a high-level of diversity within the city compared to other communities in the Sussex region. Brighton has a progressive reputation, being the home to the UK's largest annual Pride celebration, as well as being the first area to elect a Green Party MP. While Brighton is sometimes considered a part of England's "soft south," a term describing the affluence of many wealthy Londoners who own country homes across the Sussex region, a closer inspection reveals that Brighton contains pockets of serious deprivation, with UoB's campuses located in the midst of some of the most seriously affected neighbourhoods. Moreover, as one of the southernmost/warmest cities in the UK, Brighton is a destination for many homeless people and runaways. This combined with a major nightclub industry make Brighton a scene of much illicit drug use. Indeed, in 2009 Brighton reclaimed its title as "drug deaths capital of Britain"(*Brighton-Hove-Leader* 2009, 5).

Brighton's mixture of progressivism and poverty has led to the evolution of a vibrant voluntary sector. A 2008 audit of the third-sector in Brighton included more than 1600 organisations working the area[15]. Brighton also boasts an unusually robust infrastructure that supports these organizations. While most city governments in the UK subsidise what is known as a Council for Voluntary Service, or CVS, which provides training and advice to small community and

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[14] The only institution to retain its title of polytechnic beyond 1992 was Anglia Polytechnic, which become Anglia Ruskin University in 2005.
[15] See the 'Taking Account' report at http://www.cvsectorforum.org.uk/takingaccount

voluntary organizations, the unitary Brighton-Hove CVS foundered financially in 2000. Leaders in the sector immediately reorganized as the independent Community and Voluntary Sector Forum (CVSF), a membership organization that acts as an umbrella group for the third-sector in the city (Farenden 2009). The services provided by the old CVS were fragmented under this new arrangement. Whereas the CVS was a single organization offering a variety of infrastructure services, under the CVSF, each service evolved into its own independent organization. Because the organizations are separate and can raise and earn money individually, they have managed to grow and become larger and better staffed than under the CVS arrangement, making Brighton's voluntary sector one of the most professionalised in the UK.

- *Outreach* is housed within Sewanee,[16] a small liberal arts university located in the Appalachian region of the US. By involving students in local community development projects, Outreach aims to conscientise students as they engage with the marginalised populations of small, isolated, and often very poor rural communities.

  Sewanee is a small, primarily undergraduate, liberal arts institution owned by the Episcopal Church. It was founded in 1857, shortly before the outbreak of the American civil war, on an isolated mountaintop in middle Tennessee. The university was an attempt by the Southern aristocracy to demonstrate that the South could build a university as prestigious as any of the elite Northern universities such as Harvard or Princeton (Williamson 2008). As such, Sewanee's purpose was to provide education for the region's elite. Originally an all white, men's school, Sewanee first admitted African-American students only in 1963 and women in 1969. Because of its aspirations of greatness, the university was never intended by its founders to be an institution for local students. It recruited widely across the southern states, and its graduates over time formed a post-war elite in business and politics. By the turn of the 20th century, Sewanee had become a small island of relative wealth and high society in the midst of poor coal mining/subsistence farming communities. Despite the

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[16] The official name of the institution is the University of the South. Located in the small town of Sewanee, Tennessee, the university is generally referred to simply as "Sewanee."

institution's Confederate origins, the university inhabitants were progressive on issues of race, due in large part to the influence of the Episcopal Church. This exacerbated tensions with the locals to such an extreme that the Sewanee community literally erected a wall around itself in the 1890s to protect its African-American population from the anger of local white "sagers" (Green 2004). Thus from its earliest days, the University was perceived as a place apart from the local fabric and culture of the area. In time the local Episcopal church did begin to engage with the local communities, establishing primary schools for children of the area in the early 20th century.

Despite these attempts to reach out to the local communities, the issue of race continued to be a major point of contention. Historically the university had provided more opportunities and more services for African Americans than any other institution in the county. Before the passage of Civil Rights Act in 1964, the hospital in Sewanee was the only facility in the area which admitted African-American mothers to its maternity ward. During the American civil rights movement, Sewanee was a hotbed of activity. A small group of community residents actively collaborated with the Highlander Folk School, a significant institution in the civil rights movement, which lay only six miles to the east of the university in Monteagle, Tennessee. More visibly, a group of Sewanee academics and black parents filed a lawsuit against the county where the university is located to force it to desegregate its schools. The Sewanee group won their case, forcing school integration. This was a massively unpopular decision locally, which further marked the university as an institution deeply and culturally removed from the norms of its local context.

Geographically, Sewanee is located on the Cumberland Plateau, at the westernmost edge of the Appalachian Mountains. Appalachia has long been a byword in America for extreme rural poverty. As will be explored in more detail in the next section, statistically southern Appalachia faces extremely high levels of deprivation, particularly in areas of income, education and life expectancy. Most industry in the region still revolves around mining and timber cutting, just as it has for some two hundred years. Although Sewanee's local context is but one small part of the vast Appalachian region, it very much epitomizes the area.

The terrain is mountainous and communities are small and spatially isolated. Government services are limited and few voluntary sector programmes exist beyond the efforts of local churches. Coal mining near Sewanee ended decades ago, leaving very little industry in the area, contributing to high unemployment and rampant drug use. Indeed, the median household income in the county where the university is located ($40,890)[17] is actually lower than the Sewanee's yearly tuition and fees ($46,112)[18]. Even lower on the income scale is Grundy County, which lies only six miles east of the university, and has a median household income of $25,619.[19] As such the university has long been considered a place very much apart from the surrounding area.

Considered together, these three programmes offered a wide scope for understanding the diversity of institutional and contextual environments that comprise the HE sector.

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[17] Franklin County 2008 estimates, US Census Bureau
[18] For the academic year 2010-2011, see www.sewanee.edu.
[19] 2008 estimates, US Census Bureau

Table 3: Side-by-Side Comparison of Case Study Programmes

	Cupp	MAP	Outreach
Location of Projects	Urban (UK)	Multi-sited (globally)	Rural (US)
Education Level	Undergrad/Postgrad	Postgrad	Undergrad
Size of Institution (by student enrolment)	21000	180	1500
Type of Institution	Public University	Research Think-Tank	Private/Liberal Arts
Years of Activity	7	6	21
Programme's Initial Focus	Research	Teaching	Community Service
Full-time Staff	8	No Full-time Staff	3
Annual Institutional Financial Support	£250,000 (for staff salaries)	Supported by Student Fees	$66,000 (for staff salaries)

Each of these programmes operate in unique institutional, policy and contextual environments that illuminated different pathways through which SE programmes can come into existence and be sustained. These differences enriched the research and created a more composite picture of the institutional factors that enable such programmes.

Justification of the Case Studies within a Development Studies Rubric
Geographically, all of these case studies come from HEIs in the global North. Given that my DPhil discipline is development studies, these choices need to be justified. While I will justify each of these programmes within their own particular contexts, there is also a larger issue relating to the concept and framing of development. Although development studies has been traditionally associated with Southern countries, particularly under the paradigm of modernisation, this paradigm has been shifting over

the past two decades. While the participatory development movement of the 1990s, spearheaded by Chambers' work (1995), challenged the asymmetric power relations of Northern institutions in the decision-making process within the development sector, post-development writers such as Escobar challenged the notion of "development" centrally, critiquing it as a modern-day form of cultural and economic colonialism (1994). Further, economist Amartya Sen's influential work on capabilities argued that the ultimate goal of development was "freedom" for individuals to choose and shape their own destinies rather than achieving a predetermined level of material wealth (1999). The confluence of these schools of thought helped to broaden somewhat the focus of development studies beyond only linear, Northern-inspired models of economic growth, to also include an empowerment-focused paradigm that looked upon participation as a pathway to building citizenship and local capacities for change (Gaventa 2006). Under the empowerment paradigm, there is no central hegemonic end to development, but rather the goal of empowering communities and citizens to set their own goals (Mohan 2007). This alternative paradigm has opened up new spaces for learning within development studies, wherein learning is seen to be a dialogical process in which the global North learns from the global South as well as the opposite. As such the once indelible North-South line in development is seen to be fading. As IDS' director writes,

> Are we at a point where the terms "developed" and "developing" countries have less meaning than at any time in the past? Are there increasingly common drivers of poverty in North, South, East and West?... Several trends make the developed/developing labels seem anachronistic (Haddad 2010).

Although development as a field of study persists, it is increasingly understood to be a universal process in which all countries are considered to have need for development as it pertains to issues of empowerment, equality and inclusion. Given that each of these SE programmes include processes and projects that engage directly with SC by addressing issues of disempowerment, poverty and exclusion, their work falls within this non-binary development paradigm, despite their being in the North.

Of the three HEIs, IDS is the easiest to locate and justify within a development framework. Its student body is composed largely of students from the global South, as

well as development practitioners and SC activists working in Southern countries. The MAP course is specifically designed in such a manner so as to keep students deeply connected with their home contexts. This is accomplished by the "sandwich-course" structure of the programme which allows MAP students to work in their local contexts during the majority of their time as programme participants. The MAP programme markets itself to experienced practitioners who come to the institute not solely as individuals but as representatives of organizations and communities who can use their learning to enhance the SC capacities of their wider groups.

The other two SE programmes, housed respectively within the UoB and Sewanee, can be justified on the developmental conditions of the communities in which these institutions are located. Brighton's central campus is located in the community of Moulsecoomb, which has been listed as one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in the whole of England. Indeed, Moulsecoomb and its neighbouring estates have been ranked among the 5% most deprived communities "taking factors including access, child poverty, education, employment, health, housing and income into account" (*Argus* 2001). In other adjacent areas, such as East Brighton and Bevendean/Falmer, the statistics are only slightly better. Even as the university expands beyond Brighton, its new locations are also in marginalized areas, such as the campus in Hastings, a community listed as among the 10% most deprived communities and ranked numerically as the 27th most deprived local authority in England.[20] Given the dire circumstances which surround many of its campuses, it is reasonable to argue that the university is working in a challenging, developmental context despite its position in a Northern nation. Statistical data available through 2005 indicates that the UK has currently reached levels of the internal inequality that are the highest in 40 years (Foss 2007). To consider the high rates of deprivation in these communities against this trend of heightened inequality nationally suggests how excluded these communities are from the prosperity generally associated with the UK.

A similar picture can be painted for the University of the South. Located in Sewanee, Tennessee, within the Appalachian region of the US, the university exists in a context wholly apart from the general affluence associated with America. Interestingly, in 2008

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[20] See: http://www.hastings.gov.uk/neighbourhood_renewal/nr_strategy_execsummary.pdf

the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Index (HDI) was applied to the United States for the first time. *The Measure of America: American Human Development Report 2008-2009* showed detailed geographical analysis of human development and underdevelopment in the US. The unit of analysis in the report was congressional districts. The 4th Congressional District of Tennessee, where Sewanee is located, scored in the lowest possible range for all categories of development tabulated in the index, including various measures of health, education and income, earning it a ranking within the lowest category for overall human development to be found in the US.[21] Given this area's categorisation according to an explicitly development-oriented methodology, I feel the work of Outreach within this context can aptly be described as, or analogous to, development.

Development of a Generative Tool for Use During the Fieldwork

Drawing on the concepts in Chapter 2, the idea of a systemic institutional pedagogy of social change (SIPSC) was put forward as an ideal learning process which links content and process, both at the curricular and institutional levels. One of the goals of the thesis was to explore this idea further, in order to give it substance based upon the empirical findings of this study. Thus, the SIPSC became a guiding, generative concept for the research process that would be fleshed out as the research progressed. In order to understand what a SIPSC might look like in reality, I needed to look at the history, practices and outcomes of the programmes, to identify the capacities each of these three programmes needed to develop in order to fulfil their work in their communities and the wider world. In this thesis, the SIPSC concept has been used in two distinct modes, first as generative tool during my fieldwork and then later as an analytical framework during the writing-up phase. This section will describe my use of the SIPSC for the generative period.

Because this area of research is an emergent field with limited empirical data, the initial research tools needed to be generative. The goal of the work was not to prove a particular hypothesis but to illuminate a new area of knowledge. Thus I developed a generative tool which considered a number of different factors which may or may not have contributed to enabling institutional environments for the programmes. The factors included in the generative tool were drawn from a variety of literature about

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[21] See http://measureofamerica.org

organisational learning and from publications about universities' experiences with SE. Some of the factors were also based upon my own experiences working in a SE programme. The tool contained eleven potential enablers:

- Financial Incentives
- Institutional Structures
- Institutional Processes
- Institutional History of Teaching
- Institutional History of Research
- Institutional History of Service
- Personal Initiative
- Professional Achievement
- Risk
- Local Context
- Relationships

Table 4: Anticipated Enablers of the Generative Tool

This generative tool was used in conjunction with semi-structured interviews—and in participatory workshops—that encouraged research participants to elaborate on these factors in terms of their experiences with the SE programmes, to suggest additional factors and to discuss the interplay between them. As such, this tool was not based on a strict line of questioning. Rather its intent was to provoke interviewees into a holistic pattern of thinking which took into consideration many interrelated dimensions, calling upon them to elucidate patterns and interactions between these factors, rather than settling on one or two factors exclusively. Thus, the tool performed an important function in that it provided interviewees a range of specific prompts without predisposing their responses to fit within a specific framework. Checkland and Poulter argue that such tools are essential to effective systemic enquiries:

> Although holding back from imposing a favoured pattern on the first impressions, the enquirer needs to have in mind a wide range of 'prompts' which will ensure that a wide range of aspects will be looked at (2006, 24).

With this tool in hand, as well as with a related battery of interview questions and a workshop format, I began my fieldwork.

Fieldwork and Data Collection

Data collection involved extended stays at each of the HEIs to examine the programmes. My fieldwork period lasted from October 2008 until September of 2009. Each programme received three months of intensive research.

- Outreach: January through March 2009
- Cupp: April through June 2009 (I also sat in and observed the first academic term of the Community and Personal Development (CPD) module from October to December of 2008.)
- MAP: July through September 2009 (I also sat in and participated in the first academic term of the MAP programme from October to December of 2008.)

Table 5: Fieldwork Timeline

In the following sections I will discuss some of the methods utilised during these site visits.

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews involving the generative tool were the primary means of eliciting data for each case study. Interviews were conducted at various levels within each institution, with university managers, participating academics, programme staff, active student participants and community-partners from outside of the HEI. The average length of each interview was one hour. The structure of the interview revolved around four areas of enquiry:

- Personal history of involvement with the SE programme
- Perceived purpose of the programme

- Institutional outcomes and enabling processes (using the generative tool)

- Personal motivations and outcomes regarding the programme

One-hundred-eleven interviews were conducted, the majority of these being with Cupp (48), while the rest were divided almost equally between Outreach (32) and MAP (31). Interviewees were selected through a combination of three processes. For MAP and Outreach, I created my own list of key informants whom I believed were essential to understanding the development and practice of the programmes. Because of the AI approach, I was well supported by the staff of each programme who also generated lists of individuals they identified as key players, past and present, for their respective programmes. An additional group of interviewees was located in each case through a "snowballing" process. These were people who appeared on neither my own list, nor the programme's, but were individuals suggested to me by interviewees or were people that I met through the process of engaging in projects/activities of the SE programmes. Snowballing accounted for almost twenty-percent of the interviewees in each instance and was particularly helpful in locating students and community members who could offer perspectives which were not deeply embedded within the programme or host HEI.

Potential contributors were contacted by email and phone and provided a brief one-page outline of the objectives of the research. The document also informed the participants that their contributions to the research would not be anonymised[22], given the AI nature of the work, and given that the small network size of these programmes made anonymisation largely ineffective. In lieu of anonymisation, I adopted a process in which interviewees would be able to vet their contributions which were included in the final draft of the thesis, in order that these pieces of data might be reworded if informants felt uncomfortable with the statements, or anonymised as possible.[23]

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[22] Given the topic of this study was deemed non-sensitive, my supervisors at IDS and the conveners of the DPhil programme made the assessment that my research posed no ethical challenges or dangers for research participants. Thus attribution of research data was found acceptable so long as participants were informed of this factor from the start, and given the option that their information could be anonymised if they so wished.

[23] Of the one-hundred-eleven interviews conducted for the study, fifty-seven were utilised in the final text of the thesis. (Data from many more interviews was cut in order to reduce the thesis to the allowed word length.) All but one (who could not be located) of these fifty-seven participants were re-contacted and given the opportunity to vet their data which had been used in the thesis. Of the fifty-six who were re-

Although this was an unusual procedure, most participants readily agreed to the process. Only one person of more than one-hundred-thirty contacted refused to be interviewed because of this process. One interviewee also expressed discomfort with this method and asked that the interview be kept strictly off-the-record. Many community-partners, however, were quite keen on this process, feeling that anonymisation often hid their individual contributions to research.

Overall response rates to my interview requests were high, more than 95% for MAP and 90% for Outreach. At Cupp, responses among those on the original list generated by the programme's staff were slightly lower, at approximately 80%. However, given this was the largest list of interviewees of the three, in the largest institution, and the one HEI where I had few inside connections, I felt this was still quite a strong response. Specifically, these were non-respondents rather than refusals, of which there was only one.

Interviews were captured using a digital recording device. I also took extensive hand-written notes during the interviews.

Participatory Workshops

At each HEI, I also facilitated one or more participatory research workshops. The workshops provided a valuable space for participants for sharing and collective reflection. The collaborative sessions also surfaced additional information and ideas for the study not vocalized in individual interviews.

Each workshop began with a "participatory timeline" exercise in which the history of the programme had been detailed on a long sheet of paper which was hung on the wall. It contained the pivotal moments in the creation of the programmes, when staff were hired, projects created, grants received, etc. Participants in the workshop began by adding to the timeline events and details that were missing. This was followed by a short presentation about my research and the basic concepts which guided the enquiry. Afterward they took part in a brief "open space" exercise (Owen 2008) related to the SIPSC generative tool. Eleven large sheets of flip-chart paper were arranged around the

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contacted, all but two reviewed the excerpts and responded, with about 30% of respondents making small changes in the wording, and with only one participant making significant revisions, which pertained to a single quote.

periphery of the room. Each sheet of paper was labelled with one of the factors from the generative tool. Participants spent time moving from factor to factor, writing out comments and reflections on the sheets of paper about the influence and role of each factor as it pertained to institutional change at their HEI and the success of the case study programme. This was followed by a "rich picture" exercise. Rich pictures are a key component of Checkland's SSM approach:

> The complexity of human situations is always one of multiple interacting relationships. A picture is a good way to show relationships; in fact it is a much better medium for that purpose than linear prose (Checkland and Poulter 2006, 25).

Rich pictures encourage participants to map out the situation using pictures and diagrams which can quickly convey the complex, multifaceted nature of the subject of enquiry. Workshop participants were asked to create individual rich pictures which demonstrated their theory of institutional change within the HEI, with specific reference to the SE programme. After completing their pictures, the participants returned to the main circle and explained their outputs to the group. The workshop concluded with a discussion about these different theories, experiences and strategies of change within the HEIs. The rich pictures and open space sheets were all saved for analysis.

In all, four workshops were conducted: two at Sewanee, garnering fifteen and twenty participants respectively; one at IDS including twenty participants; and one at UoB involving eleven participants. (The UoB workshop was likely smaller because it had to be rescheduled.)

Reflective Journal and Other Supporting Activities

In keeping with the study's AR approach, I engaged directly in activities connected to all of the three SE programmes studied. I participated in two service trips with the Outreach programme, one in Jamaica and one in New York City. At Cupp, I observed a CPD module classroom for ten weeks. I also attended multiple Senior Researchers Group (SRG) meetings, Cupp's forum in which community enquiries are discussed and routed to appropriate academic partners. Similarly, I participated in MAP classes for the fall term of 2008, as well as in the cohort's progress seminar in June 2009. Furthermore, because of the high level of buy-in from each institution, I was able to gain access to

preliminary proposals regarding the programmes, planning and design documents, steering committee minutes, *et cetera*, from the early phases of the programmes.

I have also been able to participate in numerous conferences, workshops and research consortium meetings which are intrinsically related to this topic which have enabled me to situate my research more clearly within global debates and related efforts to build this new field of knowledge and practice.

Moreover, working with MAP helped me to recognise the value of reflective practice (RP) as a form of sensemaking and analysis, and so I have also kept a reflective journal throughout the process which has enabled me to make connections across these dissimilar institutions and contexts and to capture details, impressions and events outside of the workshops and interviews.

Challenges of the Research Process

Although this research has bypassed some of the standard challenges associated with fieldwork, others have been substituted in their place. From the beginning, the idea of "holding the mirror up to nature" and conducting research within the organization where I am enrolled as a student has been seen as potentially risky and a process that needed to be negotiated delicately. Moreover, I had thesis supervisors involved in two of the three SE programmes, while my positionality at Sewanee, as a former student and employee, placed me in a complex situation in that third case as well. Although there was a need to proceed cautiously and tread lightly, no crisis or conflict arose as a result of my fieldwork activities. Indeed, I think the AI approach allowed me to avoid some of the challenges that might have arisen had I aimed at a critique of these programmes. Certainly problems exist and challenges have been faced by all of the programmes, but the slant of this research in looking for solutions rather than problems, changed the frame of reference and shaped how people responded to the research, which as I have noted was positively in most instances.

Although my positionality in this research is unusual, I believe that it does not violate the methodological approaches laid out in this chapter. Unlike traditional objectivist research, AR places the researcher centrally in the research process. There was no pretence that I would be apart or distant from the object of the research or from those

involved in my research. Intrinsically, in AR, the goal is to influence and be in relationship with the research context rather than being a passive observer. In that sense the research is clearly subjective. My current and pre-existing relationships and roles in these institutions influenced the way in which my enquiries were received and responded to. I feel these pre-existing relationships deepened and strengthened the quality of the data. These relationships were the primary reason for my choosing an RP approach and these particular cases. These relationships opened doors which would have been quite difficult to open as an outsider. Thus, it is difficult to imagine another person being able to conduct this same piece of research, because of the years of experience I have had within these institutions and the relationships which permeate these experiences. Consequently, I do not think that this research is verifiable in the sense of it being "repeatable." Another researcher without my contacts and history would unlikely have had access to the same people or asked the same questions. Moreover, this data is from a snapshot in time in 2009. To conduct such research again at later points in the life-cycles of these programmes would lead to the production of different data. Thus, this research cannot be evaluated on its objectivity and repeatability; instead, its validity should be assessed on the basis of "recoverability." This criterion asks: are the choices that I made as a researcher during the course of this study logical and justified given the options and resources which were at hand; does the process through which the data was analysed seem consistent with the conclusions which were reached; is it logical that such findings could be generated from this body of data; and what is the value of this research to others working in the same field? According to Menand, "Beyond attaining the assent (usually provisional, and understood to be so) of other people who are trying to figure out the same things, there is no watertight verification procedure" (2010, 108). Furthermore, Checkland has argued that recoverability is the only sensible criterion for evaluating AR with complex human systems:

> It is necessary to declare in advance the intellectual framework you, the researcher, will use to try to make sense of the experience gained. Given such an explicit framework, you can then describe the research experience in the well-defined language of the framework. This makes it possible for anyone outside of the work to 'recover' it, to see exactly what was done and how the conclusions were reached. (Checkland and Poulter 2006, 17).

I feel researching institutions where I have had—and will continue to have—interactions and relationships has made my thesis stronger and more accurate. If I were writing about HEIs that no one else besides myself had direct experience of, it would be difficult for supervisors to evaluate my work with an eye for detail. In this research, however, I find myself double and triple-checked on the accuracy of all my statements. This process has ultimately refined my work and led to a higher quality output.

Thus far, I have laid out the first part of my research framework, for how the data was generated. In the remaining sections I will describe the methods used in order to sort, code and analyse the data which the fieldwork produced.

Post-fieldwork Data Coding and Narrative Analysis

Having completed the fieldwork, I began an intensive process of data sorting and analysis. This first iteration of the analysis process focused primarily on early programme documents and recorded interviews. I used NVivo qualitative analysis software for working with these extended interviews. NVivo allowed me to code and catalogue excerpts from the interviews in their audio forms. These audio transcripts have been helpful for supplementing the ten volumes of longhand notes I took during the interviews. The data was coded according to three major categories or "nodes" which related to the three original research questions. These were: (1) data pertaining to the history and creation of the programmes; (2) data pertaining to institutional outcomes beyond the programmes themselves; (3) data pertaining to individual outcomes. It was also possible to load programme documents into NVivo and code portions of this data along these initial three axes.

Complexity theorists have argued that narrative is an important tool for understanding human systems. According to Snowden, narratives offer "a simple way of conveying complex ideas and understanding the complexity of culture and learning within communities" (Snowden 2001, 7). As such I began to select and organise the data through a process of "narrative analysis." I drafted my first empirical chapter by writing out a linear history of how each of the programmes was formed. These narratives included the voices from the interviews of all those who had been engaged in the processes which led to the creation of these programmes. The first draft chapter included a composite story of how each of the programmes began. After this I

constructed a second narrative chapter which synthesised the data which was clustered around the second node regarding institutional outcomes, including influences on curriculum and university policy. This was followed by a third narrative chapter which linked together data from the third node regarding the influence of the SE programmes on individual students, academics and staff members.

I had chosen a narrative methodology in hopes of creating a more holistic process of analysis which would be more systemic. I aimed through this method to preserve the individual voices which produced the data and to demonstrate each individual's interconnection with other parts of the system. In practice however, this meant these chapters were exceedingly long and contained extended interview excerpts.

Work In Progress Seminar

Based on the preliminary findings of the three narrative analysis chapters, I presented my "Work In Progress" (WIP) seminar to colleagues at IDS in December 2009. The feedback from this session, while positive, led me to reassess my work on two fundamental points regarding the analytical methods. The first issue was the role of narrative in the thesis. The IDS Fellows at my WIP ultimately convinced me, given the word-limited nature of the thesis, that a true narrative approach was not feasible, especially given the depth of my research analysis and the need to incorporate three distinct cases. Through the WIP, I also recognised the need to make my analytical framework more rigorous—and visible. While I had an abundance of complex theory which had informed my research methods and my data generation, I had not shown clearly how these concepts translated into my analytical approach. I needed to assemble these concepts into a more explicit analytical scaffolding which would guide the coding and selecting of the data and provide a definite structure for my empirical and conceptual findings. The following section explains how I moved forward on these points.

Development of the SIPSC Analytical Framework

The analytical framework applies systems/complexity concepts, as well as those drawn from the field of organisational learning and development. Core concepts from these bodies of literature were outlined in Chapter 2. Systems and complexity theory have often been used to conceptualise change within organizations. However, in terms of using these concepts for analysis, complexity and organisational learning practitioners

warn of developing analytical frameworks which are too narrow and thus occlude the most interesting insights from being seen. As Snowden has cautioned, "The framework shouldn't produce the data, rather the framework should emerge from the data" (Snowden 2008). To do otherwise, warn Senge *et al.*, is to "simply gather information which confirms our pre-existing assumptions" (2005, 88). Thus in developing the analytical framework I returned to the narrative chapters and to the coded data. The data regarding the first and second research questions was particularly rich. Interesting parallels in the cases were already evident in the narratives which could be highlighted by analysing the cases thematically, as opposed to the parallel narratives. There was also significant data on these programmes' influence on individuals, but this information seemed potentially less informative and applicable to potential readers than the data clustered around the other questions. Thus I chose to focus on the creation of the programmes and the intra-institutional outcomes generated by the SE programmes.

Thus the first empirical chapter would focus on the creation of the programmes. The primary analytical concept for this chapter was the systems/complexity notion of "prochronistic change." Although this concept will be described in detail in Chapter 4, prochronistic change theorises organisational development as an evolutionary process. This concept helped to link together data about the history of the institutions, to locate embedded institutional narratives and to place the work of the SE programmes within a larger context of the universities' long-term history with their communities.

In looking to the other main body of data, complexity ideas again shaped the analytical lens. In contrast to "results-driven" management, systems/complexity thinking encourages organisations to reject assumption of direct, linear causality. According to Scharmer, complexity suggests that the world actually functions in quite the opposite way, that cause and effect may be separated in time and space, making assessments of impact more difficult (2009). To help organizations take into account this nonlinear perspective, consultants and theorists have developed multiple tools rooted in systems/complexity thinking which discipline organizations to evaluate differently. Of particular relevance to this study is a method known as "outcome mapping" (OM).

In OM, there is a paradigmatic "shift away from assessing the products of a program," therefore away from programmatic impacts, to focusing instead on outcomes, which are

defined as "changes in behaviour, relationships, activities or actions of the people, groups, and organizations with whom a programme works with directly" (Earl, Carden *et al*. 2001, 1). Rather than focusing on a programme's beneficiaries, OM focuses on the programme's "boundary partners," those actors "with whom the programme interacts directly and with whom the programme can anticipate some opportunities for influence" (*ibid*., 131). Incorporating OM into this study enabled a shift in analysis away from evaluating the results of the SE programme's projects and their impacts on target groups, to looking at the influence of the SE programmes on actors within their own HEIs, their institutional "boundary partners" with whom they closely carried out their work.

Another basic premise of OM is that many outcomes generated by a project are unanticipated. To evaluate exclusively intended impacts may be to miss the most significant outcomes of an action or project. Thus OM conditions evaluators also to look for other areas of recognisable change which might fall outside of the initial strategy, but which are also significant and help to increase a holistic understanding of how change happens within a certain context. This premise of emergent, unintended outcomes was vital to recognising the institutional outcomes generated by these SE programmes. Indeed the research data suggests that a large part of what these SE programmes have accomplished lies outside of their formal missions and purposes. Within an OM framework, outcomes are based on contribution (influence) rather than attribution (impact). Within this perspective, this research argues that these SE programmes "can make a logical argument regarding [their] contributions to changes in [their] boundary partners, but cannot claim sole credit" (Earl, Carden *et al*. 2001, 77). As such, OM provided a lens which revealed a variety of such unexpected institutional outcomes. The findings in this particular area were so rich that they contained enough data for two empirical chapters.[24]

Chapters 5 and 6 are organised around such unanticipated institutional outcomes. As was stated in Chapter 2, most literature generated about SE programmes focuses on impacts in the community. While such outcomes are centrally important, to limit monitoring and evaluation to what happens exclusively outside of the HEI may

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[24] See Annex 2 for a more detailed description of outcome mapping and its specific application in this research.

overlook some very important internal influences on the wider institution. While these programmes are conceived as flowing outward into the community, the data suggested that there are also flows of resources and ideas from these programmes into the wider institutional environment.

The outcomes documented in Chapter 5 were isolated by applying the concept of single-loop learning (see Chapter 2). This concept surfaced outcomes which related to the universities' core societal functions of teaching and research. Similarly, the outcomes documented in Chapter 6 were collated by applying the concept of double-loop learning to the data. This concept surfaced outcomes regarding the institutional learning, such that the institutional narrative, policies and strategic priorities were seen to shift.

As such, prochronistic change, outcome mapping and loop learning were the core concepts of the analytical framework. These concepts guided the selection and the sorting of the data and led to the initial empirical findings which are presented at the beginning of each analytical chapter. However, locating these basic findings was only half of the research's analytical process. These outcomes needed to be investigated more closely to understand the underlying processes which had facilitated them. Hence additional concepts from systems/complexity thinking were applied to the data through a process of thematic analysis in order to locate the enabling processes and structures. Concepts such as adaptive agents, fractals, attractors, emergence and bifurcation facilitated a more nuanced, explanatory analysis of the institutional outcomes.

Each analytical chapter begins with a presentation of the empirical findings in relation to the research questions: first, regarding the creation of the programmes, then the institutional outcomes related to curriculum and research, followed by the institutional outcomes related to learning culture. These empirical findings are then disaggregated through a second round of conceptual analysis in order to surface the mechanisms that enabled them. These enablers, which are revealed throughout the analytical chapters, are later contrasted in the final chapter of the thesis with the institutional factors considered in the generative tool.

The following figure provides a concise map of the analytical framework described in this section:

Generative tool

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Fieldwork

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Data

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Analytical Framework

Research Questions	Creation of programmes	Internal outcomes
Systems/complexity concepts (NVivo coding)	Prochronistic change	Outcome mapping
Organisational learning concepts (NVivo coding)		Single-loop learning Double-loop learning
Empirical findings	Chapter 4 Creation of programmes	Chapter 5 Curricular outcomes Chapter 6 Institutional outcomes
Systems/complexity concepts (NVivo coding)	Adaptive agents—emergence—fractals—attractors dependency mapping—bifurcation	
Conceptual Findings: Institutional enablers	Chapter 4 Enablers of Programme Creation	Chapter 5 Enablers of Curricular outcomes Chapter 6 Enablers of Institutional Outcomes

Conclusions

Figure 2: Map of Analytical Framework

Conclusion

This chapter has delineated the methodology used in this study. The subsequent three chapters will review the findings from the research. The next chapter explores the creation of the SE programmes studied in the research, searching for institutional factors that facilitated their emergence.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSISING THE CREATION
AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE SE PROGRAMMES

Introduction

This chapter looks closely at the creation and growth of the programmes studied. The first part of the chapter will provide some of the backstory that surrounds the creation of the three programmes. It will consider the constellation of events inside and outside of the respective HEIs that led to the formulation of these programmes? Having briefly outlined the history of the programmes, I will suggest several concepts from systems and complexity thinking that can be useful in helping to elucidate some patterns of development for these programmes. The concepts to be introduced in this chapter include: prochronistic change, adaptive agents, emergence and fractals. These concepts will help to identify and make sense of some of the pivotal events and processes which enabled these programmes to organise and embed themselves within each of their respective institutions. Using the concept of prochronistic change, this chapter will explore the significance of history and context on the formation these programmes. The concept of adaptive agents will be used to evaluate the role and types of leadership which facilitated the development of these programmes. Ideas of emergence will be used to understand how the programmes established ways of working within fractious, multi-stakeholder environments. The concept of fractal relationships will be used to identify the influence of non-traditional actors who have entered the programmes' home universities by way of leadership roles with the programmes. Notable parallels between all of the programmes will be highlighted throughout.

Outcomes: Creation of the Programmes

This chapter is structured somewhat differently than the subsequent empirical chapters. Whereas in Chapter 5 and 6, the initial sections of those chapters will map unexpected outcomes generated by these programmes in their respective institutions, this chapter opens with a brief recounting of how these programmes were created and have survived thus far, Cupp and MAP for almost a decade and Outreach for more than twenty years. These programmatic histories will be analysed in the latter part of the chapter, via the systems and complexity concepts mentioned above, to look for patterns and parallels which provide some evidence of drivers and enablers of institutional change which can

facilitate the creation and development of these kinds of programmes within an HE institutional environment.

A Brief History of Outreach

The Outreach programme at Sewanee was created in 1988 shortly before the arrival of a new VC. The original idea for the programme came from the chaplain of the university who had previously served a parish in Chicago and had experience with community development work. The first person placed in charge of the Outreach effort was an Episcopal priest. He only held the position for about a year before being asked to resign. During this time the new VC, Sam Williamson, had been installed at the university. He quickly realised that relations between the university and the community were in tatters. The previous chaplain had angered many in the community. Additionally, the townspeople were furious over an episode where they had been charged by the university for emergency services provided to them by the university during a blizzard in 1985 and were threatening to incorporate the town of Sewanee, which would have undercut the institution's constitutional authority as head of the municipality. As such, the new VC saw the Outreach concept as an opportunity to deal with this two-fold crisis of confidence:

> How do you get the chaplaincy back on good terms with the community and how to deal with the community on this constitutional issue? Outreach was a good strategy (Williamson interview).[25]

Although the university had made some previous attempts at working with the community in its one-hundred-thirty year history, these were few and far between. Williamson described these projects as "episodic moments of engagement" (interview), which included efforts by the Episcopal seminary (which is affiliated with the university) and local parish to provide basic education to children of the nearby mountain communities—the schools had subsequently closed down—and an unfulfilled Depression-era plan to build an artisan colony for workers. Overall the university had done little to cultivate good relations with its neighbours. According to some people interviewed for this research, Sewanee was the antithesis of the engaged university, a "place for the elites" (Peterman interview)[26] and an "island in the middle of their

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[25] 04/03/2010
[26] 25/02/2010

community where [the local people] never go" (Willis interview).[27] Thus the Outreach programme had a deep perceptual and relational deficit to overcome for the university.

Williamson became a strong advocate for the Outreach concept and helped to secure sustainable funding to hire a new coordinator and make the programme a permanent part of the university's institutional structure. Such programmes at other universities were housed within the student services/student life department of the university. However, as will be discussed later in this chapter, Williamson decided the make Outreach permanently a component of the university chaplaincy in order to give it more autonomy. The new person hired to fill the role of coordinator was not a priest however, but a homebuilder. This was quite a substantial shift in personnel, but the nascent programme was seizing on earlier student-led efforts to document poor housing conditions on and near the university campus. The dilapidated condition of the housing stock for many locals made home repairs a logical first area of focus for the new programme, and as such the choice of Dixon Myers as the new Outreach coordinator.

Myers was an exceptional fit for the position, which he has now held continuously for twenty years. Under his leadership, the programme has expanded from one staff person to three full-time staff. The homebuilding work of the early days continues to be a mainstay of the programme, however, the nature of the work has evolved from housing repairs to building completely new houses to replace the often massively deteriorated homes of clients. The housing work was spun-off into a legal and financially independent voluntary organisation called Housing Sewanee Incorporated (HSI), though in practice much of the labour is still provided by student volunteers guided by the Outreach office. Outreach's other main programmatic focus evolved around alternative spring break (ASB) trips. Such programmes allow students to spend their university breaks engaged in meaningful service in locations away from the university. From an original ASB in Jamaica, Outreach has scaled up the programme to include multiple domestic and international trips including New Orleans (tutoring/building), New York City (AIDS patient care), Miami (tutoring), Ecuador (building), Costa Rica (environmental projects) and Haiti (agricultural and medical projects). During spring break more than 10% of the university's student body are typically on the ground as a

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[27] 27/02/2010

part of one of these Outreach programmes. Such is the popularity of these programmes among students that Outreach now organises trips at other times in the year as well, including fall, summer and winter breaks. Programme staff note that many students often become involved in local projects after first becoming familiar with Outreach through one of the ASB trips.

While Outreach was successful at engaging community and students, it had difficulties interfacing with faculty at an academic and curricular level. The programme's institutional location within the chaplaincy made Outreach difficult to partner with structurally and Myers' lack of academic credentials beyond a BA reinforced the Outreach/curricular divide well into the new millennium. In the recent years, however, the programme has made remarkable strides in penetrating the curriculum and has become an important facilitator of new SL and CE opportunities for students across multiple disciplines.

A Brief History of the Community-University Partnership Programme (Cupp)
Cupp's creation, in part, was the result of actors and resources that came from outside of the university. Nonetheless, as was described in Chapter 3, UoB had a strong institutional history of applied, community-themed research going back to its days as a polytechnic and even earlier, which made it an appealing institution for the American-based Atlantic Philanthropies (AP) which, at the turn of the millennium, had a project focus on community-university engagement. AP had become familiar with UoB's then vice-chancellor, David Watson, who strongly and vocally advocated for universities to play an active role in their local communities. Watson believed that UoB was already playing a significant role in the Brighton/Sussex area, but that changes in HE policy and funding were driving universities away from local engagement. AP sought to address this challenge and to make UoB a standard-bearer of university-community partnership by providing the university with resources so that it could create a dedicated infrastructure for supporting community-engaged work throughout the institution. Indeed, UoB's funding proposal to the AP explicitly articulated this:

> We need to improve the University's capacity to respond to and anticipate requests—and opportunities—for involvement in community-related activities… by addressing an infrastructure gap (Brighton 2002, 50).

As such Cupp was envisioned as a form of institutional capacity development for the university in order to enhance and further its extant community engagement efforts. New positions were created with full-time responsibilities of promoting and improving community engagement at the university. These included a director position, a "Helpdesk" officer and several administrative support staff. Additionally, there was an academic director role, to be chosen from within the UoB faculty, who would work part-time with Cupp to input ideas and perspectives from the faculty side.

As conceived in the grant proposal, main objectives of the programme would be twofold:

> 1) "ensure the University's resources (intellectual and physical) were made fully available to, informed by and exploited by its local and subregional communities" 2) "enhance the community's and the University's capacity for engagement and mutual benefit" (Balloch, Cohen *et al.* 2007, 21).

The lynchpin mechanism for initiating these interactions was Cupp's Helpdesk. Based upon the "help desk" model pioneered by the Science Shop movement[28], the UoB Helpdesk was a dedicated interface between the community and the university. Community members and organisations could approach the Helpdesk with their queries by phone, email or in person. Having received such requests via the Helpdesk, Cupp's specific role was not to carry out research on behalf of the community, but to broker a connection between the community inquirers and appropriate actors inside the university who could help the community groups address their institutional and stakeholder needs. This would occur through access to specialist knowledge offered by particular UoB academics, or by supporting capacity development within these local organisations which would enable them to carry out their research enquires and analysis with their own resources.

The successful bid to AP garnered a grant for UoB of £800,000 over three years to establish Cupp. In the spring of 2003, David Wolff was hired to be the Cupp's director. Wolff arrived as a veteran of the voluntary sector with more than twenty years of experience working on issues of homelessness in the UK. By the summer of 2003, Cupp

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[28] See http://www.scienceshops.org/new%20web-content/framesets/fs-about.html

had several pilot projects underway in the Brighton community. By fall, Polly Rodriguez was in place as the Helpdesk manager, making Cupp fully operational.

Despite ostensibly favourable community and institutional environments, Cupp struggled early on to establish a role and build relationships internally and externally. Wolff had moved to Brighton specifically to take on the Cupp role and as such had limited knowledge of the local players in the voluntary and community sector. He had to establish his own reputation as well as that of Cupp. Moreover, no one in the community had ever encountered a programme like Cupp before, and despite Wolff's assurances that Cupp aimed to play a support role, many community actors were initially suspicious of the university's efforts.

> One of the other suspicions was about, "Well, what's the University doing on our patch? They're going to be taking funding off us because they're going to be doing the same job as us!" That was probably the most delicate thing to negotiate: what's our role in relation to theirs? (Wolff interview).[29]

At times, UoB's record of research in the community was a negative rather than a positive factor. Interviewees in areas such as Moulsecoomb felt that past interactions with university researchers, usually as part of much larger government initiatives, had accomplished little, with their individual contributions to the research being anonymised, which in their perception denied them credit for their ideas and knowledge about the community (Cook interview)[30]. Furthermore, formal community organisations in the city were concerned that the new programme would become competitive force rather than a compliment to the local voluntary sector (Wolff interview).[31]

Cupp struggled inside the university as well. It was initially not well-known or publicized inside the institution. There were few takers for the grant money they were attempting to distribute to community-based researchers (Balloch interview).[32] Some academics with a predilection for community work were discouraged from taking on

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[29] 21/04/2009
[30] 16/06/2009
[31] 21/04/2009
[32] 09/07/2009

too much involvement in the programme by their line managers. Cupp even struggled initially to find suitable office space in a university building.

Within about eighteen months, however, Cupp had managed to overcome these initial difficulties. A major turning point included a successful bid to HEFCE (Higher Education Funding Council for England) to facilitate a knowledge exchange programme in cooperation with the University of Sussex. The Brighton-Sussex Community Knowledge Exchange (BSCKE) was a multi-million pound grant, proving that Cupp was a financial asset to UoB in being able to leverage research funds to the university. The BSCKE funds were also important as they insured Cupp with two years of additional funding beyond the end of the AP grant.

After BSCKE, Cupp recorded a string of successes that brought research revenue and publicity to the university. This included winning another large government grant for revitalising coastal communities, hosting two well-attended international conferences on community-university partnerships, publishing a book about Cupp's work, as well as receiving a prestigious national award from Times Higher Education. During this time Cupp hired more staff to support its work with academics and community groups. It also developed a significant curricular presence under the leadership of Juliet Millican. These achievements persuaded UoB to core fund Cupp from institutional sources in 2007 when the last infusion of AP money had run out, making the programme a permanent part of the university's institutional structure.

A Brief History of the Masters in Participation, Power and Social Change (MAP)

The MAP programme at IDS differs from the other cases in this research in that it was designed specifically as an academic programme, as distinct from the function of supporting institutional community engagement as was seen in both Outreach and Cupp. Nonetheless, the provisional name of the course during its early design was '"MA in Participatory Development and Civic Engagement" (Ashman 2002, 1), indicating the common orientation of these SE programmes despite their variation of institutional functions. The MA was an outgrowth of the work of the Participation, Power and Social Change team (PPSC) at IDS. During the 1990s, this research group had become quite well-known in the field of development studies for articulating a coherent paradigm of participatory development. That is development driven by local

needs and actors rather than by policy initiatives originating in wealthy donor nations, which were found to be often inappropriate or irrelevant to the daily realties of poor and marginalized populations. Although PPSC's work had begun with a focus on participatory methodologies such as PRA (participatory rural appraisal) and RRA (rapid rural appraisal), as the work of the team continued to expand and deepen, the group began to articulate a much more complex and comprehensive epistemological perspective around participatory and democratic ways of working which were applicable in a wide-variety of settings and organizations.

Throughout the 1990s, one of the mainstays of the team's work had been leading trainings around the globe in such participatory methods, but as the group's collective body of work grew more complex and conceptual, taking into account power and marginalisation, it became increasingly difficult to communicate these nuanced ideas in one-off trainings and workshops. This led to a fear that participatory practices were being "dumbed down" and, in some documented instances, being manipulated so as to reinforce existing power structures. According to MAP's original conveners,

> Around 2000-2001, people were really trying to scale up participatory trainings but we felt this wasn't something that people could really grasp in a couple of days. They needed more time to get their heads around it all (Pettit interview).[33]

> We realized a need to examine more carefully how we went about training, teaching and facilitating learning for those who practice participation as a process of social change. What skills, awareness, understandings and ways of working do such change agents need, and how can these be learned in ways that are dynamic, enduring and internalized? (Taylor and Pettit 2007, 234).

 The team began to envision a more comprehensive learning model for sharing these ideas and their implications. Given IDS' dual roles as both a research and teaching institution, the idea of an MA in Participation soon developed. The primary aim of the MA was to help experienced practitioners of participatory development to deepen their own practice and skills, which they could then take back to their own communities and organizations. In order to reach active development practitioners, the MA was designed as a "sandwich course," with residential academic periods at IDS at the beginning and

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[33] 15/10/2009

end of the course sandwiched around a long action-research project taking place in the students' home community or organisation. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, the curricular and pedagogical structure of MAP was quite innovative, so much so that the idea for the course originally met with scepticism within the Institute itself. MAP was longer than other MA programmes—eighteen months rather than one year—and it had a higher entrance threshold than other IDS MAs—a minimum of five years of professional experience rather than two. PPSC found more support for their programme within the University of Sussex itself, which had ultimate authority in sanctioning new degree-granting courses, but even the supportive university staff had difficulty fitting the MAP concept into their regulatory requirements of an MA.

The course was eventually approved in 2003 and had its first intake of students in 2004. Peter Taylor, an experienced development practitioner with a speciality in participatory pedagogies and curriculum development, was hired to oversee and co-convene the new MA programme with IDS Fellow Jethro Pettit. The programme drew practitioners with many years of field experience. Early on the course was designed for a bi-annual intake of students, but the success of the first two iterations of the programme encouraged PPSC to shift the programme to an annual intake in 2008. Also in 2008, the timing of the programme was changed so that MAP students would be on campus at the same time as other IDS MA students. Previously, the residential parts of programme had convened in the summer when most other MA students were busy with exams and dissertations.

The core of the programme is the participatory action research (PAR) project which is carried out by MAP students during the year-long interval between the academic terms. However, the programme also emphasises personal reflection. The work of the course not only emphasises the PAR project, but also encourages deep reflection on one's motivations and capacities as an SC agent. Although this reflective dimension was envisioned as part of the course from the beginning, after the introduction of a distinctly articulated reflective practice (RP) strand into the programme at the end of MAP's first iteration, the emphasis on RP has become more pronounced. As such the aim of the programme has become more explicitly about self-enquiry, situated within a larger action research initiative—which may or may not reach a discernable conclusion during

the eighteen month academic programme—but provides a context in which the students can actively explore their own practice.

Despite a variety of journal articles (Taylor and Pettit 2007; Taylor 2008) and conference presentations (Bivens and Taylor 2008; Haddad 2009) which have generated much interest in the programme globally, MAP has struggled with enrolment as its primary applicant pool is development practitioners from developing countries, many of whom struggle with finding sufficient funding to attend the course. As donor grants for individual training have declined in recent years, MAP enrolment has likewise declined, although the overall number of applicants remains high. Indeed, the most recent iteration of the programme was cancelled due to low student numbers, a result of the funding situation, compounded by difficulty in securing student visas for those who had been accepted into the course (Gaventa personal communication)[34].

How Change Happens: Looking Through a Systems Lens

As described in Chapter 2, systems and complexity theory contribute useful concepts which can support the analysis of these case studies. Four clarifying concepts for exploring institutional processes around the inception and formative period of these programmes are prochronistic change, adaptive agents, emergence and fractals. Taken together, these four concepts can help to illuminate how these programmes came into being and how they began to influence the wider systems in which they are located. In the following subsections, each concept is explored and then used to analyse data from the case studies in order to answer the first research question of the thesis.

Prochronistic Change

The idea of prochronistic change is particularly relevant to this chapter which looks at the emergence of these programmes within their HEIs. The concept argues that systems, organisms and institutions are prochronistic, in that they carry their histories along with them. Thus the conditions at the creation of a project or organization have an ongoing influence on the development of the system long afterward. As such, prochronistic change highlights the sensitivity of systems to their initial conditions.

> The behaviours of complex systems are sensitive to their initial
> conditions. Simply, this means that two complex systems that are

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[34] 18/08/2010

initially very close together in terms of their various elements and dimensions can end up in distinctly different places. This comes from nonlinearity of relationships –where changes are not proportional, small changes in any one of the elements can result in large changes (Ramalingam, Jones *et al*. 2008, 26).

 In terms of this research, prochronistic change requires that close attention be paid to the institutional context at the moment when the programme began and to the wider contexts which fed into the decision. From an organisational perspective, the initial conditions which influence a system can also be read as historical conditions. "The specific paths that a system may follow depend on its past history. The point here is that past history affects future development, and there may be several possible paths or patterns that a system may follow" (Mitleton-Kelly 2003, 17). This thought is echoed by Ramalingam *et al.*, "All interactions are contingent on an historical process. Put simply, history matters in complex systems" (Ramalingam, Jones *et al*. 2008, 27).

This cutaway image of a conch shell is a helpful demonstration of prochronistic change. The growth of the shell is prochronistic in that it carries the history of its previous forms within itself. Moreover these past versions strongly influence the current size and form of the organism. The theory of prochronistic change argues that systems evolve in an analogous manner.

Figure 3: Prochronistic Change

This concept of heightened sensitivity to initial, historical conditions offers serious implications for organizational theory, particularly around comparison and transferability of practices.

> The linear, simplistic approach to organizational issues sometimes leads to an assumption that the same methods and approaches will work everywhere more or less effectively. In other words, that a successful model of organizational change may be used with very similar results. But understanding of sensitivity to dependence on initial conditions suggests this is most unlikely. Every organization is unique with its own culture, its own environment and its own complex web of living individuals. Thus each organization has its own unique set of initial conditions. Thus it is not possible to transfer a set of organizational initiatives and successful models from one organization to another and expect similar results (McMillian 2003, 87).

Regarding the nature of this research, McMillian's point is particularly important. The intent of this research is not to lift up these three programmes as successful models which should be replicated elsewhere—because this understanding of prochronistic change suggests strongly that to try to reconstruct one of these programmes at another HEI would unlikely result in the same positive results that were achieved at the original institutions. The tendency to try to reproduce successful programmes using standardised "best-practices" is what Baser and Morgan call "systems blindness":

> They see the present, but not the evolution of events that got things to the present [and as a result] misunderstand relationships that shape system behaviour (Baser and Morgan 2008, 17).

The particular form and character of each programme is highly context specific and thus non-transferrable.

However, because of the systems/complexity framework of this research, the focus is not on structures or models but on events and processes. From this perspective, the notion of prochronistic change can help illuminate the conditions and indictors which preceded and led to the creation of these programmes. Such an analysis may also provide a better understanding of why some institutions are more inclined to embed successfully CE and SC programmes and activities than are other HEIs.

The Influence of Prochronistic Change: Convergent Energies of History and Context

The data indicates first and foremost that history and context matter, that they must be taken seriously into consideration in the framing and design of SE programmes. The context at the moment a programme is created is the product of many years of accumulated history—in the community, in the institution and at the often conflictual boundary between them. As UoB's Pro-VC of Academic Affairs[35] noted, "Universities can be quite influential in creating a local context as well as responding to it" (Laing interview).[36] The local context is further complicated by the various perceptual lenses that mediate the potential for action and change—the community's perception of the university, the university's perception of the community, and the university's perception of itself. These multiple perceptions are built on years of historical memory of the

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[35] This was Dr. Laing's position in 2009, at the time of the interview. He has since been promoted to Deputy Vice Chancellor of UoB.
[36] 06/04/2009

various—sometime antagonistic—factions involved. All of these issues play a role when the trying to reach across boundaries and catalyse new processes. However, as Burns notes, such details are often overlooked:

> One of the problems with contemporary organisations is that they try to impose change without reference to the characters, the embedded cultures, the narratives that went before (2007, 50).

In these SE programmes, however, institutional narratives—the stories through which members of these institutions understood and communicated the history of these HEIs—were found to be quite an important tool for substantiating the existence and value of these programmes. By framing these programmes as an outgrowth of the institution's history, the creators of the programmes were able to gain institutional support for the initiatives. Such historical narratives can be a double-edged sword, however, as Laing notes:

> Institutional histories are things you need to deal with one way or another… You need to deal with, not wish them away. They can be useful rhetorical rallying points, but I suspect they more often get in the way because people think there's something they've got to live up to (interview).[37]

However, just such a desire to live up to these institutional narratives appears to be a strong force for persuasion in terms of creating and supporting these kinds of programmes. Almost universally, UoB employees commented on the university's history as a polytechnic, and as such, its tradition of applied, community-based research as a main reason for Cupp's success, as in these examples:

> It's a university that evolved on five different sites from local beginnings. I think it started as an art school in the basement of the Royal Pavilion— so legend has it. It's a university that grew out of local roots (Balloch interview).[38]

> It's a genuine commitment to the local community that has historical roots in this whole thing about being a polytechnic and being deeply connected all the time to the local community. Training nurses, teachers, all that (Hart interview).[39]

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[37] 06/04/2009
[38] 09/07/2009
[39] 08/12/2008

> Institutions like polytechnics were always more inclined to be more concerned with their social impact in the societies which surrounded them, because so much of what you're doing is vocational work, linked with local schools and hospitals and businesses, so that carried something with it (Laing interview).[40]

Similarly IDS' unique positionality as a development research institute has similarly generated a strong sense of institutional narrative and identity, particularly around themes of being a critical voice in the field of development, of listening to the knowledge of those in developing countries as much as Northern experts.

> By the fourth *IDS Bulletin* [in 1968], some of what was to become IDS' style was already visible, in a series of articles on 'development myths'… This *Bulletin* emphasised that "one of the persistent myths of development is that 'we' know what is good for 'them'." Not bad for the first two years of IDS (Jolly 2008, 14).

Even today IDS lists "promot[ing] social justice and ensur[ing] that all people's voices are heard" as a primary institutional goal in its mission statement (IDS 2010a). Such themes were clearly at the core of MAP, with its focus on building development practitioners' capacity to be change agents in their local contexts.

Given Sewanee's inconsistent, atavistic history of engaging with its local communities and its identity as a highly-selective, elite institution, VC Williamson had a more substantial challenge in generating institutional support for the Outreach initiative. However, by keeping the programme within the chaplaincy, Williamson could call on the university's affiliation with the Episcopal Church, and as such its identity and perceived obligations as a Christian institution.

> Christianity in action, saying the Episcopal university really did mean something. It didn't mean you had to be Episcopal. You could be Catholic, Jewish or Muslim, or whatever. Doesn't matter. But it says we care about the environment in which we live (Williamson interview).[41]

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[40] 06/04/2009
[41] 04/03/2009

By leaning heavily on these institutional narratives, those who created these programmes were able to make a case for the appropriateness of these programmes within their institutions, arguing that such programmes would be representative of the institutions' best traditions and values in action.

Outside of the universities, these programmes were also used to influence perceptions of those in the local communities, or those of other relevant stakeholders. For UoB and IDS, this was an effort to reinforce positive perceptions. Interviewees in the Brighton voluntary sector commented that UoB stood out strong for its engagement efforts *vis-á-vis* its neighbour and competitor the University of Sussex.

> We don't have a relationship with Sussex really… Working with Cupp really exposed [Sussex] as being detached and not having the equivalent set of connections... Certainly Brighton would stand out as being much more connected to the community and valuing that (interview).[42]

Similarly IDS had gained a global reputation as a perceived bastion for participatory development thinking because of the work of PPSC. The MAP programme heightened this perception by adding a new teaching and learning dimension to the team's work. As before, Sewanee stands out because the strategic role of the Outreach programme was to redefine the institution's relationship with the community, to alter negative perceptions and "to blunt that hostility" (Williamson interview)[43] which had arisen in the community toward the university over a variety of issues.

However, to engage successfully with the outside world, such programmes needed to be more than public relations campaigns. As a senior manager noted,

> To do this just on the basis of reputation, that it's good PR, will make people like you, I think is wrong. If what you do is right and works effectively, then people will like you, I hope… You wouldn't try to sell it… on the grounds that it's going to be good PR because at the end of the day that's just hollow (Laing interview).[44]

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[42] 06/04/2009
[43] 04/03/2009
[44] 06/04/2009

To contribute meaningfully, these programmes needed deep knowledge of the contexts in which they were to operate. Most interviewees named local context as one of the most important factors which influenced the success or failure of their institution's programmes. This was most especially the case at UoB and Sewanee, where Cupp and Outreach work literally on the doorsteps of their institutions. For Cupp staff, engaging with the Brighton-Hove voluntary sector was a unique challenge because, as described in Chapter 3, it is organised unlike any other city's voluntary sector in the country. Thus, learning to engage with the local system required more than just learning who the players were. Despite UoB's track record of working with the community, many in the voluntary sector were doubtful early on of Cupp's capacity to contribute.

> It was interesting actually, because [prior to Cupp] we'd tried a couple of times to engage the University of Brighton in things that we were doing and had failed miserably actually (Bramwell interview).[45]

> In some instances I had to work through some quite hefty suspicion and opposition to be honest. I mean, people that have been sick and tired of multiple research projects in their areas where, you know the clichés, where the researchers come in, they take the information and just disappear, leaving nothing behind that benefits the community (Wolff interview).[46]

Sewanee's Appalachian context also presented a distinctive set of challenge for the Outreach staff early on. Historical issues of race and civil rights still permeated the environment when the programme began. In the 1960s, members of the Sewanee faculty had taken a very public pro-integration stance, engaging with the Highlander Folk School and forcing the county to integrate its schools. These actions angered many in the local communities, creating a lingering feeling of mistrust and resentment toward the university.

> Not to put too fine of a negative point on it, part of the problem Sewanee had with everyone else—that a group of white citizens sued to integrate Franklin County. Sewanee parents and black parents, but Sewanee parents were the leaders. What does this do? This made Sewanee a bad word for the local politics in Franklin County… And that's had a spillover effect in places like Grundy County, Marion County where people weren't very happy to see what was going on in Sewanee. It

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[45] 06/04/2009
[46] 21/04/2009

poisoned the waters and it's taken a long time to get over (Williamson interview).[47]

In part because of the still tense relationship between the university and the local white population, the initial projects that the Outreach programme engaged in were with African-American families living on the university campus itself rather than with the extended community.

Moreover, this research discerned that it is important that "context" not be conceptualised too narrowly, just in the sense of local or institutional context. Rather context should be understood in a fluid, systemic manner that is constantly oscillating between wider and narrower frames of reference. Being able to read and respond to the local context was crucial for these programmes—both within and outside of the institution. But as complexity thinking would suggest, these programmes were not operating in isolation from larger national and international trends and movements. It was not only events at the local level which fuelled the launch and successful development of these programmes, but also trends emerging in the realms of ideas and policy that were important drivers and enablers of these programmes. As John Gaventa, one of MAP's key architects, commented about the origins of that programme, "Something else had to be going on outside of institution" (interview).[48] Policy trends— for these particular programmes service-learning (Outreach), user empowerment (Cupp), participatory development (MAP)—added momentum to these programmes by connecting them to wider debates and drivers of change.

In the case of Outreach, there was a movement afoot nationally in the US to engage students in active service to their communities. As Sewanee's Dean of Students noted, "Outreach came to Sewanee within a wider surge of service-learning initiatives" (Hartman interview).[49] In the US in the 1980s, spurred by government funding through the Corporation for National and Community Service[50] as well as Learn & Serve America[51], secondary schools and HEIs began to develop and implement service-learning projects in which students performed service-related activities within their

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[47] 04/03/2009
[48] 15/07/2009
[49] 10/02/2009
[50] See http://www.nationalservice.gov/
[51] See http://www.nationalservice.gov/about/programs/learnandserve.asp

local communities. National organisations such as Compass Compact[52] were created to promote service and outreach among university students and to help embed such practices on campuses.

As noted earlier, Cupp's genesis was partially supported by the concept of the "3rd stream" for HEIs. Cupp was also bolstered by other ideological and policy initiatives in the UK which sought to give more voice and choice to the users of public services. This user empowerment movement was particularly well-known to many of the academics who worked with Cupp early on, many of whom were active researchers and practitioners in social work fields. As Cupp's first academic director noted,

> I was talking earlier about the disability empowerment movement, the extent to which we have seen, in social work particularly, user groups claiming power… It's not a coincidence… all this emphasis on user empowerment, or the 'personalisation agenda' as it's called in social work, and the push to involve communities in education, which involves an equal respect of people's knowledge. They all demand that you respect the knowledge that individuals have about their community or their own condition. It's the same type of ideology that runs through the whole thing (Balloch interview).[53]

This revaluing of non-expert, experiential knowledge, which Balloch mentions, also links directly to the work of PPSC at IDS. The work of Robert Chambers critiqued the orthodox practices of development by taking as its frame of reference the everyday lived experiences of people in developing contexts (Chambers 1995). Chambers' work and that of the PPSC became a key area of discussion and research in the late 1990s in the field of development studies. The team was awarded a multitude of research grants and quickly rose to become the mostly highly funded research team at IDS. It was in the midst of this activity that the concept for MAP was born.

> The time seemed really right. There was a huge explosion of interest in participatory methods in the last several years, and participatory action research. So the team was able to demonstrate that the work of the team, and of myriad partners that the team has around the world, that this would have something of the zeitgeist about it (interview).[54]

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[52] Campus Compact was formed in 1985. See http://www.compact.org/
[53] 09/07/2009
[54] 11/12/2008

Thus context should be understood in a holistic sense as a lens looking continually for linkages between local happenings and history and the wider currents of society. For these programmes to move forward it is not necessary, however, that all dimensions of context be favourable or immediately receptive to the HEI's engagement. In the case of Outreach, for example, the programme was set in motion because the HEI's relationship with the local environment was so dire that action was nearly unavoidable.

This analysis has aimed to show that initial conditions do play a significant role in the emergence, conceptualisation, design and success of these programmes. These cases suggest that a programmatic framing which draws on the history of the institution is important, and creates a compelling case which can draw the interest of the community as well. To do so requires extensive knowledge of the local context in order to assess the appropriate role of the programme. An Outreach programme in rural Tennessee, where public and voluntary services are few, was best designed as a service-provider, whereas a Cupp programme in urban Brighton, which has a very extensive and sophisticated voluntary sector, finds a viable niche in capacity development and knowledge brokering. Moreover, these programmes tend to flourish when they are connected to larger debates and trends. The take-away from an analysis of these programmes based on prochronistic change is not that there is a certain matrix of preconditions which enable these programmes, rather the analysis suggests that embedding these programmes is a highly context specific operation. There is no general model which is transferrable from institution to institution. A social engagement programme based in the UoB's chaplain's office would be ill-suited to the university and the community, just as a research-intensive Cupp-style programme would be ill-fitted to the teaching-intensive culture of Sewanee. Rather the structure and function of the programme must be uniquely suited to the strengths of the institution and the needs of the community. As such an in-depth understanding of historic and contextual conditions is vital to generating an effective and sustainable programme. Thus there is no one-size-fits-all blueprint which can facilitate successful SE by HEIs.

Adaptive Agents

Systems and complexity thinkers suggest that human systems of all kinds exist at a state far from equilibrium. Against much conventional wisdom which sees complex institutions as static and monolithic, complexity views organizations in a constant state

of flux and transformation. This is one of the key elements that separates 'hard' systems thinking from 'soft' systems methods and complexity theory. The hard system approach sees systems as bounded machines with predictable rules of behaviour which can be learned and then effectively manipulated to create desired changes. According to complexity frameworks, such predictable systems are merely complicated rather than complex. Complex systems have no such consistently predictable patterns of cause and effect. Human systems are invariably complex systems because they are composed of heterogeneous actors with diverse goals and motivations. In complexity terms, these actors are referred to as "adaptive agents."

> A special class of complex systems is made up of adaptive agents, which react to the system and to each other, and which may make decisions and develop strategies to influence other agents or the overall system… As agents operate in a system, changes in the system and changes in the other actors can feed back, leading to co-evolution of the agents and the system (Ramalingam, Jones *et al*. 2008, 42).

Contributing to debates on structure and agency, such thinking puts forward the idea of adaptive agents as sources of change in organizations. Writers such as Stacey have critiqued some forms of systems thinking which reify organisations as hard systems, thus leaving little room for freedom or innovation at the individual level. In contrast, adaptive agents are only "lightly constrained" by the system in which they are embedded (Snowden 2009, 16). The most effective adaptive agents have a strong sense of the whole of the organization and its wider environment—what Hämäläinen and Saarine call "systems intelligence" (2007)—and have the capacity to push the organization into uncharted waters.

The term adaptive also suggests that such agents are more than simply reactive. They respond not only to current stimuli within the environment but anticipate future states of the system they wish to create. Working alone or cooperatively, these actors attempt to force the evolution of a system in a specified direction. Similarly, adaptive agents can also facilitate the emergence of resilience in a system because of their ability to change strategies while maintaining consistent aims (Ramalingam, Jones *et al*. 2008). From a management perspective, the concept of adaptive agents challenges the utility of linear planning processes in favour of more responsive, reiterative organisational learning

processes. This perspective also implies a critique of centralised institutional management practices.

> The complexity approach to management is one of fostering, of creating enabling conditions, of recognising that excessive control and intervention can be counterproductive. When enabling conditions permit an organisation to explore its space of possibilities, the organisation can take risks and try new ideas (Mitleton-Kelly 2003, 26).

The analysis in this chapter will draw on the concept of adaptive agents to analyse the management structures and leadership choices which facilitated the emergence of these programmes within their respective HEIs.

Adaptive Agents in Action from the Top: Leadership for Programme Creation
This research finds that the personal initiative of certain individuals is key to creating and embedding these kinds of programmes. However, these key individuals and their respective leadership styles are subject to change as the programmes evolve. Although one might expect programmes which focus on community, civic engagement and democracy to arise from a groundswell of popular support within the university or within the community, in fact, in creating such programmes, strong institutional leadership from the top of these HEIs was found to be crucial in all of the cases. Often significant change within HEIs requires champions at the apex of the institution. A study by Plantan suggests that transformative change in HEIs almost always starts with the President or VC (2008). In all three cases for this research, the proposals for these new programmes had strong backing from individuals in positions of pro-vice chancellor or higher. In fact, in the cases of Outreach and Cupp, it was the institution's actual vice chancellor who was at the head of the effort to create these new programmes within the university. Supporters at this level are important because they can provide resources and justification for the programmes.

At Sewanee, Williamson's energy sprang from previous management experiences at other HEIs.

> Part of this came out of my experiences of looking back at Harvard and Yale and if you lived in an environment where the institution had paid no attention to the community—which was Yale and it got itself surrounded by a set of slums—or Cambridge, which after a series of missteps, said,

> 'We're going to do something different' and move forward and do community development (interview).[55]

He went on to say:

> When I got here, it didn't take me long in meeting with the Community Council to realise that the community morale was hostile to the university and we needed to do something… We wanted to rebuild the credibility of the university with the Sewanee working community—not the faculty, not the senior staff—but the working community. We had to show the University was concerned about the quality of their lives (Williamson interview).

Therefore Williamson acted quickly to backstop the chaplain's struggling Outreach initiative. The VC secured partial funding for the Outreach coordinator position from an alumni donor and redirected internal resources to cover the remainder, and as such the sustainability of the position and programme were guaranteed. Recently, Williamson completed a monograph on the history of the university in which he articulated that Outreach was one of the most significant contributions of his tenure as VC (Williamson 2008).

> I wrote the chapter by myself in the history book. I said the Outreach programme is one of the most important things that we did because it's got the notion of students mixing up with the community (Williamson interview).[56]

At UoB, the role of David Watson was pivotal in drawing the attention of Atlantic Philanthropies and securing their financial support for getting the programme up and running. Watson's interest in university-community engagement runs deep, as he considers university's engagement with society and social issues one of HE's core roles. In a recent book dedicated to such issues, Watson argued that universities have become overly engrossed in financial and reputational considerations and have lost track of their responsibilities to society. He writes, "civic and community engagement… [are a] consistent theme of value and identity for the higher education tradition and legacy" (Watson 2007, 13). Later in the same text he adds,

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> If universities are to make a steady and a positive contribution to their communities, the key holistic concept, and an essential backdrop for questions of leadership and management, has to be the rather old-fashioned notion of stewardship (138).

Many at UoB feel Watson's energies were essential to the formation of Cupp:

> I'm a great believer in personality theory and the fact that we had a dynamic VC who was extremely committed to this was extremely important. Without him I doubt it would ever have happened. He was the one who provoked the funding. And he's still very committed to it (Balloch interview).[57]

> Atlantic Philanthropies was the major thing, but if we hadn't have had David Watson we wouldn't have gotten that; he was very instrumental in it (Hart interview).[58]

Even after moving on from his role UoB, Watson has continued to write and theorise about universities' social engagement responsibilities.

MAP's genesis was largely driven and financed by PPSC at IDS. However, the strong support of one of the pro-vice chancellors at the University of Sussex was influential when the concept of the new MA met with early resistance within IDS.

> They had established a very good relationship with the Pro-Vice Chancellor for Teaching who at the time was Mary Stuart, who has herself personally a background in street theatre and activism and is very interested in global citizenship. And so there was a high level supporter for the programme and she certainly gave verbal assurance that she would help support the programme to be approved (Taylor interview).[59]

Stuart explained her support for the programme:

> I am a South African by birth and grew up there during the Apartheid years… I learned a lot about justice—or the lack of it—and a need to think about my role in trying to create a just world… I had obviously from my experience [in drama and dance] lots of understanding of different ways of learning and knowing and was keen to support the new MA in whatever way I could (personal communication).[60]

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[57] 09/07/2009
[58] 09/12/2008
[59] 11/12/2008
[60] 14/07/2009

Having the Pro-VC for Teaching and the Quality Assurance Committee's blessing quieted some of the unease inside IDS about MAP. In a similar manner, the VC's clear support at both Sewanee and UoB sent a strong signal that these new engaged ways of working were to be considered legitimate and valid within the institution. Through their actions these university leaders were shifting the narratives of their institutions. This created space for new conversations about the roles and purposes of the universities. Block writes that such new conversations and narratives offer new possibilities for institutional change:

> We must begin by naming the existing context and evolving to a way of thinking that leads to new conversations that produce a new context (38)… With that conversation it becomes real and tangible, for once we have declared the possibility, and done so with a sense of belonging and in the presence of others, that possibility had been brought into the room, and thus into the institution (2008, 74).

Importantly, UoB's encouragement for this work was not only verbal, but also financial:

> In the early days the pots of money were small—for the Cupp projects and the BSCKE projects—but they were sufficient, particularly for younger staff, junior staff to do something with… but more importantly, they communicated 'This matters!' And really it wasn't about the amounts. It was about the fact that money was there. It showed a seriousness and a recognition that this was really important (Church interview).[61]

Indeed, having money to put behind these new programmes was a shared factor in their early phases. Despite being a strong and vocal proponent of SE, UoB's Watson could not act in a vacuum. Although he had a vision of UoB becoming more explicitly engaged with its community, he was unable to act on that vision until Atlantic Philanthropies provided the funding to bring it to life. Likewise at Sewanee, Williamson did not try to endow the Outreach coordinator position by taking resources away from existing programmes; rather he successfully solicited an outside donor who provided the funding to make the role sustainable. Uniquely, PPSC did not have to rely on outside funding in order to start the MAP programme. As the programme was taking shape, the participatory development movement was at its zenith, with PPSC bringing

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[61] 25/06/2009

in significant amounts of research funding for its collective work. As a result the team had accumulated a surplus of funds that they were able to use at their discretion to conduct a scoping exercise to determine the viability of the course and to create a new position for someone to serve as the course convenor for MAP. As such the vision and enthusiasm of these institutional leaders and innovators was supported by the availability of resources, not large amounts of money but enough to mitigate the level of institutional risk.

While the pivotal role that these VCs and Pro-VCs played in creating these programmes and fostering an enabling atmosphere is clear, it is also important to note that this phase of strong, top-down leadership was extremely short-lived. Not in that these leaders discontinued their support, but in that they soon stepped away from these projects, even from the institutions themselves in some instances. When Williamson located the new Outreach programme within the chaplain's office, he effectively washed his hands of the day-to-day operation of the programme as soon as it had been approved.

> The way we've put together this institution is that there's the Vice Chancellor that reports to the Board [of Regents]. Everybody works for him. He hires and fires everybody else—except the chaplain, who is hired by the Trustees [of the University who are elected from each Episcopal Dioceses] (Cameron interview).[62]

This created a great deal of autonomy for the Outreach programme, but it also deprived it of an active champion. Although Williamson remained VC of Sewanee for nine more years, his connection with Outreach was only through personal financial contributions, not through institutional or managerial action.

In the other cases, these leaders contributed to the SE programmes at the end of their institutional tenures. Stuart, who had backed the creation of MAP, soon moved to a higher position as Deputy Vice Chancellor of Kingston University in London. Watson's direct involvement was similarly short-lived. Once AP funding was in place, he took part in Cupp's formational steering group meetings for about one year—2003 to 2004—then withdrew from actively participating in the development of the programme. Within two years of Cupp's creation, he moved on from the university entirely.

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[62] 26/02/2009

> Quite soon after [Cupp] started, he had a made a decision himself to stop being VC. At the time that was a little way off. He was quite conscious—quite deliberately—made this something that didn't depend on him. He almost withdrew from it slightly earlier than he might otherwise have done. Quite early on he was chairing the Steering Group, initially, but early on I took over from him and he wasn't coming anymore. He had a lot of personal investment in it in one way, but in terms of implementing it—in the initial phase he did quite a lot—but then he started trying to give space for others to make sure it wasn't dependent on just him. And therefore the thing had to kind of get embedded in the life of the institution (Laing interview).[63]

As with Cupp, all the programmes experienced a seismic shift in the locus of their leadership soon after coming into being. Laing's comments, however, point to the value of these shifts. The programmes needed to find a suitable home within the institutions and become part of the institutional rhythm. At this early stage, many questions remained unresolved about the form and functioning of the programmes. However, rather than attempting to impose a structure on the programmes, these institutional leaders gave the programmes space to evolve organically. Shifts in institutional cultures and habits would be necessary to make these programmes successful, but such changes were not forced on the HEIs. People were allowed to gravitate toward these programmes of their own accord.

> [The message from Stuart Laing was:] 'Come on, folks, let's get involved.' Not going around saying 'You must do this and you must do this' but finding a group of people who, as he said, 'would probably go for it' (Church interview).[64]

> None of the university academics amongst us have been instructed to become involved in the programme. If we were to have been, this would probably not have worked as a strategy of engagement in the university culture. Rather, voluntary engagement, mutual benefit and supporting research or teaching interests are the cards to play to get academics on board (Hart and Wolff 2006, 132).

This movement from "visionary," top-down leadership to distributed leadership in CE programmes was also found in a study by Hudson *et al.* (2006) conducted at several Australian universities. This management shift is also in keeping with the complexity

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[63] 06/04/2009
[64] 25/06/2009

perspective related to adaptive agents. In this view, once the best available actors are in place, a manager's best move is to step away and allow the system to find its own form (Morgan 1986).

> The principles of emergence mean that over-controlling approaches will not work well within complex systems–that in order to maximise system adaptiveness, there must be space for innovation and novelty to occur (Ramalingam, Jones *et al*. 2008, 21).

At this stage, for both Outreach and MAP, primary leadership reverted to those convening the programmes. Although, Outreach was technically under the direction of the university chaplain, there was in actuality little direct management as the chaplain who had originally envisioned the programme left Sewanee for a higher role soon after Williamson formalised the Outreach programme. Outreach formed its own internal steering committees composed primarily of active students and community members. MAP operated primarily under the direction of those in the PPSC who had designed the programme and the individual hired to convene the MA. PPSC also had an external steering committee of global partners which also assessed and influenced MAP's role.

Cupp was arguably the most deliberate about its programmatic leadership structure. It formed a steering group which is comprised of university officials, academics, Cupp staff and leaders from the Brighton and Hove voluntary sector. This group provided a specific forum in which tensions between university and community needs could be articulated and dealt with in an ongoing fashion. Within the Cupp staff there was another important structure designed to create broad-based leadership within the programme. In what Hart and Church have called a "bicameral" leadership arrangement, Cupp leadership was shared between the programme director and two academic directors (2009). This arrangement served two important roles. First, because the programme director was from a voluntary sector background, it ensured that Cupp leadership internally embodied the tensions inherent in community engaged work. The programme director could speak from a community perspective and the academic leads could speak from the university perspective, anticipating and somewhat mitigating the challenges which arise in such collaborative projects across town/gown lines. Second, having academics as programme leaders also helped to provide Cupp with extra

academic legitimacy and prestige which could "encourage academic involvement" by other UoB faculty and lend weight to external funding bids (Hart and Church 2009, 11).

These academic directors appear to have been a key ingredient in Cupp's institutional uptake. Indeed, the absence of such a role in Sewanee's Outreach programme became quite apparent later on as the programme attempted to become more integrated with the university's curriculum.

> If you want to do something academically, you have to send a faculty member to approach the Dean. Without a PhD Dixon can't do that (Cameron interview).[65]

> I can remember ten years ago, after coming back from somewhere—Eastern Europe I think—and I was talking to Richard O'Connor, and Charles Brockett, saying, 'In your Central America class, I could do something on Jamaica.' Or asking Richard to put something in his anthropology class—and it just never went anywhere (Myers interview).[66]

> If community engagement is seen as do-gooding, it will be marginalised. It will have its supporters but you also want to have a faculty leader. If you don't get faculty to buy into it as an intellectual project, which it truly is, then you're going to have a really hard time with it at a school like Sewanee... Our institutional character is you've got to face up to the intellectual challenge (O'Connor interview).[67]

In reading the history of Outreach's development at Sewanee, Cupp's academic director Angie Hart commented, "It's fascinating that Cupp and Outreach seem to end at the same place institutionally" (personal communication).[68] It's important to note, however, that Outreach's accomplishments have taken twenty years to achieve whereas Cupp has reached a similar point in less than a decade. While grant funding from AP no doubt helped to just start Cupp's development, the programme's bicameral staff structure—which spans the worlds of community and academia—appears to have been another notable factor in Cupp's more accelerated institutionalisation. How Outreach eventually adapted to meet this leadership challenge will be discussed more in Chapters 5 and 6.

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[67] 18/02/2009
[68] 13/10/2009

Emergence

The concept of emergence is a natural corollary which arises from understanding human organisations as complex, unpredictable systems populated with largely autonomous adaptive agents. As Mitleton-Kelly writes, "Complex systems are not 'designed in great detail. They are made up of interacting agents, whose interactions create emergent properties, qualities and patterns of behaviour" (Mitleton-Kelly 2003, 26). From a system/complexity perspective, emergence occurs when new qualities arise in the whole of a system which are not found in any of the component parts. Emergence is as much a natural phenomenon as a social one:

> Hydrogen and oxygen are the elemental gases that make up water, but the 'wetness' of water is an 'emergent property' of the system not reducible to hydrogen or oxygen (Zajonc 2010, 81).

Moreover, emergence is implicitly at work in the way that humans perceive and categorise the world.

> At each level entirely new properties appear… Psychology is not applied to biology, nor is biology applied to chemistry…(393) We can now see that the whole becomes not merely more, but very different from the sum of its parts (Anderson 1972, 396).

Within human systems, emergence arises from the interaction of various actors and processes in an organisation or defined group.

> Many patterns and properties of a complex system emerge from the interrelations and interaction of component parts or elements of the system. These can be difficult to predict or understand by separately analysing various 'causes' and 'effects', or by looking just at the behaviour of the system's component parts… While the nature of the entities, interactions and environment of a system are key contributors to emergence, there is no simple relationship between them (Ramalingam, Jones *et al*. 2008, 20).

From an organisational perspective, the concept of emergence further challenges linear practices of management, particularly for those trying to foster institutional and systemic change toward a particular outcome:

> [This] perspective implies that change does not result from someone *first* intending an intervention and *then* 'letting' this change emerge from the interaction between the parts of the system. Rather, everybody is acting

> intentionally, on an ongoing basis, thereby change is seen as emerging from the interplay of intentions (Luoma, Hämäläinen *et al*. 2007, 11).

As such, responding effectively to complexity is about adaptive response. Snowden argues that strategies for influencing complex environments must begin with "probing" the environment to learn how the system will respond to new energies and concepts (2000). Snowden refers to such probes as "safe-fail" experiments, in contrast to the widely-used term "fail-safe". Safe-fail efforts are iterative rather than definitive. They seek to gather information about the processes and functioning of the system, with a long-term aim of retraining the system through small strategic changes rather than sweeping reforms.

The concept of emergence will be used in this analysis to explore how the programmes developed and evolved early on, how they developed their projects and methods, and how in time they successfully embedded themselves in their institutional and wider environments.

Emergence as Strategy: Learning by Doing

Another common attribute of all these programmes as they have developed has been a willingness to learn through doing and action. Each programme faced many perceived barriers in trying to introduce new ways of working. Sometimes these barriers were within the HEI itself. At other times the resistance lay in the community. Given such resistance and the complexity of working across multiple stakeholder groups, the common response was that the details and mechanisms necessary for this kind of work could not be decided in advance. Rather they would have to be emergent and adaptive.

Outreach was not created with specific projects. The hands-off approach taken by the university management, including the VC and the chaplain, allowed the programme to learn and evolve its own agenda and projects over time. The housing work that the programme took up as an early focus drew on previous work by students.

> I was working with Julia Sibley, the first winner of the Community Service Award… We put together this questionnaire. Tested it and refined it. Then we went down to the county tax assessor's office to find out every house on the [university campus] that was valued at less than $20,000. Then we sent students out. We trained them and—what was amazing—the students came back in—it had an amazing effect on them.

> They'd never been over the hill and seen these places... Out of that we developed a priority list for repairs (Cameron interview).[69]

However, because such actions were completely based on volunteers with no infrastructure, these nascent efforts were not well organised. Without coordinated management, these projects often took considerable time to complete, leaving homeowners in limbo in the meantime.

> Then we started looking at the substandard housing issues…and decided to do some renovations on a house on Maple Street, but it took a long time and house owners got a little frustrated (Gottfried interview).[70]

When the Outreach programme came along soon thereafter it created a reliable and accountable infrastructure for following through on these projects, thus beginning to gain the confidence of people in the community. As explained earlier in this chapter, these early efforts at home remodelling soon evolved into building entirely new houses to replace dilapidated ones.

Outreach's other main focus, its alternative spring break programmes, also emerged out of circumstances and connections. Because of its ties to the chaplaincy, Outreach's first ASB programme was set up in New Orleans via church connections. This Anglican/Episcopal network proved to be an important tool for further expanding the ASB programme. The following year, hurricane Gilbert inflicted heavy damage on the island of Jamaica. When local church leaders on the island sent out calls to churches in North American to assist them with rebuilding efforts, this spawned a key connection for the Outreach programme which has now lasted twenty years. The Jamaica ASB programme would rapidly become the Outreach's flagship project. Episcopal networks would later open up opportunities for Outreach to create programmes in Honduras, Ecuador and the Navajo Nation. Within the local context, however, new avenues were slow to develop. Housing work would remain Outreach's primary activity in and around Sewanee for fifteen more years, thus only partially fulfilling the original vision of the programme to improve the university's relationship with its neighbours.

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[69] 26/02/2009
[70] 04/03/2009

Similarly with Cupp, it was clear to the members of the steering committee that the newly formed programme could not work through—or even anticipate—all the challenges of generating deep community-university partnerships in advance. At the outset, there were already tensions developing with the community groups.

> There were lots of misunderstandings to work through. And a degree of mistrust when we started and miscomphrension of task. A number of community partners were involved in the bidding task and they had the understanding that the money would just be shared out, without much or any strings attached to it. So for one reason or another, they'd got completely the wrong end of the stick (Wolff interview).[71]

Wolff attributes this to the novelty of the Cupp approach and the fact that the AP proposal had been intentionally vague:

> At the beginning it was a very interesting phase because some money was bid for and it was a good bid, a clever bid, but it was short on detail. And that was absolutely deliberate. The idea really was to use the funding in the initial phase to do exploratory work about how the scheme might work. So in the beginning it was important to try to give people a vision but there wasn't much concrete underneath it (interview).[72]

As Cupp faced the challenge of defining itself—in the community, inside the university and in the minds of its own staff—UoB's Pro-Vice Chancellor Stuart Laing gave the Cupp team the advice to "get on and define in the doing" (Hart and Wolff 2006, 123).

> From the voluntary sector, generally their first question, as mine was, 'What's in it for us? Where's the money?' And to actually distinguish between something like a charitable fund and what we were doing was quite important. So we did some pilot projects early on and that enabled us to understand a bit better ourselves what we were talking about (Wolff interview).[73]

Cupp moved very swiftly in getting its first projects funded and operational. Cupp's very first steering group meeting was in March of 2003. By July Cupp already had three funded projects underway (Cupp 2003a). Further, according to steering group minutes, those projects were completed and had been evaluated by December of 2003 (Cupp

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[71] 21/04/2009
[72] 21/04/2009
[73] 21/04/2009

2003b). The projects were important signposts from both the university and community perspective. Cupp's first academic director commented,

> We talked about our links with the refugee community and talked about how people might go about doing was what a really sensitive piece of work. It was a small amount of Cupp funding… It wasn't a lot of money. But that sort of got people learning about what Cupp was. It was quite difficult for Cupp in the early days to penetrate the academic consciousness. A lot of people didn't see it as relevant. That was the first thing that they did (Balloch interview).[74]

From the community side, Cupp's quick action was viewed positively. According to CVSF member Paul Bramwell,

> They started delivering things quite quickly. That's something they did quite well actually. They had three projects immediately ready to go in the first year. So, whilst there was much talking, there was also some practical doing which was, I think, something that—whilst some in the voluntary sector were saying, 'They're just getting on and doing things and maybe that's not such a good idea, because we haven't sorted out all this process stuff.' I actually think it was a good thing to do because they were learning from something straightway and—even though it was slightly unclear how those three projects came about… But they actually happened and they were useful. They formed the next bit (interview).[75]

Bramwell's comment raises some of the challenges of working in complex multi-stakeholder process. Many questions were unanswered about how projects would be chosen and funded, yet Cupp moved ahead despite these concerns. It was felt that trying to rank and prioritise projects through community-wide dialogues would have created more dissention than simply going ahead with projects that were already waiting to happen based on previous relationships. Cupp staff could cut their teeth on actual projects rather than hypothetical ones. Those in the community would make judgements about whether to involve themselves with the programme in the future based on how they perceived these projects unfolding.

Such a proactive approach to organisational learning is advocated by management thinkers such as Block:

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[74] 09/07/2009
[75] 06/04/2009

> Continually asking 'how' is a form of self-restraint and even subjugation. I am acting at that moment as if I am not quite ready; I need one more lesson (47)… We postpone the 'how?' questions. We say 'yes' and get on with it (123)… The fact that being wrong may be costly also means that if we are successful, we will have purchased some latitude to try again, perhaps recapturing some more freedom to act and room to breathe (Block 2003, 30).

Such unencumbered thinking was at work in the design of the MAP programme. After PPSC had conducted an external assessment and found that there were few other programmes which focused on the practice of participatory development—and none with a reflective bent—the designers imagined what an ideal form of such a course would look like.

> When we developed the MAP course, we at some point decided let's not think about what we think the limits are, let's just try to design something that we think is what we want to do and then work backwards from that. We designed that and to our surprise it went through. We had to change our own mental image of what we thought might be possible and not let the worry of institutional barriers keep us from making it happen (Gaventa interview).[76]

PPSC found that there were very many hurdles institutionally to getting the MAP course approved within the university. Most of these proved to be largely bureaucratic, however, because the team already had a clear vision of how they wanted the course to be. The standard MA design processes and templates used by the university were geared toward quite a different kind of pedagogical structure. The university's staff proved to be quite accommodating in helping MAP's designers fit their programme into these "tick boxes" without actually changing the substance of the course. Nonetheless, the team felt strongly that if they had known more about the university's standards beforehand they would have designed a far less innovative programme.

> In creating this programme, the first of its kind at IDS, we departed from some of the teaching and assessment norms of most development studies MA programmes… After we had designed the course, we were asked to define specific learning outcomes for each part of the course, and to align our teaching and assessment strategies with these outcomes. We were thankful that we hadn't known these requirements in detail from the start, as we might otherwise have created a different programme to

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[76] 14/07/2009

meet them. Instead we began with our own vision of what we wanted, and later adapted it to the guidelines – another important lesson (Taylor and Pettit 2007, 240).

Such emergent practice was at the heart of what the MAP programme was attempting to embody within the classroom as well. Much of the direction of the course was understood to be based on "participatory curriculum design" and would thus fall into place once the students had met together and expressed their interests and goals for the MA. The RP strand of the MAP curriculum has become increasingly emphasised over time because MAP students have found this one of the most transformative aspects of the programme, the students having lacked the time for reflection due to pressures in the field (Pettit interview).[77]

Thus, across all of the programmes a strong sense of emergent practice is found. The creators of these programmes began with general visions of what they want to achieve, but to reach these goals required the development of methods, structures and relationships that did not yet exist. Rather than trying to predict and anticipate the shape of the programmes, those managing these SE programmes had to become comfortable with learning on the fly. This resonates strongly with how systems and complexity thinkers have understood the pragmatic implications of emergence in organisations.

> They don't spend months making careful and complete plans. Instead they launch and learn, building and testing models in the real world, in a cycle of quick iteration from one version to the next (Generon 2005, 9).

Management theorists from the systems school of thought, such as Senge, have labelled this kind of activity "prototyping."

> A recurring theme in our interviews with entrepreneurs and innovators was the importance of fast-cycle experiments or rapid prototyping as a way of avoiding getting stuck in plans or trying to completely figure out 'the true nature of the emerging whole' (Senge, Scharmer *et al*. 2005, 146).

They urge that such activities are extremely apropos when different groups are collaborating across different professional and epistemological perspectives.

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[77] 15/10/2009

> Prototyping is modelling or simulating your best current understandings precisely so you can have a shared set of understandings that enable communication, especially among people with very different discipline bases (Senge, Scharmer *et al*. 2005, 147).

Senge *et al.*, like Block, recognise that most individuals and organisations want to gather more information before they act so as to avoid the embarrassment of failure.

> A tenet of prototyping is acting on a concept before that concept is complete or perfect. People concerned about success often want to slow down and plan or take more time to become comfortable with a course of action—but that may be exactly when you need to act (Senge, Scharmer *et al*. 2005, 148).

Such an attitude of resistance to risk-taking was summed up well by Sewanee's Dean of Students when discussing barriers that the Outreach programme has faced at the university.

> There's a lack of willingness to fail. The university is an achievement-oriented environment. There's resistance to trying things that may not work, to trying things outside of your expertise. That's hard for smart folks to do—'Let's do something that may fail? Why!'(Hartman interview).[78]

Learning through failure figures strongly in Snowden's complexity approach to management. His notion of "safe-fail" experiments parallels very clearly the initial activities of Cupp. Cupp's initial three projects were quite small. Their failure would not have sunk the programme. More important than the individual projects themselves, such experiments helped everyone in the system begin to see what the pattern of interactions between the different institutions and players would be. As such Cupp was "probing" the system to see how different approaches would work. In Snowden's conceptualisation of complexity, organisations can use such probes and safe-fail experiments to locate and build "attractors," or new patterns of behaviour, which define institutional cultures (2009).[79] Thus Cupp can been viewed as trying various approaches, getting feedback from the system, from academics and the voluntary sector,

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[78] 10/02/2009
[79] For more on attractors, see Chapter 5.

and adapting till it found a set of practices which were most attractive to all the relevant stakeholders. Cupp's directors sum up this approach succinctly:

> Emphasise 'practice' rather than organisational form or structure…
> Don't overly concern yourself with committees and working groups.
> Find the spaces between the bureaucratic structures and work through
> them first (Hart and Wolff 2006, 135).

Perhaps not surprisingly, this culture of action-oriented learning appears to remain with these programmes long after they have been established, and is transmitted to others who engage with them in their work. Interviews with students involved in the Outreach programme revealed that Outreach staff had been central in encouraging them to invent and add new activities and organizations to the campus and community.

> We went to talk to Dixon. He said, 'Great!' He said here's some money
> so you can go to this big conference and get some ideas started and when
> you get back we will start an Invisible Children chapter [here on
> campus]. So I got started in Outreach at Sewanee through co-founding an
> organisation at Sewanee. They'd always said if you want to start a group,
> if you need help, come to us. And we did and we were completely
> successful in our attempts to start an organisation (Luethke interview).[80]

> Also just encouraging. No matter what you said, whatever you wanted to
> try [Dixon] was always like, 'Well yeah! Do it! Why not?' (Galbreath
> interview).[81]

> In Sewanee it's better to seek forgiveness than permission. You have to
> do it first. If you try to get it approved first, it will never happen (Adams
> interview).[82]

Similarly, in Outreach's efforts to penetrate the curriculum of the university, the underlying assumption of all involved was that they would have to lead by example and do the new thing first—to prove that it could indeed be done—before they could anticipate any institutional backing.

> The administration weren't going to provide someone to help us organise
> community engagement projects, so we just kind of did it
> anyway…[We] were looking at each other saying if we don't go ahead

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[80] 18/02/2009
[81] 03/02/2009
[82] 11/02/2009

right now and write up a proposal, and give ourselves a name, this thing's just gonna fall apart. So we did that (Schneider interview).[83]

Such was the beginning of the Center for Liberal Education and Community Engagement (CLECE) which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Similar attitudes were expressed by MAP conveners, that they were often more effective at generating institutional change when they honed their own practice first, when they "lead by example, letting it prove itself, letting the students give positive feedback, but not really pushing it institutionally" (Pettit interview).[84] Cupp director David Wolff took a nearly identical stance on the programme's long term approach to institutional change; "we need to be activist, not lobbyist," he said (workshop).[85]

As such, in all the cases were found a history of emergent adaptive practice, in which the programmes had to develop relationships with their partners before constructing consistent methods or practices. This attitude of active learning appears to become embedded in the programmes and becomes a mechanism for innovation later on as they attempt to expand further their influence within the university and the community.

Fractals

The final concept from systems and complexity thinking used in this chapter is the fractal. Fractals are visual models of complex mathematical equations, ones that do not reach a definitive numerical solution. Fractals often grace the cover of mathematical textbooks because they produce dazzlingly complex patterns, with infinite details. Systems and complexity theorists have taken an interest in fractal patterning because often, upon closer inspection, one discovers that fractals which appear to be extremely complex and irregular are based on the repetition of many smaller patterns which bear a close resemblance to the whole of the

pattern.

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[83] 13/02/2009
[84] 15/10/2009
[85] 12/11/2009

This self-same relationship between the part and the whole is of great importance to systems/complexity researchers. An obvious challenge of complexity thinking is seeing holistically, the multitude of interactions, processes and parts which contribute to any system. Ultimately, seeing the whole is of course impossible. Senge *et al.* describe this challenge and

The Mandlebrot Set is a well-known fractal image whose distinctive configuration is repeated consistently even when the figure is magnified thousands of times, revealing its most microscopic details.

Figure 4: Fractal Patterning

how fractals provide a conceptual tool for reframing the problem.
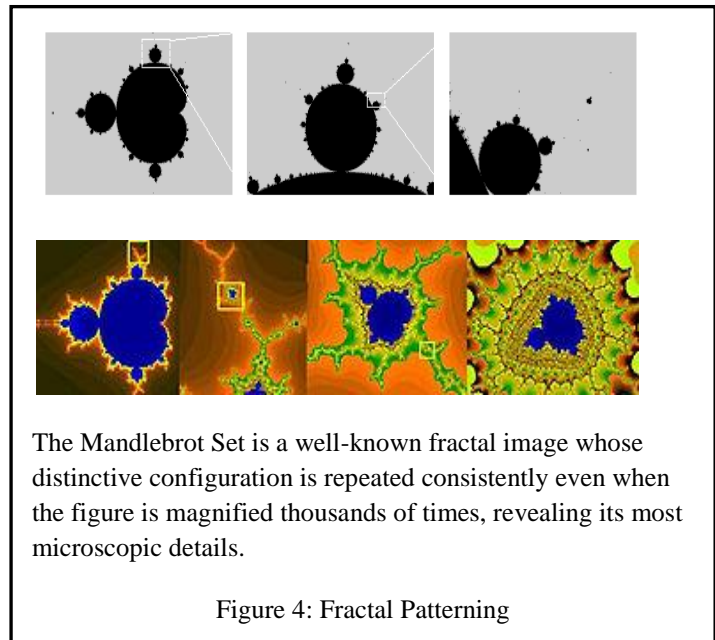
> If we try to see 'the larger system,' we usually look at how one part interacts with others and try to infer what the larger pattern of interactions must be—we try to figure out the whole from the parts through an intellectual process of abstracting… But there is another approach: understanding the whole to be found in the parts (Senge, Scharmer *et al*. 2005, 46).

In this view, the characteristics of the whole are also present in any of the parts, just as in the Mandlebrot Set shown in *Figure 4*.

As a result the fractal is a particularly useful concept for understanding complex systems which are populated by adaptive agents. At first glance, this concept might seem contradictory to that of emergence. Keep in mind, however, that adaptive agents co-evolve within their systems, simultaneously shaping and being shaped by the environment in which they operate. Unlike hydrogen or oxygen, which cannot learn to be wet, adaptive agents by definition adapt to their systems, adopting characteristics of the overall system, while at the same time influencing the system by their presence and actions. As such emergent characteristics of organisations can, in time, be learned and reproduced by the actors within the organisation.

From an organizational perspective, fractal patterning suggests that one subsystem in a larger organization can be seen as exhibiting traits, positive or negative, common throughout the whole organization. In terms of organizational learning and change, fractals also suggest that changes in the traits of one subsystem can also lead to wider change across the system, by which those new traits become common at all levels of the organization. This is the aim of "safe-fail" probes of the kind suggested by David Snowden. These experiments introduce a new fractal—a new method, a new way of working, a new attractor pattern—into one or more parts of the organisation. If the probe is successful the new pattern will be internalised by the subsystem and then exported across the wider organisation as the subsystem interfaces with other actors in the organisation.

For the analysis in this chapter, the fractal will be used to explore how the advent of these programmes brought new ways of working and being into these HEIs, on one hand through the creation of these innovative programmes and on the other through the introduction of new employees into the HEIs, via these programmes, who were quite different in their life experience and training than the mainstream of the university's staff.

Foreign Fractals: Institutional Permeability and the Arrival of a New Kind of Agent

As will be more apparent in the subsequent chapters, these kinds of programmes are important because they increase the permeability of the institution and the classroom. At a basic level, the programmes are an invitation to bring other worldviews and ways of working into the university. Clearly, this includes the target populations these programmes work with. Outreach and Cupp have increased the number of meetings on campus in which community participants are involved. MAP brings a different kind of student to IDS who may be older or more experienced than the typical IDS MA student. There are institutional implications to these kinds of permeability, which will be discussed further in Chapter 6. However, this section will focus on the new kinds of actors that are brought into the HEI environment in order to staff these programmes. In all three cases, the creation of these new programmes led directly to the hiring of staff who were quite "outside of the box" of standard hiring practices for these institutions.

Traditionally universities have been closed shops for academics, and with the PhD increasingly becoming the requirement for membership. Even university managers are generally promoted from the academic ranks and are not trained specifically in the field of institutional management. However, the formation of these programmes resulted in the installation of high-profile programme managers who came from non-traditional and often non-academic backgrounds. This was mostly clearly the case with Outreach and Cupp, though there is also a clear parallel within the MAP experience.

Although Outreach was initially directed by an ordained priest, this was quickly determined to be a poor fit for the emerging responsibilities of the role. As the programme evolved to fit the institutional and community spaces available to it at the time, the skill set of a priest proved to be poor match. When the chaplain made the second appointment, he looked for someone with skills that fit the hands-on activities of the Outreach coordinator position. He hired Dixon Myers, who brought together an unusual mixture of practical competencies and life experience that made him an ideal replacement.

> At that particular point, a lot of pieces of the puzzle in my life vocationally started to come together. Because I had started to get involved in outreach activities before we moved up here, back in Mississippi… I got involved in outreach at that point, through my work as property manager seeing difficulties in housing situations for people. That was a big catalyst for me getting involved in Habitat for Humanity back there. Having grown up in sort of an 'upper' lower-class family, having those experiences, yet going to a very good liberal arts college gave me a good perspective on society (Myers interview).[86]

In his previous role as property manager in Mississippi, Myers had often faced the difficult task of evicting families from their homes when they failed to pay rent. As such, the opportunity to be in a role where he could provide assistance to people with housing difficulties was a welcome change (personal communication).[87] So far as his academic credentials, he had a BA degree and not a PhD. However, given the nature of Outreach's work at that point in time this was not a significant issue.

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[86] 13/02/2009
[87] 05/01/2009

A similar pattern was found with the Cupp programme director and the majority of the Cupp staff. Dave Wolff came to Cupp with more than twenty years of professional experience in the English voluntary sector working on issues of homelessness. He was an expert in the field of community development though he had only an undergraduate qualification. Given the support the programme had from the UoB VC and others at the top of the university, the Cupp director's position was intentionally high profile within the institution and community. Wolff recalls his first week at the university:

> Something I found a little unusual was that on the first day, they organised an event for the university, sixty or seventy people coming along and I had to launch the scheme… This was all a big splash—like it was a great success already—and I'd just walked through the door! (Wolff interview).[88]

As Cupp has successfully expanded over time, this tendency to hire from the voluntary sector has continued. The Helpdesk manager, hired shortly after Wolff, was an experienced community practitioner from inner-city London who has a long track record of working with marginalised communities. Later, as Cupp won bids for large projects like BSCKE and South East Coastal Communities (SECC), the programme brought on-board people with previous experience in voluntary sector management and community organising. This is not to claim that Cupp does not also have several academics on staff, including of course the academic directors, but the majority of the programme's management roles have been filled by community practitioners. Not surprisingly, however, being situated within the university has led several of the Cupp staff to move in increasingly academic directions. One had attained a PhD and another is conducting her PhD fieldwork at the time this study is being written up. As will be discussed in the next chapter, Cupp staff are increasingly becoming lecturers on modules which involved CE components. Further, as Hart notes, the Cupp's academic directors have encouraged programme staff and community partners to be deeply engaged in producing academic articles about the programme so as to strengthen Cupp's academic legitimacy and the academic credibility of all those who take an active part in the programme (personal communication).[89]

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[88] 21/04/2009
[89] 14/09/2010

The MAP experience differs somewhat from the other cases in that Peter Taylor, who was hired to convene the first cohorts of the programme, did have a PhD. However, given that MAP was a teaching programme this is not unexpected. Nonetheless, Taylor's research and professional experiences—primarily around teaching and learning in rural communities in Africa and Asia—lay outside of the general research interests of the PPSC team and of IDS as a whole, which has little research focus on educational issues in development. Given that Taylor was hired as a Research Fellow in addition to his MAP convening responsibilities, this was a move in a different direction for the team and the institute. The general feeling among interviewees at IDS was that Taylor would not have found a home at IDS if not for MAP:

> FB: Do you think Peter would have come to IDS without MAP? Would he have eventually ended up here anyway?
>
> JP: No, I think he came very much because the programme was starting. That was the biggest part of his job when he came was to convene it… I don't think there would have been a big enough of a draw for him to come. I don't think he would have wanted to without being able to be involved in teaching (Pettit interview).[90]

So in much the same manner as Outreach and Cupp, a new programme that departed from institutional norms required someone to staff it with different skills and experiences. Although his energies were initially concentrated only on MAP, Taylor's appointment would eventually have a significant influence on the whole of the IDS teaching programme, as will be explored further in the next chapter. As with Cupp, as MAP's presence in the Institute expanded, another staff role evolved around the programme's RP strain. The tutor hired for this work was a specialist in RP, whose methods often involved creative pedagogies including music, movement, drama and journaling—again quite a different set of competencies than the majority of those teaching at IDS.

Bringing such foreign actors as these into the HEIs helped the s be innovative and to fulfil their mandates to do things differently at their institutions. However, UoB's Pro VC Stuart Laing was hesitant to lay the success of these kinds of programmes on getting the "right" person for the job.

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[90] 15/10/2009

> We were very fortunate to get someone as good as David Wolff for the
> director's job. Or maybe we defined the job in such a way that we
> attracted a good person. I'm a bit reluctant to rely on explanations that
> depend on just finding individuals. Clearly you've got to find the right
> individuals, but you've also got the get the right structure (interview).[91]

Clearly, there is a functional and instrumental value in defining staff positions for these
kinds of programmes in such a way that they draw applicants who can facilitate access
to the target groups with whom the university wants to build relationships and
partnerships. In reflecting on their work, Cupp staff have utilised Etienne Wenger's
Communities of Practice (CoP) framework extensively, in which they cite the
importance of those like Wolff who can act as "boundary spanners" (Wenger 1999,
109), those with a foot in both the world of community and the world of academia.

> In many respects I guess I had the best of all opportunities there because
> I could say to the community sector people that my background is
> exclusively working in the voluntary sector, and while I'm now working
> in this university—it's all a bit peculiar—but let's work together and see
> what's possible for you here (Wolff interview).[92]

Given the high-profile nature of Cupp's directorship, the university could have very
logically sought someone from inside the university to lead the programme. Looking
back on how well Cupp has succeeded, one of Cupp's academic directors argued such a
decision would have hamstrung the programme:

> I think Dave's role has been crucial… Appointing somebody from
> outside the academic centre who made us think in different ways.
> Without that—they could have appointed someone like me—a senior
> person with community research experience--but looking back, I'd have
> been—hopeless compared to Dave because he understood the sector
> (Church interview).[93]

Wolff himself pointed how the different professional backgrounds—practitioner versus
academic—led to quite different competencies and ways of working, echoing some of
the overall tensions in community-university partnerships:

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[91] 06/04/2009
[92] 21/04/2009
[93] 25/06/2009

> There's a lot about certain competencies that are much more abundant outside of the university than inside. In particular, teamworking and project management. A lot of what we do is facilitating the getting together of groups of people who then co-work. Which I think is much more commonplace in the voluntary sector than in the university. The university tends to be a much more solitary groove where academics identify their niche and are often reasonably protective and don't want to work with colleagues who are doing similar things. Just a cultural observation—I noticed early on in here there were all these signs that said 'Shhhh, don't talk! This is a place of work!' Well, actually, if you're a project team like we are, what are you going to do? I'm respectful of what's being said. People are writing long papers and the rest of it, but actually there's not really an understanding in many areas of different ways of working (interview).[94]

A comparison can be made as well with Myers in the Outreach position, where his ability to connect with the programme's target community went even beyond professional experience:

> I always go back to the fact that I understand, I think, their circumstances because that's the way I grew up. My parents were alcoholics, our house was in ill repair and we had hot cars and motorcycles and dysfunctionality--or 'complications' as one might put it... So when there's a bunch of junk cars lying around—which we had too—my father was keeping those cars because they had parts on them that he could actually sell. Some people don't understand that and they see it as trash. Some of the people we work with, I probably understand them all too well because it was part of my experience (Myers interview).[95]

Myers' experience suggests, however, that bringing these different kinds of actors into HEIs accomplishes more than simply filling a gap in competencies or providing insider knowledge of an external sector. For someone like Myers, his work is deeply related to his values and his identity. Myers explained his role in Outreach not simply as a job but as a vocation, a term which conveys significant existential meaning in religious communities such as the Episcopal Church, similar to the idea of "calling":

> When I took the office I had a tremendous amount of energy to make this my vocational pinnacle. Sometimes it happens early, sometimes it happens late. For me at thirty-one, thirty-two, it just all came together.

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[94] 21/04/2009
[95] 13/02/2009

> All the skills I had, personally and workwise, came into fruition (Myers interview).[96]

MAP architect John Gaventa argues that people such as Myers bring different life experiences to their work in these programmes, which adds something vital and intangible that reaches beyond the basic aims of these projects.

> The nature of the programme is deeply linked to the prior learning experiences and biographies of the people who help to create it and lead it. That's what gives it a certain commitment and life. People who hadn't had those kinds of experiences wouldn't have created this kind of programme…That's the intangible they bring to it (Gaventa interview).[97]

In the case of MAP, both Gaventa and Pettit—as well as VC Mary Stuart—all had backgrounds in popular education. This provided them with a shared framework for understanding how the MAP programme could operate, despite it being quite different from other programmes at IDS or the University of Sussex. They shared the foundational premise of popular education that learning should involve and lead to action in the wider world.

In an HE culture, which has for decades emphatically promoted value-free objectivity, such individuals represent a very different cultural orientation, coming from voluntary and community development arenas, which are much more openly normative and value-driven. As such these programmes open a space for a way of working which is distinctly different in its approach than the mainstream of the university. As will be argued in Chapters 5 and 6, part of what makes the programmes successful as "attractors" is this counter-hegemonic, value-driven approach to HE practice. Thus in systems and complexity terms, these programmes introduce a new fractal pattern, validating ways of working that have previously been absent or suppressed. As these programmes expand, so too do these ways of working proliferate along with them. The hiring of these outliers to staff these programmes, however, is the first moment of such a process.

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[96] 13/02/2009
[97] 14/07/2009

Looking across all three cases, the data indicates that part of what makes these programmes successful was the universities' willingness to hire types of individuals who were unlike their standard appointments, often people from non-university and non-academic backgrounds. At a practical level, it seems wise to choose "boundary spanners" who can connect to the target groups with whom these programmes aim to work. As a colleague reflected, "It would seem unwise to hire the aging physics professor nearing retirement to lead a programme like this!" (Taylor personal communication).[98] Indeed choosing an outlier with some linkages and understanding of the external environment seems crucial to achieving a functional programme. However, beyond the practical implications of having staff who can cross university-community boundaries, there also seems to be a more intangible value in the different ways of working that these individuals introduce into the university system through their presence. In addition to new methodological approaches, these individuals also bring with them epistemological and axiological orientations which may have wider implications for the HEIs where they are located. As such these new individuals and programmes often engender a new fractal which varies somewhat from the university's standard way of operating. Chapter 5 and 6 will explore how this new fractal pattern can develop into an "attractor" and begin to spread to other individuals in the institution.

Conclusion

In looking to understand how these kinds of programmes come into existence, the conceptual framework leads to an exploration of these programmes' initial conditions using the concept of prochronistic change. This analysis illuminates the importance of history and context in the creation of these programmes, revealing a convergence of energies within the HEI with some occurrence in the local community and/or some wider discourse in society which encourages the university to look outside of itself. The data also suggests that strong institutional leadership is an important element that leads the formation of such programmes. Although top-down leadership facilitates the initial creation of these SE programmes, the experience of these three cases suggests that the leadership paradigm quickly shifts to one that is much more distributed and collaborative. At this point the programmes function much more autonomously as there is a need for them to create processes and interactions which are functional and beneficial to stakeholders in multiple groups and sectors. Given the complex

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[98] 22/07/2010

multidimensional environment in which these programmes operate, such processes are impossible to anticipate in detail. As such the programmes show a common tendency for learning by doing, establishing guidelines and procedures through active projects rather than trying to develop frameworks and protocols in advance.

Another important commonality of these programmes is that when they are created, they facilitate the appointment of university staff with distinctive or non-academic backgrounds into prominent roles within the university. They maybe academics from a completely different field, or perhaps more typically someone with extensive history in the voluntary sector, or perhaps even in the building trades. These unusual backgrounds introduce alternative ways of working and thinking into the university which in time may replicate in locations beyond the boundaries of the programme itself, producing unanticipated outcomes elsewhere in the HEI. Such outcomes will be the focus of the two following chapters.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSISING OUTCOMES PERTAINING TO CURRICULUM, PEDAGOGY AND RESEARCH

Introduction

This chapter examines outcomes pertaining to curricula, pedagogy and research that are related to these programmes. The first half of the chapter begins with outcome mapping of some of the unexpected changes these three programmes have created within their home institutions. These outcomes are especially striking in the cases of Outreach and Cupp as neither of these programmes were conceived with a curricular remit. The chapter initially identifies some of the new modules and academic courses that have been developed in direct relationship to these SE programmes. Thereafter I look at some other changes to teaching which have occurred, specifically in relation to new pedagogical approaches, deepened local relevance and increased interdisciplinarity. The chapter also notes how Cupp's work has led to the revision of research ethics guidelines at UoB. In the second half of the chapter, I explore how several concepts from systems and complexity thinking provide useful tools for analysing how these curricular, pedagogical and research-related outcomes occurred within these three HEIs. This half of the chapter variously describes: how the programmes expanded their institutional influence through fractal reproduction of their ways of working; how these programmes function as institutional hubs, or "attractors," which draw together adaptive agents with common interests and agendas; how these programmes facilitate the creation of new institutional structures which further disseminate the ways of working of the programmes; how these programmes act as resource providers to create new modules and projects which are rooted in the themes and processes of the programmes.

Outcomes: Evidence of First Loop Learning

The following sub-sections will document outcomes this research identified regarding teaching, pedagogy and research at the HEIs where these programmes are located. These effects were largely undocumented because most assessments of these programmes had focused by-and-large on community-related and student outcomes. Methods such as outcome mapping and SSM dependency analysis are thus useful for acknowledging the interrelationship between these programmes and the nonlinear academic changes. Such outcomes were particularly important for Outreach and Cupp

as these programmes were not designed to have a curricular role. Of the three cases, only MAP had a clear teaching and learning identity at its inception.

The following sub-sections will document some of the specific outcomes influenced by these programmes, evidence of which was often found at all three programmes' home HEIs. Chapter 6 will also outcome map wider institutional changes which link back to the SE programmes; however, this chapter will keep a strict focus on issues related to teaching and research. As such the changes explored in this chapter can be viewed as a form of "single-loop" learning (Argyris and Schön 1978) that was facilitated by the presence of these programmes. As noted in Chapter 2, for the specific purposes of this study, the concept of single-loop leaning will be used to describe changes in existing individual and institutional practices. As teaching and research are well-defined practices of all of the HEIs, this chapter will demonstrate how these SE programmes contributed to innovation and evolution which furthered these HEIs' established institutional goals and missions.

New Modules and MAs

All three programmes have been directly responsible for generating new learning opportunities at their respective institutions. In the case of Outreach, this was a particularly significant achievement. The programme's institutional positionality under the university chaplain rather than under a dean had long served as an impediment to successful collaboration between Outreach and faculty. The situation began to shift in 2002 when the university received a $1,000,000 grant from the Eli Lilly Foundation to promote student discernment projects, particularly around vocations in ministry and the voluntary sector. As the university chapel was a key force in securing the grant, part of this funding was directed towards the Outreach office, providing the programme with discretionary funding for the first time in its history. In 2003, Outreach supported the creation of a new economics module to study microcredit institutions in Bangladesh. Co-facilitated with Outreach staff, the microcredit module intentionally included multiple hands-on service experiences for students and was billed as a university's first "service-learning" module. The Bangladesh programme was successful and has continued to run every summer since 2003. This module demonstrated that Outreach was a viable partner in developing new academic programmes. In 2006, Outreach staff approached several academics with the idea of scaffolding an academic programme

onto Outreach's already existing ASB to Haiti. In addition to being able to handle the logistical dimensions of creating such a programme, Outreach was also able to provide financial support so that every student in the module would be able to travel to Haiti regardless of their ability to pay. Two modules evolved out of Outreach's invitation, one in biology and another in photography. This Haiti project has been successful and sustainable. By 2009, Sewanee's Dean of Students was referring to the Haiti project as "iconic" (Hartman interview), in that it was universally known within the institution and well-publicised outside of the university. The high visibility of this project helped to set in motion collaborations with faculty members in other fields.

Several academics with interests in local issues began to work through the Outreach office to develop linkages with local families and organisations in order to add CE dimensions to their modules. Outreach brokered connections for a political science module which looked at the causes and effects of poverty in the local community, for a philosophy module which explored medical ethics by engaging with local families on legal and ethical dimensions of end-of-life issues, and for a introductory-level anthropology module so that students could become more knowledgeable about the culture in which they lived. As Outreach has gained academic credibility through these partnerships, the programme has also moved into a position to help design new programmes and not simply implement modules originating with faculty members. All told, Outreach's influence on the curriculum has expanded rapidly in the past five years, leading Sewanee's Dean of Students to comment, "Outreach has eased its way into the curriculum. That's a major penetration. Sewanee hasn't seen that before" (Hartman interview).[99]

At UoB, Cupp faced a somewhat analogous situation to that of Outreach. The original vision for Cupp had little scope for involving students at the curricular level. UoB already had in place a student volunteer scheme—"Active Student"—which it hoped to connect with Cupp, but neither Cupp nor Active Student provided a mechanism for connecting student volunteer and engagement work with the curriculum.Thus there were initially no opportunities for service-learning or credited CE for students. The

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[99] 10/02/2009

institution's evolution in thinking on this subject is found in a comment by Pro-VC Laing who has worked closely with Cupp since its formation:

> Initially we'd slightly headed off the service-learning proposition, partly because that wasn't how the thing originally presented itself to us… In fact, I was one of the people who was least interested in that. I can see the value of it a lot more now and I think we developed it at a stage when we were ready for it. The work that Juliet [Millican] has done and the module are now a very strong part of the linkage between the teaching aspects of the institution and the social engagement aspects, and that is a very powerful linkage on both sides—and another way in which [Cupp] has become more embedded and bound in (Laing interview).[100]

Laing's reference is to an academic module revamped by Cupp staff member Juliet Millican. The year-long module, known as Community and Personal Development (CPD), is intended for undergraduate students in their second year. Millican reformulated the module to focus on experiential learning for students within the Brighton voluntary sector. Under Cupp's guidance, CPD has grown from thirty students to three-hundred-and-fifty—larger than the entire student body of IDS. CPD has also spawned several other related modules which students take as a series. More broadly within UoB, Cupp's work has facilitated the creation of at least eight other modules, including "Understanding Participation" in the School of Education, and "Partnerships and Participation with Marginalised Groups" in the School of Nursing and Midwifery . Millican has also been instrumental in creating a Cupp "Tutors Group" which meets periodically to discuss opportunities for CE within UoB's curriculum.

Another direct outgrowth of Cupp's work is the Inclusive Arts MA program. One of the original three "prototype" projects that Cupp funded during its start-up period, it enabled UoB students to work with adult artists in Brighton who were developmentally challenged. The project was spearheaded by local artist and activist Alice Fox. The initial collaboration was very successful. When the pilot project had ended, the students and the artists were eager to continue working together. Based on her successful project with Cupp, Fox was hired into the School of Art and Media at UoB to teach several classes that allowed these artistic collaborations to develop further. In time, Fox expanded her vision and aspired to create a full MA programme in Inclusive Arts which

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[100] 06/04/2009

would train students to be able to create their own arts programmes of this kind. This new "MA in Inclusive Arts in Practice" began in 2008 (Fox interview).[101]

Being itself an academic programme, MAP was somewhat better positioned to influence the curriculum of its own institution than the other programmes. The classroom portions of the MA unfolded through a process of participatory curriculum development (Taylor 2003), while the fieldwork portion of the course centred around participatory action research (PAR). As the course evolved it also took on a more clearly articulated reflective practice (RP) component. In particular it is the RP element of MAP which has had the most influence at the Institute. As students from other MA courses became acquainted with the distinctive work that MAP students were doing in their classes, they began to solicit the MAP convenors to create an RP module that was open to non-MAP students. In 2008, Jethro Pettit created a new stand-alone module with an explicit focus on reflective methods. The RP module has now been running successfully for three years.

Encouraged by their work with MAP and the RP module, the Participation, Power and Social Change team (PPSC) also assumed ownership of the Empowering Society module which had been originally created by the Governance Team. PPSC revised the module to include key features drawn from MAP. It is facilitated with a participatory, dialogical pedagogy in which the direction of the class meetings is determined by the class members as the class progresses. Expanding on the PAR element of MAP, the class offers students the opportunity to engage in community-based research in Brighton during their studies at IDS. Significantly, the revised Empowering Society was the first module at IDS in which students received academic credit for their CE projects.

As such it is clear that all of the programmes have made a mark on the curricula of their respective institutions. This is particularly noteworthy as it was not a central aim of the programmes, but emerged over time as the programmes grew more embedded within the HEIs. While Outreach's penetration of the curriculum is significant within its own context, the curricular influence of Cupp and MAP are also salient within the UK HE context. As a recent report from the NCCPE notes, "less attention… has been directed

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[101] 29/04/2009

toward 'engaged teaching' than to the relationship between engagement and research"
(Squires and Burns 2010, 11). Thus while CE by universities is on the rise, the
curricular dimension is often ignored—particularly in the UK where the CE movement
is younger than countries like the US or Australia. However, as Lawry *et al.* note, even
at American HEIs which have been recognised as "engaged" there is a tendency for
engagement activities to remain siloed away from academics (2006). These cases offer
important lessons in this area, among others.

New Pedagogical Approaches

The evidence of a structured pedagogical influence is most clear at IDS where the RP
element of the MAP programme has become widespread.

> That's the part of MAP that's had the most impact on the rest of IDS.
> Bringing reflective writing into the MPhil and now some of the other
> MAs and doing the course on Reflective Practice and Social Change
> (Pettit interview).[102]

The RP element of MAP provided an opportunity for personal reflection and sense-
making for students. As such it quickly became popular with students outside of MAP
who encouraged PPSC to start the RP module for non-MAP students. However, many
students wanted to have such methods embedded in the structure of their MA
programmes, not simply as an elective module. As a result, tailored RP sessions were
incorporated into three other IDS MAs, the MA Poverty, the MA Development Studies
and the MA Gender. The course tutor for the MA in Governance also reported
dialoguing with the RP tutor from MAP in order to share their experiences about using
methods and pedagogical practices which allowed students to reflect on their academic
learning through a lens of personal and professional experience (Conyers interview).[103]
As a result, now more than half of the MA programmes at IDS include some form of
reflective pedagogy for their students. As mentioned in the previous section, MAP has
also introduced PAR into the IDS' teaching repertoire. Such action inquiries, which are
a core element of the Empowering Society module, have grown out of the successful
field projects of MAP students.

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[102] 15/10/2009
[103] 24/07/2009

Like MAP, Cupp has also been actively using RP methods in its CPD module. Although this is a common approach in professional studies at the graduate level, such as in nursing and social work, RP was not common at the undergraduate level. Given that much of the CPD module occurs outside the classroom, the reflective element—primarily through journaling—became a core method for students during their experiential work with voluntary sector organizations. Other modules organised by Cupp also emphasise experiential and reflective learning, such as in the "Politics" module that proceeds CPD. Rather than individual placements, these first-year students travel as a group to meet community leaders and engage in discussions on community issues.

Likewise, in Sewanee, Outreach has become a purveyor of engaged and experiential pedagogies. Outreach has been responsible for facilitating experiential learning in both communities local to the university and in countries overseas such as in Haiti and Bangladesh. Although CE has recently become more widespread at Sewanee, academics who have been engaged in such work long-term attribute the current institutional momentum to Outreach's efforts to initiate service-learning collaborations.

In all three cases, the data indicates these programmes have been able to attract academic partners outside of the SE programmes and that these new partners have adopted the approaches initiated by these programmes. Thus as the programmes become more established institutionally, their capacity to support new pedagogical approaches increases. Within this general shift to experiential and reflective learning, other noteworthy outcomes are apparent. The following subsections will explore two of these interrelated outcomes—movement of the curriculum toward increased local relevance and interdisciplinarity.

Deepened Local Relevance

A clear outgrowth of this increase in engaged learning within these institutions was a deepened relevance of the curriculum to local issues. Each year Cupp's CPD module facilitates three-hundred-and-fifty students in spending a full term working with host organizations in Brighton's voluntary sector. Multiple students interviewed from the module reported continuing their placements even after the end of the module, such as David Farenden who undertook a placement mentoring an ex-offender just out of

prison. Farenden was so successful with his first relationship that he was asked to stay on after his CPD time had ended and to take on a second mentee. He was later offered a position by the agency who had hosted his internship (Farenden interview).[104] More than creating mechanisms for students to do extended work-placements in the community, Cupp has also influenced UoB's research agenda by incentivising local research. Cupp offers small grants to academics to encourage them to take on local projects. The grant money does not go directly to the academics but rather to their faculties, thus freeing up office time for the researcher to take on community enquiries as part of their documented research activities, rather than having these enquiries be an after-hours "add ons" to their existing departmental responsibilities.

Outreach has also been successful in drawing academics from multiple disciplines into its work, with the result of many new modules having been created which focus on local communities and issues. This has in turn increased student interaction with the local community. Outreach was credited with directly facilitating CE components for a half dozen modules across as many academic departments. As with CPD, this involved mostly students engaging in an organisational placement or working closely with a local community partner.

> It certainly required a different model of teaching… [Students] had a semester-long commitment to getting to know a family very different from themselves, families already having a relationship with the Outreach office through Housing Sewanee. The idea was to get to know this family, befriend this family... It was good for them to recognise that poverty and really difficult circumstances exist right around us (McGrath interview).[105]

Moreover through Outreach's Canale internship programme, student internships can be "connected to an independent study with a faculty person doing research with them on some needed issue or problem in the community" (Hille-Michaels interview).[106] Recent projects have included students working on supply-chain analysis with local organic farmers and the production of a telephone directory promoting small businesses in isolated mountain communities.

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[104] 26/06/2009
[105] 24/03/2009
[106] 10/02/2009

Likewise, MAP has increased the local relevance of IDS teaching in multiple ways. Although IDS students have worked in the community from time to time (Pettit interview; Conyers 2008), these experiences had not been officially recognised as a component of students' academic work until the PPSC assumed responsibility for convening[107] of the Empowering Society module and revamped it to officially incorporate elements of the MAP programme such as AR and RP. Thus these shifts around Empowering Society reflect an important expansion by the Institute of what MA coursework can include. Recently, Empowering Society projects have included working with immigrant taxi drivers, revitalizing a local shop-keeper's association and organizing a campaign to stop a large grocery chain from opening a store on a high-street populated with locally-owned greengrocers (Pettit 2009). Although the action research projects of MAP students generally take place far from Brighton, this is not always the case. A recent MAP student from Jamaica completed his AR placement with the council of the Southwark borough in London. He worked closely with local minority groups and the NHS to develop initiatives which would encourage these marginalised communities to be more active in health and wellness opportunities, such as creating female-only swim times at the local pools so that Muslim women would be comfortable taking exercise (Noble interview).[108]

An increase in local relevance is found to be an outcome in all cases. At one level, this is definitely to be expected, but the research shows that this increased local engagement comes in various forms including student placements and student research, as well as increased academic research in collaboration with local stakeholders.

Increased Interdisciplinarity

These SE programmes were also found to foster interdisciplinarity in the courses and modules which they supported and contributed towards. This was quite evident with the Outreach programme which brokered a fruitful partnership between a fine arts professor and a biologist. This collaboration became the basis of Haiti project. Pradip Malde, the convenor of the documentary photo module, explained that Outreach was vital to initiating the collaboration, "Key things… Dixon asked me to go Haiti. Then he put

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[107] IDS' Governance team had convened the course previously. MA Governance course tutor Diana Conyers had worked in tandem with PPSC Fellows Taylor and Pettit to build group field visits into ES module for two years before PPSC became the convener, but this fieldwork had not been recognised by the Institute as part of the students' academic work.

[108] 13/11/2009

Deborah [McGrath] and me together essentially. Then us seeing concurrence, seeing parallels in the doc photo and the bio classes" (interview).[109] More recently, Outreach led the way for an experiential, interdisciplinary summer programme that looked at civil rights and social change in the American south through the lens of music. The module brought together academics from the history and music departments who accompanied the students on a journey up the Mississippi River from New Orleans to Chicago. As such, Outreach is being increasingly recognised as a source of interdisciplinary innovation.

Furthermore, faculty members that had actively engaged with the Outreach programme reported how the experience had altered their teaching materials and reading lists in such a way that they asked their students to read across a much broader scope of disciplines than had been previously assigned on the same modules.

> My engagement with students against this backdrop of community service, study abroad, has actually opened up many more avenues of communication with other faculty and other disciplines than ever before, for me. My readings in classes are much more about other things than art itself… I mean right here [on my desk] a random sampling of what we're looking at: 'Access and consent in public photography'; 'Seeing and believing' a whole essay about the nature of politics and documentary photography and the reporting of truth; Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *Notes from the Underground*; and an essay we just finished reading about war, human rights and photography. There are massive and really exciting crossovers happening with other disciplines and approaches (Malde interview).[110]

Parallel comments were made by academics at UoB who had worked with Cupp:

> Juliet [Millican of Cupp] was one of the most exciting people that I'd come across, plus I was getting a little bit fed up with close colleagues. This kind of thing made me go speak to colleagues who were outside of my own discipline area. I kind of got the good feeling that I was actually extending opportunities for students (Elliott interview).[111]

Cupp's interdisciplinary approach also informs its research practices and its structural organisation. As will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, one of Cupp's

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[109] 12/02/2009
[110] 12/02/2009
[111] 14/05/2009

primary organisational structures is the Senior Researchers' Group (SRG) which processes and routes most of the Helpdesk enquiries from the community. Over time this group has come to include academics from across many different faculties of the university, resulting in new collaborations and interdisciplinary analysis of community issues.

Such an interdisciplinary stance has also informed Cupp's work with its community partners. In long-term research collaborations such as those formed during BSCKE, Cupp adopted Wenger's communities of practice (CoP) framework (1998) for organising research teams, therefore intentionally mixing academics, community practitioners and service users. In using this model, Cupp has aimed to reduced tensions and hierarchies between university and community-patners and to create research teams which embody applied interdisciplinarity (Hart and Wolff 2006).

At IDS, MAP's RP strain has introduced new perspectives and methods which have stretched the Institute's disciplinary boundaries. As noted in the MAP handbook,

> There will be an emphasis on techniques of creative and reflective writing, journaling and auto-ethnography that students can use to understand and position themselves within their research and practice, and to develop and express their findings (IDS 2008, 7).

These creative techniques which also included music, dance, role-playing and other dramatic exercises, such as "theatre of the oppressed" (Boal 1993), have allowed the IDS students to extend beyond the standard social science approaches which are typical in development studies.

Moreover, the participatory nature of the MAP pedagogy has enabled the students themselves to contribute actively to the overall content of the course. The emphasis is on co-creation of learning, on students learning from the experiences of their peers as much as from the experts/convenors. In this sense there has been not only a broadening of disciplinary perspectives which contribute to the course, but also of epistemic perspectives, contributing to what de Sousa Santos has described as an "ecology of knowledges" (2006), wherein each student's personal and professional knowledge is actively drawn upon and integrated into the substance of the course.

Revision of Ethics Guidelines

Another of the interesting outcome catalysed by these programmes is the way they have influenced institutional positions on research. This was most evident at UoB where two different schools within the university have reshaped their ethics practices for research as a result of the new forms of research and community interaction that Cupp has stimulated. Alice Fox, the convener of the Inclusive Arts MA, found that the research ethics procedures in the School of Arts and Media at UoB were not useful or appropriate for facilitating the kind of research she was attempting to do with physically and mentally challenged artists. She responded by writing a revised set of research guidelines which allowed for greater interaction with and empowerment of research participants. Fox's revised guidelines were subsequently adopted by the entire School (interview).[112] Similar changes in ethics processes were also noted at UoB's School of Environment and Technology (Church interview).[113]

Such issues have also been addressed centrally by Cupp through the inter-departmental work of the Senior Researchers Group (SRG), in which they have drafted addendums to the university's overall research ethics framework in order to carve out more space for community-engaged research.

> The [Senior Researchers] Group has developed an ethics process for dealing with new projects, related to the University's main research ethics policy but tailored to operate in a community context… This process, when tested, may have important implications for the University's own ethics committees, and influence the way in which new research projects are secured and implemented (Rodriguez and Millican 2007, 37-38).

Subsequently UoB has moved to embrace social engagement even more broadly at an institutional level. At a November 2008 SRG meeting that I attended, there were discussions of instituting new institutional research frameworks which would be implemented systematically rather than individually by each school with regards to future research work in the community and with community groups (Bivens reflective journal).[114]

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[112] 29/04/2009
[113] 25/06/2009
[114] 18/11/2008

Thus, looking back across the first half of this chapter, the data demonstrates that these kinds of programmes have contributed measurably to curricular, pedagogical and research-related innovation at their respective institutions. Within a broader shift toward engaged and reflective approaches to teaching and learning, other trends emerged, specifically that these programmes influenced curricula so as to bring greater attention to local issues and to foster interdisciplinary practices in teaching and research. It was also demonstrated that Cupp has influenced the way in which the research process is understood by the institution. The second half of the chapter will explore the institutional processes and mechanisms which have enabled these outcomes.

How the Outcomes Happened: Looking Through a Systems Lens

Systems and complexity concepts can be useful for deciphering the processes of change within these programmes' home institutions which led to these outcomes. The remainder of this chapter seeks to identify the processes which enabled these programmes to penetrate the academic dimensions of their HEIs. To analyse the outcomes discussed in the first half of this chapter, three concepts from systems/complexity thinking will be utilised: fractals, attractors and dependency mapping.

Fractals

The concept of fractals is worth revisiting when considering the influence of these programmes on curricular and institutional development. In terms of organisations, fractals suggest a qualitative relationship between parts and the whole, that the whole will over time develop attributes of the part, and *vice versa*. In complexity terms, fractal relationships are the mechanism through which probes evolve into attractor patterns. As such, to become attractors, the probes do not grow, rather they are replicated through the activities of other institutional actors. If the probe is successful it will not only attract members of the organisation to engage with it, it will also influence those members of the organisation to take on the patterns of activity introduced by the probe, thus proliferating a new pattern of institutional behaviour, evolving a new attractor. Thus fractal analysis looks for the reproductions and outgrowths of the patterns introduced by the probe.

No pattern is an isolated entity. Each pattern can exist in the world, only
to the extent that it is supported by other patterns: the larger the patterns
in which it is embedded, the patterns of the same size that surround it,
and the smaller patterns which are are embedded in it (Alexander,
Ishikawa *et al*. 1977, xiii).

Thus this section of the thesis will look at particular reproductions of the patterns and themes of the SE programmes, as well as instances of how the programmes have taken on patterns of the wider institution.

Facsimile Fractals
Part 1: Role Models

These programmes introduce and/or help to validate different ways of working which are more engaged with actors and forms of knowledge which exist outside of the university. This is facilitated partially by bringing non-traditional actors into the university and giving them visible roles, such as the directors of Outreach and Cupp or the convener of MAP. Academics amenable to these alternative ways of working are drawn to these programmes and become deeply intertwined with them. Such is the case with the academic directors of Cupp or the convenors of the Haiti project at Sewanee. Although engagement with these programmes may initially present professional risks, often the outcome is positive for these first adopters and their groundbreaking efforts may be held up for praise by the institution or may simply inspire other academics who wish to try something different. These early adopters become role models for others. Aware of this, they actively try to promote and communicate how they have gone about their work so that others may take a variation of that path. As more academics come on board, they come into contact with the SE programmes, with the result that these alternative ways of working and teaching become further dispersed and embedded in the institution.

At Cupp, the responsibilities of the academic directors explicitly include "acting as role models for other academics within the university regarding community-university engagement" (Hart and Church 2009, 13).

I think part of my theory of change is that actually being an explicit role model in what I'm doing, so being able to walk to the talk, so that I can show people—academics—that you can do this stuff and be a successful

academic. That seems to be really important to me, that you have to demonstrate it somehow (Hart interview).[115]

Hart has prospered professionally during her involvement with Cupp, becoming a full professor at UoB. Her professorial inaugural lecture in 2009 was evidence of just how well-known and influential she has become within the university and the community:

> Went to Angie Hart's inaugural lecture tonight. It was a packed house at the Sallis Bennet Theatre [in downtown Brighton], which probably seats 300 people. Talking to [Cupp staff member] Hanne Eis afterward, she called Angie the 'rock star of research' because the lecture had sold out in just four days when tickets became available. Angie will actually be giving the lecture again so that people who couldn't get a ticket for this one will be able to see her another time (Bivens reflective journal).[116]

Hart's success with Cupp is particularly notable in that her managers tried to dissuade her from becoming involved with Cupp initially.

> I had to fight quite hard to get involved in Cupp. Originally my line manager that I had then… she really didn't want me to get involved in the SRG. She thought it was a complete waste of my time… You know it's different now because there's so much institutional support for Cupp. At that time there wasn't, it was just a slightly quirky idea that nobody had heard of and I wanted to get involved and I remember my Dean saying to me I shouldn't get involved in it because it 'might go all wrong' (Hart interview).[117]

To this point, a recent report from the NCCPE found that many academics face an environment similar that Hart describes, noting that "public engagement is seen as a guilty secret—because the head of department might not approve of this type of thing" (Squires and Burns 2010, 27). In such an atmosphere, successful role models have a vital role to play in furthering these ways of working, through inspiring others to take them up, as in this quote from an academic at UoB: "Seeing colleagues do it always gives you hope you can do something different. You make contacts with people and you have hope" (Elliott interview).[118]

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[115] 09/12/2008
[116] 21/05/2009
[117] 09/12/2008
[118] 14/05/2009

In a different manner, Cupp has also created an influential institutional role model in Alice Fox, convenor of the Inclusive Arts MA. Whereas Hart is a successful academic who has taken on new practices of engagement, Fox is a community practitioner who has successfully taken on an academic role. Not only did her Cupp project evolve into a teaching position and a new MA, Fox was also a pivotal player in reshaping the ethics guidelines for the School of Arts and Media. Her experience of working with disabled artists was completely incompatible with the university's research procedures. "I disagreed with all of the existing guidelines—they could have been hugely problematic for my MA students" (Fox interview).[119] In order to provide a different perspective, Fox authored a revised set of ethics guidelines that would apply to her MA programme: "I've written new ethics guidelines—how to do research with vulnerable adults… Rather than argue, I just wrote my own" (interview). Although these principles were a significant departure from the existing standards, the revisions were extremely well-received by the school.

> Everyone thought they were so helpful they decided to get rid of the old ones and use mine as the guidelines for the school, so it applies to research with anyone (Fox interview).[120]

Thus Fox's guidelines were adopted for the whole of the school's work and not just for the Inclusive Arts MA. Fox continues to be a presence in this area as she now holds the position of Deputy Chair of the Ethics Committee at the school. Fox's influence demonstrates how a pattern of behaviour introduced into the university environment through Cupp was eventually scaled up into a much more wide-spread reproduction of those ways of working. As such, Fox is not a role model in the same manner as Hart, but both have inspired their colleagues to approach their work as academics in a different manner.

Cupp's CPD module has also become a curricular role model and has been reproduced by academics looking for ways to incorporate engagement into their teaching. Human geographer Jenny Elliott, impressed with the CDP module, developed her own departmental version of the module in the School of Environment and Technology with a focus around sustainable communities.

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[119] 29/04/2009
[120] 29/04/2009

> The basic model is the same. It's about students volunteering then they do a set of workshops in the university, where we do stuff around personal values, community development, sustainable development, linking theory and practice, reflective writing, that sort of thing… I've certainly picked up the different way in which they work in that module, rather than the sitting in front, the didactic learning which is their major experience elsewhere (interview).[121]

At Sewanee, the pattern of Outreach which has been reproduced is the emphasis on CE and SL. According to Yasmeen Mohiuddin, who partnered with Outreach to build SL into a new study abroad module focusing on microcredit institutions in Bangladesh, "The impetus for service-learning came from Outreach. The whole idea of service-learning came from there" (interview).[122] Others in the institution affirmed this recent shift toward engaged and experiential pedagogies at Sewanee is not a limited phenomenon, but a significant, systemic change.

> CE is connected with the most important thing that has happened in Sewanee in the last decade—a move toward experiential learning. Outreach, CLECE and student research are the strongest expressions of that… how we interact with a wider world. Sewanee's long been a traditional, ivory tower approach. This is a movement which is doing pretty well—we're getting there (Sanders interview).[123]

Within this movement the Haiti academic modules that the Outreach programme helped to organise have become curricular role models. Just as a successful academic role model helped to shine light on Cupp's work at UoB, the success of the Haiti collaboration paved the way for much broader institutional interest and acceptance of Outreach as a contributing force to the curriculum.

> Dixon, Pradip, Deb creating an experience, a credit. I saw that as absolutely where Outreach needs to go in terms of getting to the [decision-making] table because Sewanee is tremendously left-brained, tremendously faculty-focused, tremendously curriculum-focused. So when Outreach linked up with curriculum, I could just see endless possibilities. Endless possibilities! (Chenoweth Deutsch interview).[124]

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[121] 14/05/2009
[122] 19/02/2009
[123] 24/02/2009
[124] 04/03/2009

Many of the participants in CLECE saw the Haiti project as a redefining accomplishment for Outreach, that transformed it into a clear and visible resource for faculty. The complexity of the Haiti project made local CE projects appear quite achievable by comparison. Outreach has promoted the Haiti project as a way of reaching out to an even broader swath of faculty.

> We had a series of presentations of successful CLECE courses, like Deb and Pradip and that kind of thing. Once again, a room full of faculty—even English [literature] professors, really good stuff (Myers interview).[125]

> When I look at the initiatives that help us academics reach across to the Outreach programme, I get very enlivened by those possibilities. I mean that course by Pradip and Deborah McGrath that worked with Dixon, that's an amazing event. That's changed those students' lives. That's really magnificent. (Brown interview).[126]

As well, university mangers at the top of the institution have come to see the Haiti project as part of the university's identity, in spite of earlier reservations.

> I'm already seeing the fruits of the Haiti initiative. Initially we had this tacit acceptance among the upper administration, but now I have [the Provost] congratulating us, saying 'This is good for Sewanee. We want you to do this.' Before they were saying, 'Gosh, do we want students going to Haiti? It's so dangerous.' And now they're really recognising the value of the whole initiative (McGrath interview).[127]

Examining MAP in this regard, two notable interviewees from IDS argued the MAP programme itself was an important role model for the future of teaching at the Institute. According to the then Head of Graduate Programmes,

> I think MAP is ahead of the curve... I think MAP thinks about things that we all think about but it does it far more explicitly. There's a whole load of things that I'd like to spread further. I like the way that MAP asks students why they want to come to IDS—what's their role in social change?... I love the way that MAP students have that period when they go to the field and then they come back… I wonder whether Term 3

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[125] 13/02/2009
[126] 24/03/2009
[127] 24/03/2009

might be a place to have internships, fieldwork or something (Sumner interview).[128]

Similar comments were made by IDS' Director,

I think the MAP approach to learning and teaching—it's the right side of history… It's fitting teaching and learning into people's lives and I think there's going to be more and more of that. It's creating space within their working lives for them to reflect and I think that's really important. I think more and more of our programmes will end up being like that (Haddad interview).[129]

As such, all of the programmes have developed role models of various kinds which typify their ways of working. As these role models are emulated and imitated, the fractal pattern of the programmes expands.

Part 2: "Discovery" of the Local

Looking across the three cases, there is evidence of an additional manner in which these programmes have succeeded in replicating themselves in the institutional culture, that is in the "discovery" of the local community as a place for research and teaching. Multiple academics interviewed described how their engagement with these programmes has catalysed a shift in their overall research interests.

While in some instances Cupp funds allowed academics to expand upon local work they were already doing, at others Cupp's support encouraged some academics to completely shift their research interests to focus on issues in and around Brighton. Jenny Elliott described shifting her research focus from Zimbabwe to Brighton (interview).[130] Another UoB academic also explained how engagement with Cupp had opened new research possibilities locally:

I've lived here since 1980, so obviously I know quite a lot about the city but it's given me even more insight into the city, into what's going on, what matters to people, what community groups are doing… And in terms of my own research, coming across new groups and new potential

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[128] 14/07/2009
[129] 16/07/2009
[130] 14/05/2009

collaborators, new ways of thinking about things, challenging my way of thinking about things (Henwood interview).[131]

This effect was felt even beyond UoB. University of Sussex's Elizabeth Harrison, who has worked closely with Cupp through BSCKE and SRG, described a shift on par with Elliott's. Whereas much of her earlier work had been on gender and community identity in Sub-Saharan Africa, her Cupp work has drawn her attention to issues of public engagement among older people in Sussex. This work has now begun to influence her teaching and publications.

> It definitely will. I've been pondering the past week or two developing a course... which is going to be around something like 'engaged anthropology' which would draw very explicitly upon both the international context and the local context for engaging in anthropology... so it will definitely affect my teaching. In terms of my writing… I gave a paper to a conference on Friday which was about user-engagement in service provision, which I will probably publish. There are some similarities but also some big differences with stuff I've done in an international context (interview).[132]

Such ideas were echoed by Henwood:

> Definitely, on the teaching side I feel my work within Cupp has given me a real window into the local community and the community in Brighton… For students that often means research opportunities and links (interview).[133]

In Sewanee, a similar trend was noticeable, with academics reorienting their research agendas after engaging with the local context via Outreach. A philosophy professor who had recently been focused on Chinese philosophy has now also developed a strong interest in the ethics frameworks of rural Tennessee communities, particularly around end-of-life issues. Another professor, an anthropologist with a background in Thai studies, spoke of shifting his research and teaching interests to exploring the culture of communities local to the university.

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[131] 05/05/2009
[132] 27/04/2009
[133] 05/05/2009

> Doing CE is humble work… I mean I could help you if wanted to talk about anorexia or about Thailand—but you want to talk about senior citizens in Monteagle [six miles from Sewanee]? Ok, I'll work with you… I could never go back to the other and be as satisfied. I now can see how much this matters to students (O'Connor interview).[134]

Having seen such a scenario with multiple faculty members, Outreach's coordinator now seeks out faculty who are looking for new subjects for their research.

> Another would probably be what I call the 'cycles of academic life'… Let's say a biology professor here has been studying spiders for 20 years and there's some closure… If they come to some kind of closure or a personal reinventing of what they're going to do next, then if you can catch them at that particular point then you can help them have some vision for something we can assist them with… something connected to our mission (Myers interview).[135]

At UoB, this institutional shift toward community-engaged research has caused the university to rethink how it conceptualises "community" in terms of interactions around research:

> It's given me and the other people on the ethics committee a greater understanding of the ethical issues of engaging with communities rather than individuals. A lot of the work you do on ethics committees is how you engage with research participants, rather than thinking of those participants collectively. I think that's one of those things that we've actually done a lot of work on, is actually saying, it's not just about your participants. How do you disseminate back for instance to the wider community these participants are from? (Church interview).[136]

Andrew Church's comments, considered alongside Fox's work on university ethics guidelines in a different school within UoB, helps to further identify how, through fractal reproductions and interactions, the influence of these programmes can spread across institutions. At first these may occur from academic to academic, however, when a substantial enough body of people have taken on these new patterns of working, the institutional processes themselves must be revised in order to accommodate this new understanding of research and of the university's relationship with and responsibility to community.

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[134] 18/02/2009
[135] 13/02/2009
[136] 25/06/2009

While the section has emphasised the fractal reproduction of the SE programmes' ways of working, the concept of fractals also suggest that the part will take on some characteristics of the whole as well. Such an alternate pattern of influence was quite clear with Cupp and Outreach, where the staff of the programmes are becoming increasingly academic. Most of the Cupp staff now engage in some form of teaching at UoB, particularly as part of the CPD programme. Moreover, one member of the Cupp team has earned her PhD during her time with Cupp and another is in the middle of her doctoral research at the time this thesis was written. At Outreach a similar pattern was found, wherein two recent assistant-coordinators of the programme have gone on from Outreach directly in PhD programmes, myself included. This research thus indicates that while these programmes are staffed by people with strong community-practitioner backgrounds, their time working within the university has a transformative, synthesising influence on their future identities, with the result that they develop academic credentials which compliment their practitioner backgrounds.

Thus, the three cases reveal a pattern of reproduction, with the methods and patterns of the programmes being taken up and replicated, as well as instances of the programmes taking on characteristics of the HEIs. Specifically, the data indicates that the creation of role models is an important mechanism for promoting the new methods and ways of working of these programmes. Role models may be individuals, or they may be modules initiated by the programmes, or even the programmes themselves. These various role models validate the innovative ways of working and suggest to others within the institution that involvement in such programmes is viable, even beneficial, inspiring them to engage with the programmes. Many academics who subsequently engage take on board the ways of the programmes, sometimes reorienting their research agenda to include a greater emphasis on local issues. As further institutional actors are drawn to these programmes, they develop into new "attractors" within the HEIs

Attractors

A key concept for understanding processes of change in systems is attractors. Although complex systems are ostensibly unpredictable, analysis has shown that even apparently chaotic systems follow cyclical patterns of behaviour over time. These deeper patterns of activity embedded within seemingly stochastic events have been deemed "attractors"

by systems and complexity researchers. The attractor concept derives from efforts to plot complex systems on a three-dimensional Cartesian axis, known as "phase space." Simple systems, such as a pendulum, will eventually move toward a single point of equilibrium. This still point is the pendulum's "point attractor" to which it will always return. Complex systems, however, cannot be predicted with any such precision as they exist far from equilibrium and do not return to a predictable static state in the way the pendulum does. Invariably, all human organizations are complex systems because the people within them are dynamic, adaptive agents. As such complex systems exhibit what appears, on the surface, to be chaotic behaviour. According to Ramalingam *et al.*,

> The behaviour of complex systems can at first glance appear to be highly disordered or random... However, there is an underlying pattern of order that is recognisable when the phase space of the system is mapped, known as a strange attractor. This strange attractor shows that complexity – although seemingly completely disordered, actually displays order at the level of its trajectory, and that although it may be unpredictable in its detail, it always moves around the same attractor shape. This 'narrowness of repertoire' is at the heart of the order hidden in complexity… The lines of the attractor reflect the overall pattern of system behaviour, rather than sequential movement of the system through time… At a more general level, the notion of strange attractors and bifurcations implies that… the dynamics of complex systems can be investigated and understood (Ramalingam, Jones *et al.* 2008, 35-36).
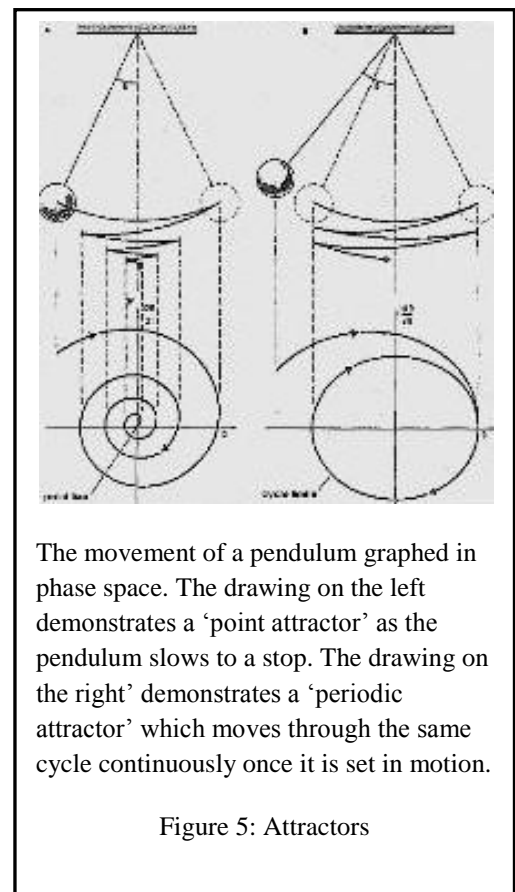
The movement of a pendulum graphed in phase space. The drawing on the left demonstrates a 'point attractor' as the pendulum slows to a stop. The drawing on the right' demonstrates a 'periodic attractor' which moves through the same cycle continuously once it is set in motion.

Figure 5: Attractors

Capra agrees that the concept of strange attractors offers a powerful analytic tool for examining complex phenomena.

> With the help of strange attractors, a distinction can be made between mere randomness, or 'noise', and chaos. Chaotic behaviour is deterministic and patterned, and strange attractors allow us to transform seemingly random data into distinct visible shapes (Capra 1996, 132).

The concept of attractors has become a much utilised tool for organisational change and management researchers as they attempt to make sense of how complex human systems develop and evolve over time. Eoyang and Berkas argue that because organizations "tend to move from one attractor regime to another… discerning systemic patterns of behaviour through attractors should be a standard technique for evaluation" (1998, 8). In order to operationalise this concept, Morgan interprets attractors as a metaphor for organization culture.

> What are the forces locking an organisation into its existing 'attractor' pattern? If change is required, how is the transition from one attractor to another to be achieved? (Morgan 1986, 228).

For Morgan "transformational change ultimately involves the creation of 'new contexts' that can break the hold of dominant attractor patterns in favor of new ones" (229). He argues that because organizations are complex, they are also nonlinear. As a result, it is possible for small changes to create large-scale impacts on organizational cultures.

> It follows then that persons wishing to change the context in which they are operating should look for 'doable' high-leverage initiatives that can trigger a transition from one attractor regime to another (Morgan 1986, 231).

Morgan's comments parallel the thinking of Snowden and his concept of "safe-fail" experiments. As the emergent processes and cultures of organisations cannot be changed quickly or predictably, Snowden argues for the introduction of small, strategic "probes" which plant the seeds for larger wider systemic change.

> We then use catalytic probes… to stimulate a pattern of activity which is called an 'attractor'. If it's a beneficial attractor we will stabilize and amplify it. If it's a negative attractor we dampen it (Snowden 2009, 17).[137]

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[137] Although this research will focus on the three SE programmes as beneficial attractors, as Snowden's comment acknowledges, negative attractors also exist. In an organisational context, managers might perceive activities like labour union organising as a negative attractor and attempt to dampen the attractor through methods of "union busting."

As such if a probe or safe-fail experiment embeds new processes and new ways of working within the institution, it becomes an attractor, with the potential of distributing those processes more widely throughout the institution.

However, Morgan cautions that moving an organization from one attractor to another isn't something that can be tightly managed or forced.

> It is important to note that the manager acting on the insights of chaos and complexity theory cannot be in control of the change. He or she cannot define the precise form that the new attractor pattern will take. While it is possible to shape or nurture key elements of the emerging context by opening the old system to new information, new experiences, new modes of service delivery, new criteria for assessing service delivery, and so on, the attractor will find its own form (Morgan 1986, 230).

In this sense, the experience of these three SE programmes as described in Chapter 4 matches well with Snowden and Morgan's interpretations of "probes" within organisational contexts. All of the programmes introduced new actors and ways of working into their respective institutions. Although the programmes all had high levels of support from university management, their institutional champions quickly stepped away from the programmes to allow them to develop autonomously without tight constraints or direction. This aligns with the precept that changes in attractor regimes cannot be managed. New patterns are introduced and observed to see how the system responds. Thus this analysis in this chapter will argue that the programmes have evolved from "probes" to successful "attractors," leading to changes in organisational activities beyond the boundaries of the programmes themselves.

The Strange Attractor
Part 1: Storefront of an Emergent, Alternative Paradigm

One idea that arose often in interviews was that these programmes offered a point of connectivity for actors from across the whole of the university and the community. Because programmes such as Outreach and Cupp had clear identities and intentionally accessible offices, they became literal destinations for students, academics and community members interested in community and social issues. Over time, these offices became nodes which linked many disparate networks. Staff developed encyclopaedic knowledge of organizations and actors in the community and in the university. As such, the programmes become a practical storefront for a host of

ideologically and methodologically related activities and individuals. This role was most clearly played out by Outreach and Cupp.

The physical location of Outreach's offices in the student commons at Sewanee was a key factor in the programme's ability to serve as a hub for networking. As the commons building also housed a refectory and the student post office, more than half of the university's twelve-hundred students passed by the Outreach office every day. Taking advantage of this prime location, Outreach staff constructed large display cases for the walls outside of their office to post photos of students and community-partners at work on various local projects. The office also became a repository for information about national and international service programmes such as VISTA and Peace Corps. Like all of the university's buildings, the student commons was decorated in a traditional architectural style with dark oak mouldings and doors. Outreach's bright and tacky wall displays contrasted vibrantly and arrested attention of passers-by. This brash style of advertising clashed with the gravitas of the university's ethos. It suggested a different attitude. For students frustrated with the prevailing mindset of the university, Outreach served as an entry-point to a different set of ideas and activities.

> Dixon's personality really drew me. How charismatic he is. It was just fun to come hang out in the office... Sometimes talking about service and sometimes talking about things we wanted to change around the University. It was an easy venue for that, where there was just total acceptance (Galbreath interview).[138]

> It's just because that when I came in [as a first-year student], the people that I most admired were working with the Outreach programme and they became my friends and that became where I would go and hang out and eat lunch between classes (Wyrick interview).[139]

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[138] 03/02/2009
[139] 19/02/2009

As a result Outreach served as a gathering place for students looking for something outside of the dominant fraternity and sorority social scene on the campus. For many students interested in creating change at the university, Outreach Coordinator Dixon Myers became that point of entry to the inner workings of the institution.

> The people I was hanging around with were talking about change anyway and were also hanging out in the Outreach office. What was particular about that spot? One, I would say it was connected to the administration… Having Dixon involved felt like there was some inroad. Also, if someone wanted to have a specific course… having that conversation with Dixon in there, he knew that you could go to [the Dean of Students] and he could help you figure out how you could do an independent study like that. Having somebody who knew the processes (Galbreath interview).[140]

(Luethke workshop, 25/03/2009).

Detail from a Sewanee's students 'rich picture' describing Outreach as a place for learning how to 'get it done'.

Picture 1: Workshop Rich Picture—Attractors

From Galbreath's comments it's possible to think of Outreach as a node in a network that connected alternatively-minded students to like-minded individuals within the faculty and staff who were embedded throughout the institution. As Sewanee's Dean of Students commented, "This is an insider's place. There's no sign on the street that says 'Sewanee this way'. You've got to know the backdoor, the secret knock" (Hartman interview).[141] Accordingly, it is hard for outsiders—and even for those within the institution—to locate people and resources within the university, particularly when talking about ideas and aspirations that challenge the status quo. Outreach was easier to locate because of its location, its reputation for work in the community and because of the discourse of

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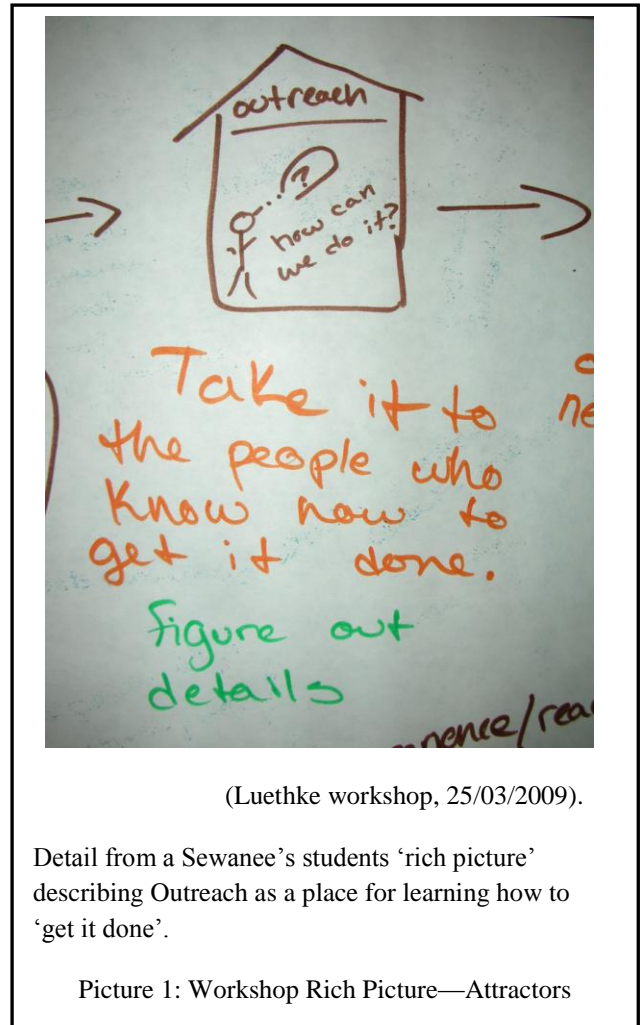
[140] 03/02/2009
[141] 10/02/2009

the materials that were displayed in and around its office. These were aimed primarily at students, but they also became a signpost for others working in the institution. As such, Myers became a primary linkage between the different groups and facilitated connections within the university that brought people together around alternative perspectives. Outreach served as a visible beacon which drew together like-minded individuals within the faculty and student-body who shared common aims and complementary skills.

This experience parallels the work of the Cupp's Helpdesk which was intentionally designed to link groups and individuals in the community to resources within the university. Between 2003 and 2007, the Helpdesk attracted more than eight-hundred enquiries originating from the community (Cupp 2008, 9). Part of Cupp's success in drawing the attention of those outside and within the university has been ongoing marketing and visibility efforts. The director of UoB's student volunteer programme commented that Cupp was a "very good publicity machine" (Thomas-Hancock interview).[142] Cupp has also been very intentional about having events inside of the university to draw academics who might be interested in CE work. For example, Cupp's current academic director, Angie Hart, was not at all involved in the design or early phases of Cupp. She only encountered the programme at an open forum where results from the first round of prototype projects were being presented.

> I came into it because I went to an event that Dave [Wolff] had organised which was a meeting about the Community University Partnership Programme, and I'd never heard of it. It was quite in the early days. It had been going probably six months or so maybe… I remember having this sort of feeling that all my work was very applied and Cupp-type stuff and I should be involved in it in some way. I felt a strong sense of wanting to be involved and wanting to belong to it (interview).[143]

Although Hart was involved in community-based research prior to Cupp, working with the programme allowed her to build strong partnerships with other community researchers whom she had never met until they were all drawn together around Cupp.

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[142] 30/03/2009
[143] 09/12/2008

> We wouldn't be part of a community of academic practice around
> community university partnerships. I probably wouldn't know half the
> people—[associate academic director] Andrew Church, I wouldn't
> hardly know him…The various people in Cupp who I've met through the
> Cupp network, I would never have known… (interview).[144]

Cupp has continued to promote itself within the institution, actively trying to involve
wider and wider segments of the university's faculty. In the spring of 2009, Cupp's
associate academic director had just completed a faculty-development training around
community-engaged research in which twenty new academics had come to learn about
and see how they might become involved with Cupp.

> Of those twenty, ten were saying 'I don't really know anything about
> community and social engagement, but I'm really interested in it. I want
> to do it, but I don't know much about it. This is the first I've really heard
> about it.' Which was not dispiriting at all. That's what you would sort of
> expect. The uplifting thing is that they were there (Church interview).[145]

Cupp now works actively with more than one-hundred academics across UoB (Hart and
Church 2009, 16). The programme has become a hub not only for those interested in
community-based research, but also for those wanting to develop community-engaged
teaching. When geographer Jenny Elliott wanted to make her teaching "more locally
relevant," she sought out Cupp's Juliet Millican (interview).[146]

The notion that these programmes act as a storefront for ideas related to SE is not to
suggest that the programmes single-handedly created these energies within their
institutions. Rather these programmes provide a location and network hub that allows
these actors to meet, to learn and to be validated and supported.

> Meeting like-minded people—you know, to keep you going—is really
> important, because it is a lonely sort of individualistic career actually
> (Elliott interview).[147]

River Jones, who has been recently been tasked with overseeing CE at the nearby
University of Sussex, commented in a workshop for this research that Cupp's great

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[144] 09/12/2008
[145] 25/06/2009
[146] 14/05/2009
[147] 14/05/2009

value institutionally was that it provided a home and gave a clear identity for community-engaged work at UoB (workshop).[148] As such, those who work in this way no longer have to work isolation, without a supportive network of peers encouraging their efforts.

At IDS, MAP has functioned as an important storefront for students in terms of participatory and reflective methods. While IDS is widely known for participatory practices, students were often disappointed how little these concepts figured into their learning experience and how little access they had to PPSC academics.

> When people came, say to do the MPhil or any of the MAs for that matter, they've often come almost assuming that they'd be rubbing shoulders with the likes of the John [Gaventa], Andrea [Cornwall] and Robert [Chambers], also so that the participatory approaches would somehow infuse the teaching at IDS (Taylor interview).[149]

Unable to connect to PPSC researchers directly, MAP students were often another highly visible manifestation of these ways of working.

> The students on the MA participation are very good at selling themselves as a very exciting, groundbreaking, cutting edge group who are really doing something quite special. I think they often create a sense of interest and expectation that the other students would like to experience what they are doing in those sessions, because what goes on in MAP is quite different from what goes on in the other programmes… I remember last year in the 'Ideas in Development' sessions when each group of students did a short feedback in the Ideas lecture—the participation students at the time did the most innovative and dramatic presentation and it knocked everybody for six including the lecturer. And it's those moments when other students and staff have been exposed to MAP students that they really realize that there is actually something quite unusual and different here (Taylor interview).[150]

This interaction with MAP students has driven the demand among non-participation students to have access to similar training, such as in RP and AR.

> Because students are conscious that there is a participation MA, their appetite and demand for more participatory sessions has probably

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[148] 12/11/2009
[149] 11/12/2008
[150] 11/12/2008

> grown… real interest and expectation to engage around participatory approaches and processes and methods. One of the concrete ways in which that has been manifested is that the teaching that Jethro [Pettit] has been doing on reflective practice… I think that wouldn't have materialized had not MAP been one of the teaching programmes (Taylor interview).[151]

Across the cases, the programmes were often found to attract academics and students because of the axiological-drive nature of their work. Academics involved in these programmes had strong opinions and beliefs about the value of working in these engaged ways. As such the decision to become involved with these programmes was as much personal as professional. Although I had originally included "Professional Achievement" as a possible enabling factor in the generative tool used in the interviews, many respondents were uncomfortable with that phrase. They often sought for a term that included a more personal dimension, something closer to "professional fulfilment."

> 'Professional achievement'? I'm not sure how much of a role that plays. There is an issue of professional fulfilment which is very important to me. And I feel more fulfilled now as a teacher than I've ever felt before and it has to do with this Haiti programme taking form… This is a culmination of everything right now (Malde interview).[152]

> It was my sense from talking to other faculty and being part of conversations on this topic, that this was something that faculty wanted to do professionally, and also out of a sense of personal commitment. And they were feeling like they were not having that opportunity to make difference. So they wanted to see the creation of some kind of vehicle to be able to do that (Schneider interview).[153]

> I felt a strong sense of wanting to be involved and wanting to belong to it. That's been quite a feature of Cupp ever since. I've been able to understand other people's quite intense feelings around this work; it does trigger off some intense feelings in people—and it did me in this original [presentation] (Hart interview).[154]

Often these programmes allowed faculty to reconnect with the methods and practices that had originally drawn them into academia in the first place. At Sewanee, the biology professor heading the Haiti project had done participatory agro-forestry research in Brazil for her PhD. At Cupp, Angie Hart had done her PhD in anthropology, doing AR

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[151] 11/12/2008
[152] 12/02/2009
[153] 13/02/2009
[154] 09/12/2008

and counselling with street prostitutes in Spain. MAP convenor Jethro Pettit did a month-long AR project on a council estate as part of his MPhil. Thus many of the academics who engaged with these programme initially were predisposed to working in the socially engaged ways these programmes encouraged; however, they had previously found little institutional space to engage in these kinds of activities. Against a prevailing culture of neutrality, these programmes opened spaces for academics to engage in teaching and research that was personally meaningful, as well as pedagogically and socially meaningful.

> Working with Outreach has been some of my most important work… It's a marriage of the things I thought were important my whole life… I don't think I would still be here if it weren't for the Outreach office. I think I would have gone. For me, being in contact with those students and in contact with people who care about those things, who have that kind of vision, has been critical to my sanity here. I don't think I could just teach introductory biology and plant physiology for the rest of my career here, knowing that there's a potential to do something bigger... It's a creative outlet for me. And it's really important to my *soul*. It's something I feel right down to my soul… It really adds meaning to my life and career, my profession (McGrath interview).[155]

These programmes provided an opportunity for academics to reawaken their passions for these engaged forms of working. Parker Palmer has written extensively about helping educators re-energise their work by encouraging them to "reconnect who they are with what they do" (Palmer 1998). These SE programmes appear to have performed such a function within their respective institutions, attracting academics by enabling them to reconnect their personal values and initial professional aspirations to their current teaching and research work.

Thus, across all the cases there can be seen a sense of these programme functioning as institutional attractors, acting as visible storefronts, advertising methods and practices of SE which are not readily available in the mainstream of the HEIs. They at once draw individuals who already have histories of such practice and also provide an entry-point for those with an inclination but no previous experience. The SE programmes amplify the emerging attractor pattern by acting as a locus of networking and learning about the new methods.

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[155] 24/02/2009

Part 2: Student Driven Growth of the Programmes

These programmes have also been able to drive the curricular and pedagogical innovations noted at the beginning of this chapter by acting as attractors for students who are looking for something different in their education. This was quite evident both at Sewanee and at IDS. Given the original design of the Outreach programme, students were its main clientele and eventually they became its greatest source of institutional leverage. According to Myers, "The foundation I think is the student body… they make the place work" (interview).[156] Over time, in the wider American educational environment, experiential and international education have become more commonplace, and as such student expectations have shifted.

> I think the student body that's here now… they could have a bigger stake in this than any of the student bodies I've been familiar with in the past. Why? Because high school programmes have changed. Service-learning is instituted in a lot of high schools. People are doing gap-years in Uganda. People are going with their churches in high school to all geographic areas in the world. These experiences are now much more commonplace than they were twenty years ago or ten years ago. You have a population now that sees this as part-- 'what y'all aren't doing this?'--it's just a part of who they are… So you've got a student body that can put more pressure on as a block to make these things happen... (Myers interview).[157]

As a result of these expectations, students are a key source of energy for the growth of the Outreach programme and other programmes related to it. Yasmeen Mohuiddin credits the success of her Bangladesh programme centrally to student energy as well. She commented, "Students have been the ultimate source of the support. Both in terms of energy and in terms of financing" (interview).[158] Likewise, Deborah McGrath, who has been a leader of Outreach's curricular collaborations in Haiti, noted the intense enthusiasm for these programmes that she finds among students, at such a level that she cannot meet the demand within Sewanee's student body.

> I'm just convinced—I've had to turn away so many people from this [Haiti] course—I'm so convinced students are just absolutely craving that kind of applicable, practical experience (interview).[159]

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[156] 13/02/2009
[157] 13/02/2009
[158] 19/02/2009
[159] 24/03/2009

Sewanee's Dean of Students also noted that this swell of demand for Outreach programmes is putting more pressure on the faculty to incorporate engaged activities into their teaching. "Some faculty are considering it in part because they know students want it. Because students are telling them they want it" (Hartman interview).[160] A participant and self-declared 'advocate' of Outreach himself, in recent years Dean Hartman has invested time and resources to track more intensively the learning outcomes for students who have taken part in Outreach's work, collecting survey data year-by-year of students who have participated in the programme.
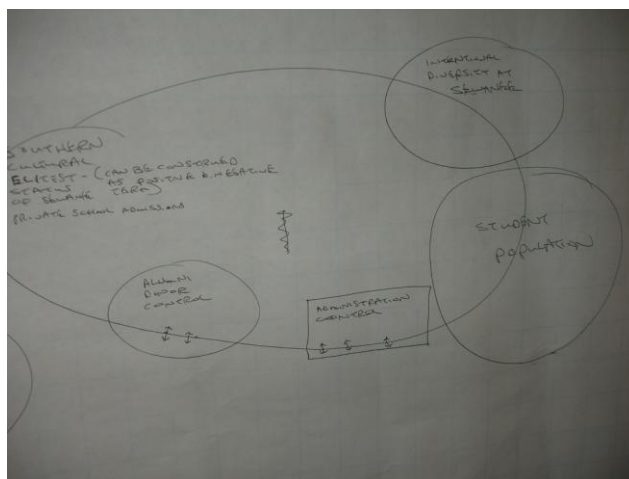
(Myers workshop).

A power analysis of Sewanee delineating "student population" as a significant source of power within the institution.

Picture 2: Workshop Rich Picture—Student Demand

> Gathering data that helps students' voices. It's not just 'this was a great mountaintop experience' but 'for all of us it made sense in the curriculum, for all of us it helped us explore vocation, for 80% of us— and so on… That gave it more credibility and validation. I think that's how we've actually changed a lot of things is gathering data… [Sewanee]'s a place that's traditional… They want a good reason for why you change—because we've had a lot of success doing it this way. And data and evidence in an academic environment is one of the few ways that they actually think about it (Hartman interview).[161]

In the spring of 2009, a series of articles ran in Sewanee's student newspaper demanding the university provide a larger discretionary budget for the Outreach programme (Ryan 2009). Sewanee's former VC Sam Williamson was excited to

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[160] 10/02/2009
[161] 10/02/2009

see the articles, understanding from his experience as the university's leader that student demands could drive institutional decision-making.

> You've seen the [Sewanee student newspaper] from January till now? You've seen those? About Outreach needing budget funding? The fact that students are having these discussions is a very healthy sign and it's putting pressure on the administration, showing that students are concerned (interview).[162]

This student energy partially explains how Outreach has managed to penetrate the university's curriculum. As the Dean of Students told me, "Outreach gives students a taste of something different and when they get back to campus they want more of that" (Hartman interview).[163] According to a long-time faculty member, the rise in popularity of Outreach programmes has directly influenced his experience as an educator in the classroom at Sewanee.

> One of my major fields is Latin America and we've had Outreach programmes going to Jamaica, Haiti, Costa Rica, Ecuador. There are a fairly large number of students who have experience in these countries now and who have been profoundly touched by the people in those countries and want to understand more about them. So it feeds back into the normal classroom because you have these students who have a level of interest in learning that they never would have had otherwise and then also they bring with them into the classroom these experiences that they had there… So there has been a major impact (Brockett interview).[164]

Given this environment, perhaps it is not surprising that when academics do formally build engagement into their modules, these classes receive high levels of positive feedback from students. In a Likert-style student assessment of an introductory anthropology module which enabled students to work with partners in the local community, 83% of students reported that their community projects were 'successful' or 'very successful'. When asked if the CE component was worth the extra work and time involved, 73% responded 'yes' or 'strong yes' while only 4% responded 'no', with none responding 'strong no' (O'Connor 2009, 1). Written feedback from the students included statements such as:

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[162] 04/03/2009
[163] 10/02/2009
[164] 24/03/2009

> I don't think I would've fully grasped some of the aspects of
> anthropology if it wasn't for the project. It also motivated me to continue
> with my study of the subject. I don't think any other subject has
> interested me more and it is because of this project. I don't fully learn,
> unless I apply what I learn in practice. This project is something that
> should never ever not be on the syllabus.

> I had an amazing experience with my project and learned so much more
> about actually doing anthropology rather than just reading about other
> people doing it. Plus it made me feel like I was actually making a
> difference in the community (O'Connor 2009, 2).

Senior-level students interviewed for the research also provided strong statements about the benefits of their Outreach and CE experiences.

> The most enriching experiences out of all of them have been with the
> local people who have nothing to do with the academic life of the
> university. My freshman year I took a biology course called Human
> Health and the Environment and we were assigned community partners...
> The family that I met with have become some of my closest friends in
> Sewanee, just seeing the way they live five minutes from here compared
> to the way we live here has been really cool (Adams interview).[165]

> Without Outreach—you know Dixon established their Haitian
> connection and Pradip came behind him—if that hadn't happened, then I
> would have never gone. I would have never been doing documentary
> photography. I would have never been interested in midwifery. I would
> not be a professional photographer right now. I would have had zilch
> career opportunities (Wyrick interview).[166]

Furthermore, it is students who are working to push CE to the next level within Sewanee's curriculum. A student-generated proposal was before Sewanee's academic dean at the time this thesis was written which would elevate CE to a minor field of study, so that students' engagement work could be listed upon their final transcripts as one of their official fields of academic study (Ryan 2010).

Student demand was also found to be a strong catalyst in the creation of the MAP programme and its subsequent outgrowths. MAP co-designer John Gaventa recalled two different groups who started the PPSC thinking about creating a new MA programme.

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[165] 11/02/2009
[166] 19/02/2009

> In our work with NGOs and travelling—we were always working with practitioners—we were getting requests saying, 'How can I come to IDS and learn without giving up our work? We can't afford to come for two years. We don't want to leave our NGO or our project for two years.' And that's where we began to get this idea to create a new MA that is more experienced based, which links residency to action research elsewhere…We also saw here at IDS a lot of students who would generally knock on my door or one of the team's door feeling that their life experience wasn't getting a lot of attention, that they came here to IDS to learn and they appreciated being here, but they weren't able to connect that with their life experience and they were made to feel like it wasn't very relevant. So we began to think about how we could connect life experience and learning more (interview).[167]

From these enquiries, the AR and reflective dimensions of the MAP programme first began to take shape in the minds of PPSC members. Even after the MAP course was up and running, the participatory, emergent nature of the programme enabled students to have a strong voice in fleshing out the shape of the programme, particularly in its first years. In particular, the influential RP element of MAP was very much augmented by students' energy for these practices to be more central to the course. Subsequently student demand elsewhere in the institute for the RP sessions led to the growth of these practices across three other MAs.

Thus, the case studies demonstrate that these types of programmes are powerful institutional attractors for students and that the growth of such programmes and their curricular expansion is often very much linked to students leveraging their collective power to stimulate institutional change and innovation in these areas. As such they help to "amplify" (Morgan 1986) the attractor pattern of the programmes by pressuring faculty and institutions to provide further curricular and pedagogical opportunities that resemble the offerings of the SE programmes.

Part 3: Developing Structures for Learning and Sharing

As the attractor pattern of these programmes became more defined and the network of internal institutional actors that congregated around these programmes grew larger, these informal networks began to take on more formal identities, eventually developing institutional structures that were connected to but not necessarily embedded within the programmes themselves. Such was the case both in UoB and in Sewanee. These

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[167] 14/07/2009

structures proved to be important for creating visibility for the new ways of working embodied by these programmes and for building relationships across the whole of the institution. They also became key points for learning, sharing and cooperation among participants.

As the reach of Cupp grew across the UoB campus, more and more academics began to take part in Cupp activities. Simultaneously, demand for Cupp's support in the community via the Helpdesk was growing. As the volume of enquiries from the community grew larger and the issues more complex, Cupp staff needed to be rigorous about how these enquiries were routed from the Helpdesk to UoB academics. Cupp staff envisioned a mechanism which would formalise the process in which community requests were handled so that the enquiries would reach the most appropriate person in the institution to help with that particular issue or question. To carry out this matching process, Cupp created the Senior Researcher's Group (SRG).

> This group involves senior researchers from a number of schools within the university and has brought together researchers whose work is highly complementary but who previously have not had a structure that brought them together (Hart and Wolff 2006, 130).

Hart explains that some of the basic ideas for the SRG grew out of her professional experience in clinical practice.

> We partially modelled it on a clinical model because I was working in clinical practice at the time and we used to have these referral meetings and I thought that might be a good model to use… We had to have a mechanism to help us with whatever enquiries came in… So the referrals come in and we end up with people with different expertise. It's like a multidisciplinary team, which is what we had in my clinical work and we get practitioners from across the university, different academics from different areas, then we'd all meet together to discuss the referrals that come in and we can pool our expertise and allocate… (interview).[168]

As Cupp's director points out, this non-hierarchical, multidisciplinary approach was quite unusual within the university.

> The SRG is still held up in the university as one of the few horizontal groups that cuts through school and faculty and gets people together all

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[168] 09/12/2008

around a table together. It's like a revolution, getting people together who are interested in a certain thing. It's a radical step here... it's been some very different ways of working (Wolff interview).[169]

The SRG became a bi-monthly meeting point for active Cupp academics from across the entire breadth of the University. The group enabled Cupp to spread more broadly across the institution and become more widely embedded. As Pro-VC Laing commented, "You also needed an approach to link [Cupp] with the internal structures and key people in the institution. The Senior Researchers Group has been quite important for that" (interview).[170] Thus, the SRG strengthened cross-institutional relationships. Over time, the SRG evolved from playing a largely instrumental role to taking on a much more strategic function:

> Within the University, the impact has been considerable. The SRG has become a key driver of academic debate and has grown to strategically influence Cupp's work. Its role has become one of strategy development rather than implementation (Rodriguez and Millican 2007, 37).

A similar evolution which occurred in Sewanee was directed toward generating change around teaching and learning at the university. As more academics became involved with Outreach and took up CE in their classes, they needed more support and resources from the university to make such approaches to teaching sustainable. Although these academics and Outreach staff had been collaborating informally on individual projects, they recognised that to gain institutional leverage, they needed to formalise their efforts by giving themselves a name and formally articulating their mission. The creation of the Center for Liberal Education and Community Engagement (CLECE) at this juncture formalised the loose network of faculty interested in these issues and highlighted Outreach's key role in boundary-spanning and brokering relationships between the university and the community.

> Jim Peterman, myself and Dixon [Myers] and a handful of other faculty began meeting to try to brainstorm to create an institutional presence that would bridge the academic with the CE component. And that's how CLECE was born (Schneider interview).[171]

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[169] 21/04/2009
[170] 06/04/2009
[171] 13/02/2009

> The Helpdesk and the SRG have become an important focal point for debates about disciplinarity. The need to allocate enquiries amongst the academic team has required discussions about the limits of discipline areas, with many particular research problems needing to be informed by approaches from a range of disciplines. Building a reciprocal relationship has involved openness to working in an interdisciplinary fashion and appreciating and respecting the knowledge and skills capacities that different partners bring (Rodriguez and Millican 2007, 38).

Likewise, CLECE has helped to bring together academics from a wide variety of disciplines, encouraged new relationships and collaborations to form, with results such as the Music and Social Change module which Outreach organised which brought together a historian and a music professor.

As such, the formation the SRG and CLECE demonstrate the processes through which these programmes began to develop a more visible institutional presence. These structures are institutionally networked hubs of activity which help to further embed the methods and themes of the SE programmes more broadly across their institutions while providing a crucial space for learning and sharing ideas and practices. As Middleton-Kelly points out, learning is a key factor for enabling a system to evolve new practices: "Individual and group learning is a prerequisite for adaptation, and the conditions for learning and for the sharing of knowledge need to be provided" (Mitleton-Kelly 2003, 26). The creation of these structures at Sewanee and UoB appears to have provided such an enabled environment.

Via these three processes—acting as a storefront, student demand and developing learning structures—the probes were able to scale up into more influential institutional attractors. These are small programmes in terms of the overall size of their HEIs, yet these processes have allowed them to interface with large number of actors and to establish sustained relationships with key players in their institutions who were able to exert substantial leverage in terms of disseminating the fractal patterns of the SE programmes.

Dependency/Activities Mapping

Another methodology particularly relevant to this chapter is dependency or activities mapping, which originates with Checkland's (1981) body of SSM work, described in more detail in Chapter 2. Various "hard" and "soft" versions of this method exist. Dependency mapping is often associated with a hard systems approach and is used particularly by large businesses, which utilise dependency mapping software to track production sequences and facilitate network analysis of information technology systems. Activities modelling arises from a soft systems approach. Activity models are used to locate important centres of influence and change within organizations. The technique essentially maps relationships and flows within organisations, asking what activities, projects and groups are directly dependent upon another part of the organization in order carry out their work. Checkland lays out the three main steps of the method in the following rich picture:
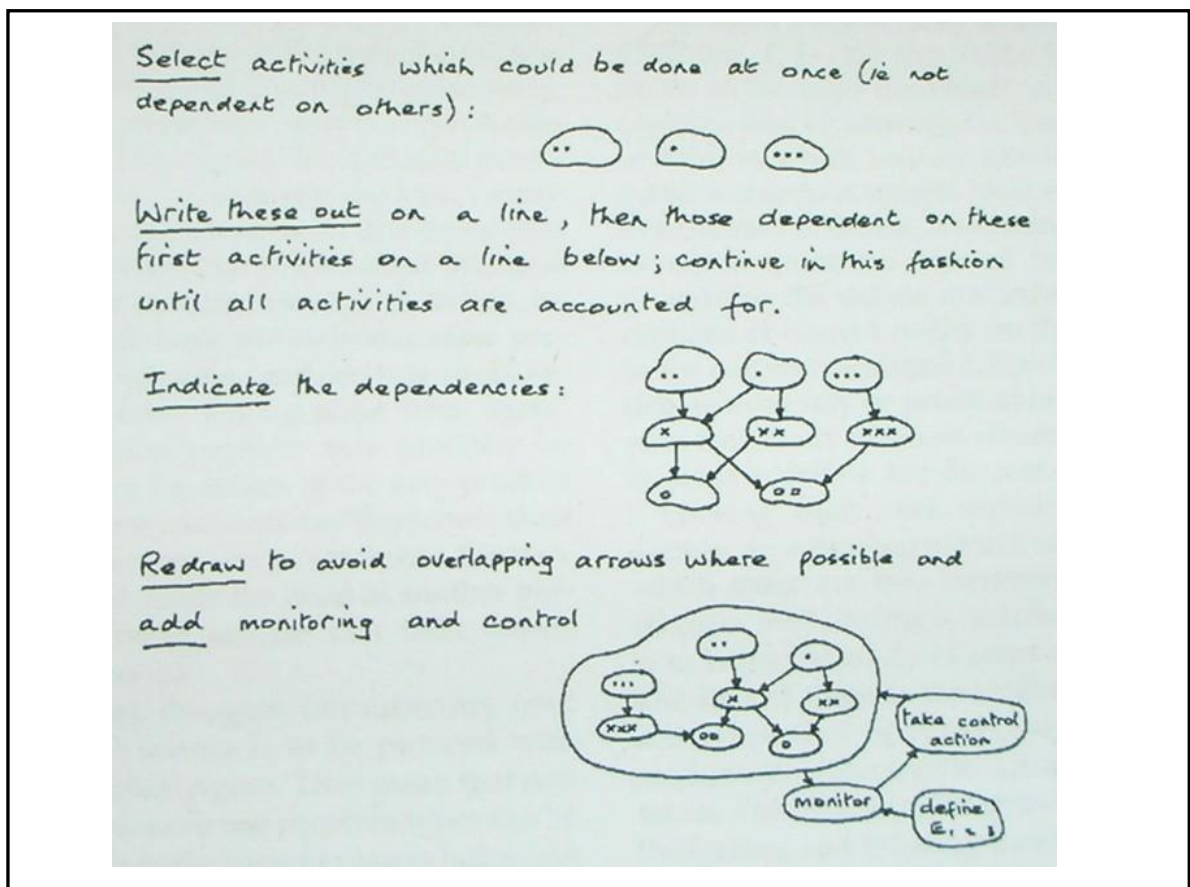
(Checkland 1999, S31).

Figure 6: Dependency/Activities Mapping

Subsystems within the organization with the most dependency arrows pointing away from them—rather than toward them—are identified as key nodes for shaping institutional change. This concept of dependencies will be used to analyse how the programmes have exerted influence over other areas of their HEIs, namely through providing access to several varieties of scarce institutional resources.

Dependency as Leverage: Providers of Generative Resources

It is easy to miss much of the nonlinear influence these programmes have on their institutions if one looks simply at projects over which they have direct management responsibility. Much of the contribution of these programmes is their capacity to equip others to take forward ways of working that are promoted by these SE programmes to other areas of the university. Such an outcome is most clear in Cupp and in Outreach. One of Cupp's central ambitions has been to facilitate community-engaged research and partnerships between academics and community-based actors. Specifically, it has worked to achieve this through brokering contacts, providing financial support and by providing human resources to help support the development of new engaged activities. Outreach has also become a significant enabler of change within the institution as well by acting as a multifaceted provider of resources. Many projects that do not have any apparent connection with the Outreach programme are linked to it via some vital resource that the programme provided to kick-start the initiative, or to sustain it. Like Cupp, Outreach has supported engagement partnerships by brokering connections, supplying financial support and providing human resources to augment the efforts of others outside of the programme.

This research revealed that there are at least four specific kinds of resources that these programmes can provide within the institution which can stimulate change around teaching, learning and research. These are contacts, access, human resources and funding.

Part 1: Contacts

These programmes are connected to networks and communities of which academics often have little or no knowledge. The staff of these SE programmes played important roles in facilitating connections between university players and those outside of the

institution. UoB's Hart describes the encyclopaedic knowledge that is necessary for brokering relationships in such a large institution and community.

> It's hard to know everyone. Dave does brilliantly on that… He's brilliant about knowing who everyone is and everyone knowing him… It's knowing people, who they are, how they're doing, what they're doing, how they relate to Cupp. It's a massive task of information management in your head all the time. All these different academics in the university. All these different student and community partners. It's a massive group of people to know and understand what their roles and functions are and how they are might match up, or what connections could be made with people (interview).[177]

In Sewanee, some academics' efforts at creating substantive partnerships with the community had failed previously because they did not have sufficient contacts in the local community.

> Peterman tried his course years ago and he'll tell you how he failed… He just said here's my model and I'm going to plug it in… He didn't know the community people. Then we connected him with this place in Grundy County, and he was fairly accepted over there and it's going to go a lot smoother for him. (Myers interview).[178]

A lack of knowledge about the local community was found to be a deterrent to some Sewanee faculty who had aspirations of connecting their teaching with local issues.

> From my understanding with CLECE, their feeling is the only way they could do CE and SL is through the Outreach office because they don't have the background to do it on their own necessarily. If you want faculty to take on a new course and incorporate SL, it's pretty daunting unless you can say this office has the connections and can help you find meaningful engagement for your students, that you can connect to your curriculum (Hille-Michaels interview).[179]

As CLECE has provided a mechanism for linking Outreach to CE-ready academics, curricular forays into the community have become increasingly feasible and successful.

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[177] 09/12/2008
[178] 13/02/2009
[179] 10/02/2009

> The thing with Richard['s Introduction to Anthropology], taking individual students and going out in the community and introducing them to various people. Richard is now very dependent on us and has been very thankful for all three of us… All three of us have been extremely helpful to that class and for him to say it—to actually say it in a very large meeting, 'Gosh, I couldn't have done it.' So when that kind of thing happens of course—that's when it echos to other people… They're understanding the web that needs to happen to make all this work (Myers interview).[180]

In some instances, the programmes helped to facilitate connections within the HEI itself. As Wolff points out, with twenty-four thousand students and employees, UoB has a larger population than his hometown of Lewes (Wolff).[181] As such, connecting individuals across such a vast institution can create new opportunities. UoB academic Jenny Elliottt noted the tendency of Cupp staff to facilitate new linkages between HEI staff:

> Juliet [Millican]'s forever putting people together. The last couple of weeks I've met several people, they've said 'Oh, Juliet said I should speak to you'... There's so many balls in the air and Juliet is lighting so many fires—I suppose that's how change happens (interview).[182]

An interesting variation on this theme was noted by an academic at Sewanee, who reported how the Outreach programme had put her in contact with an alternative group of students who were looking for a different kind of learning experience.

> We [in the biology department] don't necessarily attract students who think that's what they want to do… The Outreach office brings me into contact with this whole body of students that have this kind of outward-looking vision for themselves and their futures, and that's really inspiring… Outreach provides links to these students, links me with students who are interested in this kind of experience. I'm sure there are students who took my course who wouldn't have if the Outreach office hadn't helped us connect (McGrath interview).[183]

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[180] 13/02/2009
[181] 21/04/2009
[182] 14/05/2009
[183] 24/03/2009

Part 2: Access

Relatedly, these programmes played a role facilitating access between different networks and communities. This was most clear in Sewanee with Outreach helping academics to access closed rural communities.

> I had worked with Outreach to try replicate Grameen [Bank-style microcredit programmes] locally, and found that Outreach was the only way to get to the local community, particularly the local impoverished community where such a programme could work. I tried other vehicles but Outreach was really the only vehicle where I could reach them. Only Outreach had access to such poor, university faculty didn't (Mohiuddin interview).[184]

Such a role was also seen with Cupp where programme staff facilitated carefully managed access to vulnerable and marginalised populations in the city—refugees, LGBT communities, sexworkers, etc. Access differed from contacts, based on the level of social capital that was required to facilitate the connection. Access required programme staff to have previously built high levels of trust and report with particular groups before they could suggest bringing new actors into the environment. Here again it was beneficial to have programme staff from non-academic backgrounds initiating long-term relationships with community partners. As such, programmes were seen to be vouching for the academic newcomers and staking their credibility on the sensitivity and appropriate intentions of the outsider. Some academics found this dimension of the programmes more valuable than their financial incentives.

> Access to funding via Cupp is quite important, access to small funds, that became more than the funds, *per se*—the contacts and the opened doors (Elliott interview).[185]

These established relationships were a necessary element in creating programmes like CPD at UoB and for many of the CE modules at Sewanee where students worked directly with community partners.

> One of the things that's happened in the last couple of years… is the Outreach office is set up to provide somewhat more support than what we've had in the past. So it was through Dixon's efforts that I was able to

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[184] 19/02/2009
[185] 14/05/2009

make contact with people in Grundy County. And then the Grundy
County Health Council. I went and met them and they have set me up
with a contact who has then contacted these local groups. Those are all
complicated, difficult sorts of things. You can't just cold call someone
you don't know and just expect them to be receptive. You've got to have
relationships. So I think that fact that the [Outreach] office is building
local relationships is going to make, at least the front end of organising
these things, easier now. If I hadn't had that, I probably would have just
dropped the idea (Peterman interview).[186]

Part 3: Human Resources

In some instances it was the direct involvement of SE programme staff that led to new

modules and activities. The seconding, formally or informally, of programme staff to

other institutional initiatives was found to be an important way that the cases could

support curricular development. Sewanee's first international SL module, the

Bangladesh microcredit programme, was only able to get off the ground because the

Outreach programme seconded the assistant-coordinator of Outreach to the new

economics study abroad program for the summer of 2003 to help organize and facilitate

the first iteration of the module**.** This collaboration continued from 2003-2005 and was

very successful (Mohiuddin interview). [187]A similar process occurred with the Haiti

modules. After several years of successful partnership, Outreach is now moving out of

direct collaboration and leaving the Haiti project to the full management of the

academic team (Myers interview).[188]

At a more general level, Outreach recently added a third staff member. Funding for this

position grew out of a second round of Lilly Foundation funding which recognised the

recent proliferation of CE at the university. One of the main responsibilities of the new

position is to liaise with faculty on CE modules, to provide them support in setting up

and maintaining relationships with community-partners.

Just this year Dixon and I are working with more and more faculty who
are doing CE components in their classes for the first time. Just them
developing my position, to work with faculty and to help them have
more access to Outreach is a sign of that (Hille-Michaels interview).[189]

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[186] 25/02/2009
[187] 19/02/2009
[188] 13/02/2009
[189] 10/02/2009

A similar instance was also found at IDS in relation to the RP dimension of MAP. MAP's conveners had brought in an outside tutor to facilitate this strand of the programme. As student demand for these methods grew at the Institute, the tutor from MAP began to work with other MA courses to design RP sessions for their students. According to the convener of the Poverty MA:

> I didn't know exactly what I was getting. Wasn't clear. It was only at the end of term that I got some sense. I was understanding it as something that would contribute to the learning experience of students—and it for sure has done that. I'm just amazed at how well-received it's been… A programme in which the agenda is to be determined through classroom processes, which Sarah [MAP's reflective practice tutor] is extremely good at. So there's a joined-up, collective process by which learning needs are prioritised. For example, in the second term they just started with meetings and the agenda emerged from that… Having this alternative understanding of what the learning experience is about can only do us good. And if, at the same time, it's directly contributing to each individual student's learning experience—seems like a winner all around (Greeley interview).[190]

As MAP's own conveners would not have had the time to work extensively with other MAs, being able to second the RP tutor to other courses accelerated the spread of these practices across IDS.

Part 4: Financial Resources

Funding is another important mechanism that enabled outcomes well beyond the programmatic boundaries of the SE programmes. Cupp was quite intentional in this regard and Outreach has likewise developed a capacity to seed new activities through small amounts of financial assistance. From its inception, Cupp strategically offered small pots of money to encourage academics to take on pieces of community-engaged research.

> Securing time from leading academics has been crucial. This has been done by 'buying' some of their time with a cash payment to their school… Where this has not been done, it has been much harder for individuals to take part at any serious level (Watson 2007, 59-60).

> There had to be financial incentives that were often used to buy time, so that people could actually make this part of their job—and not just do

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[190] 26/06/2009

what happens so often happens in all universities which is to try to tack it onto an already ridiculous workload (Church interview).[191]

Community-partners were at first shocked that academics would be paid extra for this work:

> When Cupp first started, all of us in the community sector, we thought… that there were all these academics with spare capacity who were just going to wander off into the community and do great things. But then there was this moment of surprise when we realised—'What? You're actually going to pay your university employees extra money to do this? That's really odd.' Because we didn't understand the internal market and academics having to go off and get grants and consultancies and all that sort of thing… I don't think it could have been done it without financial incentives in the first place (Bramwell interview).[192]

A similar financial mechanism was needed at Sewanee in order to free up faculty from their regular teaching loads (five modules per year) to develop new modules which worked with the community. As such "course releases" were offered to buy out faculty from an entire module, the money being used to then bring in an adjunct professor to teach the existing module instead. Although Outreach did not have the financial means to fund full course releases—which were provided through CLECE—it did provide auxiliary financial support to help faculty design and carry out their newly created modules, by paying for travel, materials and also by subsidising student-fees for modules that required specialised equipment and/or travel, such as the Haiti modules. For local CE modules, Outreach would cover incidental fees, such as for background checks that students need to undergo to volunteer in public schools (Myers personal communication).[193]

In specific instances Outreach used its finances strategically to involve new faculty in ASB programmes, anticipating that this would encourage them to develop new modules based on their Outreach experiences.

> I then had the opportunity to go on an Outreach trip to Ecuador. That was a great experience. I went with the regular student group. The

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[191] 25/06/2009
[192] 06/04/2009
[193] 10/03/2010

Outreach office subsidized it... the idea being looking at ways to bridge the Outreach/academic divide... [some time thereafter] I went ahead and developed a new course, called the 'Politics of Poverty' (Schneider interview).[194]

CLECE has come about because of professors going on Outreach trips. It's helped professors break into a new kind of pedagogy. It touched a chord with a certain set of professors who wanted to change things they were doing and how they related to students (Willis interview).[195]

In a somewhat different mode, Outreach also surfaced as an emergency grant provider for other community initiatives within the university. When a very successful community-university project called the "Teacher Learning Network," which had originated completely independently of Outreach, in the university's education department, experienced a shortfall of funding between state grants, the head of the project approached Outreach for financial assistance. Outreach was able to make up the difference needed to keep the project running until it was able to secure more stable funding (Wallace interview).[196]

However, it is important to note the role that outside grant funding has played in enabling these programmes to generate new projects/research/modules within their institutions. This is clearly the case with Cupp, which was heavily subsidised by AP during its first years. Cupp could then redistribute this money to other actors within the institution, and to community organisations. Although outside funding was not part of the institutional sequence that produced Outreach, the programme's capacity to facilitate the creation of new projects and modules was directly linked to the grant funding the university received from the Eli Lilly Foundation, a portion of which was allocated to Outreach. Although MAP has never directly received an outside grant, at the time when the MA programme was created, the PPSC was the highest income-earning research team within IDS, meaning it had significant reserves available to it to conduct scoping exercises to see if the new course would be marketable. Over the life of the programme itself, grant funding to MAP students has been critical for enabling experienced development practitioners to take part in the course. Part

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[194] 13/02/2009
[195] 27/02/2009
[196] 24/02/2009

of MAP's current struggles with recruitment result from a shift in donor priorities wherein they have become less interested in funding individual students (Gaventa personal communication).[197]

Thus, the data demonstrates that many CE projects that are implemented across these HEIs are in some way dependent upon these SE programmes to initiate them or to sustain them. The most obvious form of support is financial but new initiatives also often need others kinds of assistance to make them successful. Academics new to community-based work particularly need these programmes to help them locate contacts and networks outside of the university and to help them gain access to external communities of various kinds. Moreover, the staff of these programmes often work closely with those beginning new activities, helping them to get these projects off the ground.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the SE programmes catalysed unanticipated outcomes pertaining to the curricula, pedagogies and research practices of their HEIs. The first half of the chapter recounted empirical evidence of these outcomes, including how the programmes helped to create new modules and MA programmes, fostered new pedagogical approaches, increased the focus of the curriculum on local issues and promoted interdisciplinarity between academics fields.

Using systems and complexity concepts, the second half of the chapter sought to illuminate the change processes which enabled the programmes to catalyse these outcomes. It was posited that these programmes functioned as "probes" within their institutions which offered new and alternative ways of working. The analysis argued that these probes have expanded their institutional influence not by becoming larger but by reproducing their way of working, as adaptive agents outside of the programmes have begin to take on these practices. Such "fractal reproduction" was facilitated by the development of highly visible role models within the institutions. Such role models showcased the ways of working being promoted by the programmes. Various types of role models were explored across the institutions. It was also noted that the HEIs themselves have also influenced the SE programmes, particularly where the staff of these programmes have become more academic in their professional aspirations.

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[197] 11/11/2010

As these programmes became better known within their respective institutions through fractal reproduction they evolved into "attractors" which drew in sympathetic and curious actors from the faculty, student body and community. Acting as a metaphorical "storefront," as a node for several intersecting networks, these programmes facilitated connectivity between previously disconnected adaptive agents which led to new, emergent projects. Eventually the core university actors solidified and formalised this network, inventing new structures within the HEIs to further promote and disseminate these ways of working. Furthermore, student demand for engaged and reflective approaches to learning were also seen to be a powerful force for expanding the purview of these programmes.

The programmes were also seen to be extremely proactive in supporting the emergence of other SE projects within their institutions. Many of these projects become self-sustaining over time, but were initially dependent on the SE programmes, which provided several specific resources to seed these innovations. These resources included contacts, access to external communities, human resources and financial assistance.

Altogether, the chapter has demonstrated a variety of mechanisms which successfully enabled these programmes to influence the teaching, learning and research dimensions of their respective HEIs.

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSISING OUTCOMES PERTAINING TO LEARNING CULTURE

Introduction

This chapter explores unexpected outcomes catalysed by the SE programmes pertaining to the learning cultures of their respective institutions. Whereas the previous chapter focused on strictly curricular and research outcomes, this chapter examines changes that have arisen in other dimensions of university life, in what was defined in Chapter 2 as the institutional "learning culture," those other spaces and experiences within the university which also contribute to a holistic learning environment. Using the concept of double-loop learning, the first half of the chapter documents outcomes which have deep implications for the ethos, strategic policies and mission of these universities. I have organised these outcomes into two broad categories, those involving a reconceptualisation of the university's role and functioning, and those involving changing conceptions of the student life experience. The second half of the chapter uses concepts drawn from systems and complexity thinking to identify and analyse some of the processes and mechanisms that facilitated these unexpected outcomes within the programmes' home HEIs. This analysis is conducted utilising two such concepts, adaptive agents and bifurcation point. The analysis identifies four enabling processes which have contributed to the capacity of the SE programmes to catalyse systemic outcomes related to institutional learning culture. These include (1) the institutional advancement of key actors from the programmes, (2) institutional citizenship, (3) institutional holism and (4) collective action. The chapter does not claim that the programmes have revolutionised their host institutions. Nonetheless, these programmes have fostered the growth of alternative paradigms which are coherent, widespread and multifaceted enough to influence the overall institutional culture, contributing to an integrative learning experience for students at these institutions.

Outcomes: Evidence of Double-Loop Learning

This chapter will focus on changes in the environmental and cultural dimensions of the university. Whereas many of the outcomes identified in Chapter 5 were understood as single-loop learning—that is improving the quality of operations that are seen to fall within the traditional university mission, namely teaching and research--this chapter

argues that some of the other outcomes that have resulted from the work of these programmes qualify as double-loop learning, such that they "involve the modification of an organization's underlying norms, policies and objectives" (Argyris and Schön 1978, 3). As a result, the existing mission, ethos and operations of the university are challenged and partially shifted or expanded.

Reconceptualising the Role of the University

These programmes have led to several important reconceptualisations of the role and function of universities. For all of the researched HEIs, the SE programmes have led to important redefinitions of university spaces and boundaries. Furthermore, at UoB, Cupp has also led to a heightened institutional commitment to CE and community relationships. At IDS, MAP has contributed to an institutional shift on understanding how HEIs should produce knowledge for development and SC.

In each instance, the programmes have led to reconceptualisations of physical space for their universities, leading literally to more permeable boundaries between the universities and the outside world. Long maligned as "ivory towers," the perceived barriers surrounding universities are an issue that concerns both those inside the university and those on the outside aiming to work more closely with HEIs. At UoB these changes have happened in several ways. A key mechanism has been Cupp's Helpdesk, which offers drop-in sessions at UoB campuses in Falmer, Eastbourne and Hastings.

> The research drop-in, held on University premises, is designed to encourage people to see the University and its facilities as a community resource… Some of the Helpdesk users fear coming across the threshold. The University can be seen as intimidating. While people are encouraged to send information on their research problem prior to visiting, they are also able to drop in unannounced. In reality people are often met and supported by the Helpdesk manager, who books meeting rooms… and introduces people to one of the two senior researchers who are on hand to help (Rodriguez and Millican 2007, 33-34).

Moulsecoomb resident Jannet Cook recalled a highly positive first encounter with Cupp when she "stumbled" upon the Helpdesk.

> Dee McDonald and Polly Rodriguez were both really good at trying to get down to what I was trying to ask... I found all the people there, now

that I think of it, quite extraordinarily helpful people. Usually someone is looking down at you or something or other. Not one of that group of people. They were very good (interview).[198]

Moreover, as Cupp's work has expanded into more and more "communities of practice" (CoPs)[199], the university has served as a useful gathering point for meetings, meals and discussions. This has facilitated a literal opening of the physical plant of the university to community functions.

[Cupp's] feeding back into how the university estate is used. There's a lot of informal stuff going on… Lots of community meetings are held here. You just book a room or you get people into your office... It's small scale but it's hugely positive, the more communities get in here and feel that they can come in here and formally work with us (Church interview).[200]

As community-partners became more comfortable coming onto the university campus, they began to see the campus as a resource that is readily available to them, something that is part of their community rather than apart from it. Leela Baksi, a member of one of the ongoing CoPs, discussed how she had become more much comfortable with using the resources of UoB's Moulsecoomb campus for her own purposes.

I live about a twenty minutes walk from here, so it's much easier for me to meet people here than it is in town. And I now see this as a public cafe and I can ask people and we can come and get nice food to eat. So yes it has absolutely done that… I would walk our dogs in the fields next to the university. I'd been walking by the university not thinking of it as public space, as a private space for a long long time, and it's completely changed how I see that (interview).[201]

Baksi reported her CoP had even chosen to have their Christmas lunch at the university canteen. She, however, cautioned that this did not reduce overall power inequalities between communities and universities, but it was a first step toward better interaction. Indeed, such a shift in perceptions about university space seems wide-spread among Cupp's community-partners. Of the eight Brighton-based community-partners

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[198] 16/06/2009
[199] Modeled on Wenger's concept (1998), CoPs are working groups which are organised around practice rather than role. Rather than beginning with labels such as "expert" and "non-expert," academic and practitioner, each member of the group is understood to have an area of vital expertise based upon their different experiences.
[200] 25/06/2009
[201] 07/04/2009

interviewed for this research, half of them chose a meeting place for their interview on a UoB campus.

Cupp has also worked to increase institutional permeability by instituting a Cupp "community fellowship" programme which gives active community-partners university privileges similar to those of adjunct professors who teach occasional modules at the institution, but are not full-time university employees.

> Becoming an honorary member of the university brings with it desk space, access to the library, to computer terminals and access to the virtual world of the university in the form of email… Whilst it is our experience that these do not place great demands on the university, their symbolic importance is huge… (133) Providing library cards and access to desk space can help community practitioners feel more at home and included as mutual partners on research and teaching-related projects (Hart and Wolff 2006, 136).

Kim Auman, one of Cupp's community fellows, reported that she tried to spend at least one day per week at her UoB office in order to maintain contact with her academic colleagues from Cupp and to stay abreast of the latest ideas, plans and information relating to her areas of interest and practice (interview).[202]

In a similar vein, Cupp's academic participants made a decision early on in the programme that information about a specific community/CoP should, whenever possible, not be presented or discussed at public forums without actual members of that community or group co-presenting. They have aspired to apply this principle not only locally, but also when they present about their research at conferences away from Brighton. Thus whenever Cupp staff travel to represent Cupp at other universities or conferences they co-present with a community-partner, in order to reinforce the notion of Cupp as a partnership-based programme. Hart has reported attending several CE conferences where the only community representative at the event is the Cupp community-partner who accompanied her (Hart personal communication).[203]

In Sewanee, Outreach has likewise influenced ideas about university-community boundaries. The programme has done so by taking on large-scale public space projects.

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[202] 05/06/2009
[203] 13/10/2009

As much of Outreach's early efforts were focused on—and measured by—working with university students, Outreach coordinator Myers recalled that shifting gears to larger community-driven projects was a risk.

> We're judged on student numbers and impacts, so it's taken twenty years to build up enough success there to have confidence to go into community and begin taking cues from the community side of the equation. That means less control of resources and outcomes because you are transferring control to the community. This comes at a professional risk but it's more meaningful (interview).[204]

One part of this campaign aimed to bring more community members onto the university campus. This involved a multiyear project to rehabilitate a youth ball park which was situated on the university's property. It had not been renovated in many years but was the main facility for youth sports in the area. Outreach financed and provided volunteer labour to rebuild and expand the facility that was considered by many the prime nexus of community/university interaction.

Leading the project carried symbolic weight and increased Outreach's visibility. Being the only facility of its kind in the area, some families drove from communities as far as thirty miles away to enrol their children in the Sewanee soccer league. Further, a ballpark in a small rural community is a social centre. Its importance was further heightened in Sewanee as one of the few places where, in a stratified town/gown community, everyone came together on equal footing.

> It places everybody on a level playing field… Everybody's there for one purpose. Whether it be Little League or soccer, that's where the conversations occur… They're there to cheer their children on. A lot of people just end up in conversation. That's where the magic of that place works (Myers interview).[205]

Anne Chenoweth Deutsch, then a member of the University's financial development staff, helped Outreach raise funds to complete the renovation and also noted the significance of the project to community-university interaction.

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[204] 13/02/2009
[205] 13/02/2009

> This one area touched more strongly than anywhere else on the campus the town-meets-gown issue…The fields were in terrible shape. I mean this gift to renovate the whole ballfield was a very wonderful gift. Very simple, not a lot of money but it had a tremendous impact (interview).[206]

Several Sewanee residents also commented on the value of this project. Laura Willis, director of the Community Action Committee, which deals with issues of food and hunger near the university noted that "the grandchildren of most of my clients play at that ballpark" (Willis interview),[207] underscoring the location as a place which crosscuts local social and economic divides.

More recently, the Outreach has also aimed at "inreaching" its international programmes. International partners, primarily NGOs that Outreach has historically ventured beyond the university to work with, are being invited to the campus to use the university as a resource for enhancing their work. Like Cupp's community fellows programme, representatives of partner organisations are welcomed to Sewanee's campus for short retreats where they are able to access university facilities and staff. Sometimes workshops are arranged to help the representatives reflect intensively on the challenges of their organization and/or community with relevant faculty, staff and students. The intention is to deepen the reciprocity of the institutional relationship with far flung partners and to deepen the influence of these partners on the campus life of the university.

At IDS, a similar shift in boundaries was found to be happening as a result of the Empowering Society course which has grown out of the PPSC's work with MAP. Students from the module, while working on projects in the Moulsecoomb community during their AR enquiries, developed relationships with the residents. Most of the local people had never heard of IDS, though it is located less than two miles from their neighbourhood. When they learned more about what the students were doing, they wanted to get involved as well. Subsequently, two Moulsecoomb residents audited/observed the next iteration of the Empowering Society module (Cook interview).[208]

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[206] 04/03/2009
[207] 27/02/2009
[208] 16/06/2009

Looking beyond the reconceptualisation of institutional boundaries, this research finds that the influence of Cupp has been pervasive on UoB's mission and identity. Originally funded through external grants through AP, UoB had no financial investment in the programme. When AP funding ended, the university had to make a choice whether to let the programme die or to finance it internally. As will be discussed later in the chapter, UoB made the decision to internalise Cupp. Thus in July 2006, Cupp transitioned from AP money to UoB funding, at the level of £250,000 per year from the university. Since then Cupp has continued to expand its institutional presence through developing an increasingly widespread network of participating academics and by garnering several national-level awards. As a result, CE has become a very visible part of the university's national and global identity.

As such Cupp has been at the centre of an institutional shift in which the university has latched on to its success as an "engaged university" and has made a large-scale commitment to strengthen its capacities in this area systematically. Cupp has been a key force in driving forward three interrelated institutional initiatives which aim to integrate CE across the whole of the university culture.

Cupp successfully advocated for CE to be one of the main institutional priorities for the university in its latest five year plan. The priorities of the plan were established through a participatory consultation in which academics and staff were able to openly feed in ideas and visions for the future of the university. A strong and deepening link with the community was found to be an aspiration of many at the institution.

> The creation of Cupp has prompted further refinement in the
> University's approach to 'engagement'. The result is that the
> University's new Corporate Plan, for the period 2007-12, includes
> engagement as one of its five values (Laing and Maddison 2007, 17).

Indeed, engagement was listed as the third highest priority of the university. As part of fulfilling this strategic initiative, Cupp was tasked with carrying out a baseline audit of CE activities across the whole of the institution. The primary aims of the audit included,

> First, to ascertain the range and volume of CE across the university in a single sample year in order to record and celebrate the activity itself. Secondly, to test a methodology for auditing this kind of work. Thirdly, to provide a baseline against which we hope to measure progress over the next few years (Cupp 2010, 1).

The audit "achieved a 90 percent response rate including responses from every faculty and the majority of professional departments" (Cupp 2007, 1). Similar audits will follow periodically to establish benchmarks and encourage "increased levels of engagement and local benefit from university activities" (UoB 2007, 18). Importantly, the task of carrying out the audit enabled Cupp to further develop its network and deepen its connectivity across all parts of the university.

This initial audit was then used to develop an overall institutional strategy for SE, which again Cupp took the lead in conceptualising. This strategy document was released in September 2009 and lays out UoB's definition of SE as well as the institutional values and objectives that underpin the plan. Central to the agenda is Cupp's discourse of ensuring "mutual benefit" for both the community and the university. The plan also lays out future plans for assessing the progress of the strategy, including bi-annual internal conferences and a second baseline CE audit scheduled for 2012.

Like Cupp, MAP has also contributed to the discourse and direction of the newest IDS strategic plan for 2010 to 2010. Through its emphasis on participatory curriculum development, MAP has operated on the assumption that essential knowledge is held both by academics and practitioners, lecturers and students. As such, learning within MAP has been defined as the "co-construction of knowledge." As was noted in Chapter 2, in development studies there has long been a bias toward Northern and academic knowledge in terms of responding to development challenges. The collective research of the PPSC has worked centrally to challenge this. Through the MAP programme, PPSC aimed to put this perspective visibly into practice within IDS. Over time this perspective that become much more accepted and embedded in the thinking of the Institute. "Co-construction" has risen to being second on a list of four strategic priorities for the Institute in the next five years. At one level, IDS defines such co-construction as increased collaborative research between its own research teams and with other development research centres. However, there is also a deeper acknowledgement that

people within the same institution and same general culture cannot grasp the full complexity of the challenges faced by society.

> Knowledge is increasingly being constructed in multiple contexts including global and local, formal and informal, amongst academics and practitioners... No single perspective is all embracing. All of them shed light on different aspects of quality, and offer different links and contributions to our core goals of poverty reduction, social justice, and sustainable growth that promote wellbeing. We believe that these 'knowledges' must be increasingly brought together to form more complete pictures of problems and questions (IDS 2010b, 14).[209]

The new strategic plan also acknowledges the importance of incorporating this perspective into all of its teaching programmes, declaring "we will innovate our teaching and learning portfolio to support co-construction of knowledge (14). MAP's participatory pedagogy has helped to demonstrate that co-construction is not only a way of understanding research, but also a way of conceptualising the processes of teaching and learning.

Thus across the cases, the data suggests that these programmes have catalysed systemic outcomes in terms of the way these HEIs relate to their communities and in terms of their institutional identities and formalised strategic aims. It was found that the emphasis of these programmes on SE has made the boundaries of these institutions more permeable, in that community is more welcomed and more involved within the HEIs themselves. It was noted how Cupp's work has led to a formally articulated,

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[209] Such an epistemic shift in perspective from an academic research institute is quite significant, as it acknowledges the validity and importance of this alternative pathway for creating knowledge which supplements the methods through which universities have traditionally produced new knowledge. This outcome at IDS is reflective of the overall influence of the PPSC research team on the Institute, of which MAP is a significant component. Co-construction of knowledge has unpinned much of the team's conceptual work since the 1990s. In particular, this approach has been put into practice by the Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability (DRC) which has worked across twenty-five countries, involved some sixty researchers, and produced more than 150 case studies and eight volumes of published materials pertaining to various practices and conceptualizations of citizenship around the world. Just as the DRC successfully demonstrated that a participatory, co-constructivist methodology for research was not only possible, but also could be recognised and rewarded for its high quality, the MAP programme served a parallel role in the area of teaching, demonstrating that teaching was not primarily about the transfer of information, but about integrating it with the knowledges and experiences that students bring with them to the Institute. Through this institutional commitment to the co-construction of knowledge, IDS has joined the emerging movement for "cognitive justice" (Gaventa and Bivens 2011) and "knowledge democracy" which recognises the value and necessity of multiple forms and modes of knowledge for addressing complex, global problems (see Hall, B. (2010) "Towards a Knowledge Democracy Movement: Contemporary Trends in Community-University Research Partnerships." *Rizoma Freirean* 9).

institute-wide commitment to SE. As well this section identified how MAP has initiated an institutional re-evaluation of knowledge within the teaching programme. As the concept of co-construction of knowledge has become more woven into IDS's research practice, MAP has demonstrated how such thinking can also inform the teaching process, and now the Institute is seeking to embed this perspective across its entire teaching portfolio.

Outcomes Pertaining to the Student Life Experience

Systemic outcomes were also noted in regards to the student life experience at these institutions. Accordingly, this subsection examines outcomes which were notable at the student level, in terms of the experience of students as participants in the life and functioning of these universities. Increasing attention in the HE sector is being paid to the linkages between the curricular and social dimensions of learning, particularly in relation to students' developing the capacity to deal with complex global challenges.

> At this threshold time in history, if we are going to encourage the formation of the citizenship and leadership that is now required, we must pay close attention to the social contexts in which we learn and teach (Daloz Parks 2010, 178).

Such concerns are very much at the core of this research. As these programmes influence the cultures of their institutions to make such engaged ways of working more commonplace, there arises a parallel concern of how such programmes can also encourage university students to take more active roles, now and in the future, in responding to these same pressing issues. Therefore, this subsection explores the ways in which these programmes have influenced the experiences that students have during their time at university, with an aim of moving students toward lives of greater social action.

In the case of Outreach, the programme has sought to accomplish such goals by becoming a pervasive and ubiquitous presence on the Sewanee campus. Over the course of two decades, the programme has become deeply embedded in the campus culture by filling the intermediary spaces which lie outside of the formal curriculum.

> Outreach has ten legs. They're everywhere… It's here. It's visible. It's right there (Banks interview).[210]

> Everybody I know it seems like has done something in the community. All the Greek [fraternity and sorority] organizations. It seems like every student at some point in time plays a part in some kind of Sewanee community action (Luethke interview).[211]

> I feel that Outreach is so thrown in your face—not in a bad way—so thrown in your face here that even if you don't participate, somewhere in your brain it's triggering an awareness of the fact that there are these great disparities (Adams interview).[212]

Outreach has been able to create this perception in large part by exporting its methods and themes to other departments of the university and seeking out strong allies in areas of the institution where it has little structural leverage. Such fractal reproductions regarding curriculum were discussed in the previous chapter. Outreach has also formed close associations with the Dean of Students office, which oversees dormitories and student life issues at the university. Over the course of years, many deans and assistant deans have taken part in Outreach programmes, often leading ASB trips. As a result, the Dean of Students office has become a major purveyor of Outreach-related programming on campus. With SE themes being articulated within both the curricular and extracurricular spaces of the university, Outreach becomes a defining feature in many students' experiences.

> I think in a lot of ways CE has shaped my whole experience at Sewanee… Sophomore year at Sewanee was one of the most transformative periods of my life… All of the important lessons have been [through tutoring local students] in Grundy County or at the senior citizens centre, that's where my learning has been most powerful. I can say that with confidence (Ryan interview).[213]

> I think this place would be horrendous without an Outreach programme, personally... It would be suffocating, self-contained and self-focused (Adams interview).[214]

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[210] 18/02/2009
[211] 18/02/2009
[212] 11/02/2009
[213] 21/09/2010
[214] 11/02/2009

> Without Outreach, my experience here would have been drastically different. I came here with lots of ambition and drive and what Outreach did was to give me an outlet for that ambition. So I would say I would have had a much more negative experience had it not been here.… It puts a bug in people's ears just thinking about these things... For the people that get really involved in it… they come back and really do change their lives and change their perspectives (Hubbard interview).[215]

Hubbard did in fact go farther. After Outreach-related experiences in New Orleans, Jamaica, Haiti and Bangladesh, he went on, while still a Sewanee student, to found an NGO which provides ongoing care and educational assistance to a community of orphans in Bangladesh. "Outreach is great practice to make you able to lead change later in life," he commented (interview).

Although these comments represent the high-water mark in terms of Outreach's influence on individual students, the Outreach perspective has been increasingly embedded in the experience of all Sewanee students. For the past five years, the "freshman book"—required reading for all incoming students—has been Tracy Kidder's *Mountains Beyond Mountains* (Kidder 2003)*,* which documents the work of Paul Farmer's medical NGO Zanmi Lasante in Haiti. As Zanmi Lasante is one of Outreach's partners for its Haiti project, the text relates directly to the work of the Outreach programme. Thus even before students arrive on campus, they are familiarized with the work and networks of Outreach. Now that the Kidder text has been in place for more than four years, every single student on campus has been expected to read the book and is aware of the connections with the Outreach programme.

Moreover, the Dean of Students, who oversees the "Greek-life" (fraternities and sororities) dimension of the university's social structure, has also mandated a community-service requirement for all fraternity and sorority members. Eighty-five percent of Sewanee's student population belongs to a sorority or fraternity, so to require their participation in Outreach activities significantly increases Outreach's access to the vast majority of the student population.

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[215] 10/02/2009

> Once you are part of a Greek organisation you are exposed to it. You have to do hours, you have to do this stuff. I feel like that's a good thing about them. You have to do Housing Sewanee and you meet the people whose house you're building or you go to the senior citizens centre and meet those people" (Luethke interview).[216]

Sewanee's most engaged students have recently won institutional support for a CE house on the university campus. Here a core group of Outreach student-leaders live and work together to develop campus and community activities. Living in an environment which is focused on CE creates a full immersion experience for students and adds another physical location for people and ideas to coalesce around when discussing these themes.

> The CE House is stellar. One of the things about that is that it's a Mecca for students who are interested in service and in CE. It's a physical showing of support. It's getting a group of people together in one common place. The visibility of supporters on campus is awesome (Ryan interview).[217]

> We are taking steps toward making it a component in everybody's live. More of a place where people can come to get engaged (Luethke interview).[218]

It was also found that much of the ASB work that Outreach sponsors overseas and out-of-state increases the likelihood of students becoming engaged in the local Sewanee community. According to Outreach's Coordinator of Discernment and Experiential Learning,

> Students get pulled in through a [ASB] trip and then start showing up here at the office more and more, often with ideas for what they can do here in Sewanee and in the community (Hille-Michaels interview).[219]

Hille-Michael's assessment corroborates the survey data accumulated by the Dean of Student's (DOS) office. On average, seventy percent of ASB participants reported that the spring break programmes had inspired them to become or remain active in the local Sewanee community (DOS 2004; DOS 2005; DOS 2008; DOS 2009). Indeed, the work

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[216] 18/02/2009
[217] 21/09/2010
[218] 18/02/2009
[219] 10/02/2009

of Outreach outside of Sewanee has begun to fold back into the campus life of the university in multiple ways. Student participants in the Haiti academic programme have published two volumes of photographs and essays which document their experiences and reflections from the programme (Malde 2007; Malde 2008). These publications have generated campus activities such as music and dance events which bring students and community members together to reflect on the themes and activities which have originated through Outreach's work. These kind of events ensure that the themes and ways of working of the Outreach office are always visible and being discussed on the Sewanee campus.

Rather than Outreach being a bounded experience which happens away from the university, these various replications/emanations of the programme enable it to be a constant and continuous influence on Sewanee students.

> You can come in and participate every semester and every summer in something. That's foundational, that sets a vocation in stone. Instead of— 'my sophomore year I did this particular trip and then over here I did this'—and then you leave it and it's just another experience. There's a tendency to drift away from how they're going to work in the world, what they're going to do for a living... You've got to have all the pieces... all those things giving people a continuous experience, then it reframes how they will carry out the professional careers… They will have a different perspective throughout their entire life (Myers interview).[220]

> It's taken over the freshman reading for four years. That's a serious outgrowth of their work… Students go on Outreach trips and they come back and they are much more combative and interesting to have in class because they're a mess and looking for meaning. That's the way it penetrates the overall outcome of the experience itself (Hartman interview).[221]

In the past three years, the institution has attempted to further integrate the academic and social dimensions of the students' university experience, through the conversion of the dormitory system into a variety of "living and learning communities" (LLCs) which immerse students continually in the academic, personal and service components of their education. After two years of prototyping the programme, the Dean's staff is scaling up the programme across the whole of the residential component of the university, which

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[220] 13/02/2009
[221] 10/02/2009

includes more than ninety-five percent of the student body. A recent white paper about the LLCs explored the aim and vision of the programme.

> The University has intentionally shaped this sense of close community because transformative education and engaged citizenship are best fostered through meaningful and intentional human interactions…(1) In the best of all academic communities, 'living' and 'learning' would never be thought of as separate experiences, rather students would be immersed in a culture of constant inquiry and exploration…(4) The line between academic space and living space continues to blur with each successful venture of the LLCs program. Further students are learning to think before they act and take responsibility for their actions and reactions… encouraging them to move beyond entitlement into accountability (DOS 2010, 7).

The LLCs demonstrate a clear thrust by the student life division of the university toward a goal of more holistic and experiential learning for students.

At IDS, the MAP programme has also catalysed some dramatic shifts in the learning culture of the Institute. As Taylor noted, the teaching programme at IDS had "grown very organically" over the years as the Institute shifted gradually from short term training courses early on to academic credentialing (interview).[222] As such there was no coherent institutional approach to learning, with each research team taking its own way.

> The main thing was the restructuring of the MA programme and what we were trying to do was move away from these proprietary, siloed team-owned MAs –and not take them away from the teams—but develop a coherent structure (Pettit interview).[223]

Moreover, the teaching programme was perceived as a financial loss leader for the institute, with the result that it was not seen as a strong institutional priority *vís a vís* research contracts, which the Institute's management viewed as more lucrative and sustaining. MAP's creation sparked a series of events which eventually led to MAP's convener, Peter Taylor, becoming the Head of Graduate Programmes at IDS, an influential position within the Institute with a seat on the executive-level Strategic Management Group. In this position he led an overhaul of the teaching programme that ended longstanding but unsustainable programmes, added new MAs and doubled the

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[222] 11/12/2008
[223] 15/10/2009

number of MA students. The reform process itself also raised core issues of why IDS had a teaching programme and interrogated the institutional commitment to these programmes. As a result, teaching became much more of a core commitment of the Institute, one now widely shared by Fellows and the Institute's management. As Pettit suggested above, the teaching structure is moving incrementally away from proprietary team-owned MAs toward an open system where students can choose their courses rather than studying under a particular research team. Moreover, a new position was created in 2010 for a Head of Teaching, a senior-level position whose priorities are purely to improve the learning structures at the Institute. In the past, those in charge of teaching programmes, such as Peter Taylor, were also heavily tasked with research responsibilities, but the new position's energy is directed expressly toward students and their experience at the Institute.

In terms of the student life experience of MAP students, MAP was unique among the IDS MAs because it created a residential community. In its first two iterations, students lived in IDS' residential wing during their academic terms at the beginning and end of the programme. Because the programme convened in the summer, the residents' hall was largely empty and readily available. This led to the formation of a close community between the students who lived on a single hallway and shared a common kitchen and social lounge. However, after the second cycle of MAP, the programme was synchronised with other IDS MAs. This change in the calendar—and a building renovation that reduced dormitory space at the Institute by two-thirds—forced MAP to sacrifice the residential component. Students instead found their own accommodations across the city. In my research with MAP04 students, they found this change definitely a negative for the programme. Many of these current students had colleagues and friends who had participated in MAP01 or 02. In recommending the programme to others, previous students reflected that the communal setting was a key part of their experience. Without the same concentrated atmosphere, the MAP04 students felt they were unable to create the same intensive learning community as had formed in previous iterations of the course. Thus even at the MA level, students still felt a strong need for a holistic, immersive learning environment.

Cupp's influence on the student life experience was quite different in that UoB is not a residential campus. Nonetheless modules like CPD, which challenged students to

engage with different sectors and communities within Brighton that they were not familiar with, had a definite influence on students. Students were able to test the waters in certain service-oriented professions that they aspired to join, or sometimes discovered new fields altogether. Not all students interviewed had positive experiences with their fieldwork, particularly slightly older, non-traditional students; however, even these students commented that their time working in the voluntary sector had opened their eyes to the importance of these organisations within the community and how they needed support from volunteers to carry out their work, thus leading them to want to volunteer periodically (Dove interview).[224] One of the most striking changes in attitude was found in a young man who took the module twice. He had chosen CPD presuming the module would involve little work. Having little enthusiasm for the work placement, he took a job walking dogs for an animal shelter, but never completing the hours needed thus failing the course. As it was a requirement to graduate, he found himself in CPD again the following year. Convener Juliet Millican intervened with him directly, telling him there would be "no dog walking this time" (interview).[225] She placed him in a position working with ex-offenders just out of jail. This was in fact David Farenden, mentioned in the previous chapter, who so excelled as a mentor that he was hired by the organisation after his placement. As such, substantial changes of attitude, heart and aspirations were seen to have resulted from his CPD experience.

This section of the chapter has explored nonlinear outcomes related to the student life experience on the campuses where the programmes work. It was noted how Outreach has become pervasive in the lived experience of students at Sewanee. Moving beyond episodic moments of engagement on ASB programmes, Outreach has become a continuous presence on the campus and in the lives of practically all students. Further, it was noted how the MAP programme has helped to catalyse a re-evaluation of teaching and learning at IDs, so that teaching is given a much higher priority institutionally, with new positions being added to study and improve the quality of the student experience at the Institute. The residential learning community was also noted to have been a highly valued element of the MAP experience. At UoB, Cupp's curricular

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[224] 11/06/2009
[225] 26/06/2009

modules, particularly CPD, were found to deeply influence students' perceptions of themselves and their role in their local community.

How Change Happens: Looking Through a Systems Lens

This second half of the chapter examines the processes through which these previously described outcomes regarding these institutions' learning cultures have come about. As before, systems and complexity concepts are used for making sense of these processes of change. Two such concepts guide the analysis, first "adaptive agents" followed by "bifurcation point."

Adaptive Agents

The concept of adaptive agents was first introduced in Chapter 4. Adaptive agents are the core of why human systems are complex rather than simply complicated. They are unpredictable, thus making social systems, communities and organisations also unpredictable. In spite of constraints imposed by the system, adaptive agents discover ways to act creatively and autonomously. Furthermore, adaptive agents possesses "system intelligence," meaning the can learn about how the system works and develop strategies to alter the system in which they are embedded. In Chapter 4, the emphasis was on adaptive agents at the head of the SE programmes' home institutions, how they created institutional spaces for these new SE programmes. This analysis looks at how adaptive agents have made similar changes from positions of lesser institutional influence and authority.

Adaptive Agents from Below
Part 1: Institutional Advancement of Key Programme Actors

A key enabler of the more systemic and pervasive outcomes described in this chapter is that programme and non-programme staff who have been deeply involved in these SE programmes have oftentimes been promoted within the organization. This was common across all of the cases. At Cupp, both academic directors have achieved great professional success whilst being involved with the programme. Angie Hart has become a national and international figure in the field of community-universities partnerships, travelling and speaking at conferences around the world. She has at the same time been successful in conventional academic terms, receiving full professorship and being submitted for the Research Assessment Exercise. She noted, "[Institutional] change

comes through other people seeing people do things and not suffering as a result—or even doing better as a result potentially" (interview).[226]

At IDS, Peter Taylor, MAP's first convenor, was quickly promoted to Head of Graduate Programmes, thus overseeing all teaching and learning at the Institute. His strong background in learning and capacity building were quickly recognized as having the potential to fill an important void in the Institute's teaching programme. Over the course of two years, Taylor spearheaded an overhaul of teaching at IDS.

> It's hard to separate the impact of MAP and the impact of the leadership around MAP. The biggest impact MAP had was in recruiting Peter and then Peter becoming Head of Graduate Teaching the following year and then playing a key role in that, the teaching review and restructuring the teaching at IDS and bringing a lot more concern about teaching (Gaventa interview).[227]

> It was that whole reform of the teaching programme that I think was his biggest contribution overall, obviously beyond his leadership of MAP (Pettit interview).[228]

Soon after the new teaching programme had been implemented, Taylor became the team leader for the PPSC, thus maintaining his seat on Institute's Strategic Management Group, where Taylor continued to advocate for teaching reforms.

Taylor, however, was not the only person to benefit professionally from involvement with MAP. His co-convener, Jethro Pettit, also advanced within the Institute. In 2008, Pettit was promoted from a research officer to a Fellow of the Institute. His achievement to this position was particularly significant as only several years before he had been passed over for a Fellow position. Pettit partially credited this turnabout to his work with MAP and associated changes in institutional culture that placed greater emphasis on teaching and learning, changes that MAP—and subsequently Taylor's leadership—had facilitated within the Institute.

> I think the teaching and the work with MAP was valued. I think that because of what happened the first time, and how little attention had been given to the teaching and learning stuff, they were being super

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[226] 09/12/2008
[227] 14/07/2009
[228] 15/10/2009

> sensitive to demonstrating that they were appreciating that contribution. By that time I'd done some publishing about it too, so I had some things to show about MAP. There were questions in the interview about it (Pettit interview).[229]

Although Taylor moved on from IDS in 2009, Pettit has continued to be a strong voice for improving the student experience at IDS. In 2009, he outlined a comprehensive strategy for teaching and learning at IDS which continued to push the entire programme in the direction of MAP. Through their promotions, Taylor and Pettit were much better positioned to extend the innovations of the MAP programme across the whole of the Institute. Importantly, the success of MAP underpinned their professional advancement. They had developed a very successful programme which demonstrated quite clearly that the reforms they had in mind for the Institute's teaching programme were feasible and would lead to desirable outcomes for the institution and for students. Thus, the quality of the MAP programme itself was key to the systemic replications which were modelled upon it. Without a programme in place prototyping these innovations, the systemic uptake of these new processes would have been much more difficult to achieve.

At Sewanee as well, the advancement of several actors deeply involved in Outreach has served to deepen the penetration of SE themes across the university. In particular, Eric Hartman, who had long been an advocate of and participant in Outreach in his position as Director of Student Activities, was promoted to Dean of Students, one of the core management positions in the university, in 2005.

In his new role, Hartman has continued to be a strong advocate for Outreach and the practices it promotes. In his position as Dean of Students, Hartman has been empowered to make other far-reaching decisions which influence student culture. His office coordinates freshman orientation and thus selects the freshman reading, which has been Kidder's *Mountains Beyond Mountains* since he became Dean. Hartman's choice and retention of the book has been quite intentional and strategic. Because of the book's focus on Outreach's NGO partner in Haiti, Zanmi Lasante, new students arrive

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[229] 15/10/2009

at the university thinking about issues of global development, inequality, poverty—and Outreach.

> Using the book *Mountains Beyond Mountains* is another way that it grew. It wasn't about the Outreach programme, but it's completely about the Outreach programme. It's kind of like I'm standing here talking to you about chocolate. I'm not going to offer you chocolate but I'm going to make sure that when you leave you're going to really be interested in chocolate. And then there's a chocolate factory next door. You may not go there—but chances are once you leave you're to going to at least visit and sample a little bit… That's the vacuum they are unaware of but find themselves sucked into—and some never come out, they just stay in it because they find out that's their call, that's where their gifts match with the world's needs. It's how they find purpose (interview).[230]

Hartman has been collecting data on student outcomes of Outreach since he first served as Acting Dean of Students in 2004.

> I can show you the data. What it will tell you is that for many it's one of the most meaningful experiences they have at Sewanee. I think that's true. There's so much that's comfortable with Sewanee. The Outreach office fundamentally changes that… They experience so much emotionally, they learn so much about themselves that it builds an appetite for more. It helps them learn who they are and what they believe… Then there's a call to act: 'Now that I know what I believe, can I actually live that?' There's very little in the curriculum or the Sewanee experience that offers them much of that. It's a cultural shift for a place that's been homogenous (interview).[231]

Because of his strong belief in the contribution of Outreach's presence on the campus, when students approached him 2008 about creating a CE house, he set about actively to help them achieve that goal. As his office oversees student housing, he was able to facilitate this development. The CE house was up and running on campus the following academic year. After a new VC assumed leadership of Sewanee in the fall of 2010, the VC's wife, a former social worker and advocate of community-university engagement, delivered an address to more than fifty students, faculty, staff and community-partners in the backyard of the CE house where she laid out her vision for increasing the university's levels of SE in the coming decade. As such the CE house has already become another "fractal replication" of the SE "attractor" and an access point within the

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[230] 10/02/2009
[231] 10/02/2009

university which draws students toward greater involvement in these issues and practices.

Projects like the CE house have increasingly convinced Hartman of the need for a more integrative educational experience. From such seeds he began to lobby for the creation of the LLCs programme which aims to facilitate tighter linkages between the curricular and social dimensions of the student experience. He also says the project has roots in his work with Outreach:

> I do think they are an outgrowth of an appetite to blend the curriculum with a cocurricular experience that is engaging and service-oriented. And another—not just curricular but comprehensive—initiative that's come out of the innovation that has come out of Outreach (interview).[232]

Through such innovations and reforms, Hartman, in his new position as Dean, has contributed considerably to Outreach's ubiquitous influence on the Sewanee student life experience.

Thus, across all of the programmes, there was a definite possibility of advancement for those who contributed deeply to these programmes, be they academics or managers. Their advancement in turn helped to advance the practices and themes of the programmes. This in itself is an interesting phenomenon in terms of interrogating institutional change processes. In particular for Hart and Hartman who become involved with their respective programmes when the programmes were still quite new and unknown, while there was some risk involved. Hart in particular was actively dissuaded from engaging with Cupp for fear that programme might sidetrack or damage her career (interview).[233] Certainly this has not been the case. Although there is no definitive answer, it is interesting to consider to what extent their involvement in these programmes contributed to their promotions. Quite likely they advanced purely on the quality of their conventional work, and would have attained the same positions without engaging in the SE programmes. However, returning to the idea of "institutional narrative" which was raised in Chapter 4, if these programmes represent the ideals of these universities in action, then given candidates equally qualified in conventional

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[232] 10/02/2009
[233] 09/12/2008

terms, might the extra commitment to SE by the likes of a Hart or Hartman actually improve their chances of selection, particularly if the institution wants to see itself embodied in both of those dimensions: highly qualified in the conventional sense, and also embodying a commitment to community which reaches beyond the standard? On this point, there was this interesting exchange in the interview with Sewanee's Dean of Students:

> FB: Have you been recognised in any way for the extra work you've done with Outreach?
>
> EH: It may be why I'm Dean… It has intrinsic rewards and it's reciprocal. It's created phenomenal change in my life and in the institution. It's one of the reasons I have credibility here (Hartman interview).[234]

This response suggests something of a feedback loop that exists in the process of institutional change. When people like Hart, Hartman and Taylor take on higher positions, it would be expected that they would continue to advocate for many of the same things they did before advancing.

At one level of analysis then these programmes have become more influential on the cultures of their institutions because their advocates now wield more influence and can make things happen that they could not before. As key programme actors rose within their respective institutions, their leverage within the university increased and with it their ability to advocate for expanding the ways of working introduced by these SE programmes. The deeper level of analysis, however, questions the extent to which these agents are fighting against the organisational culture to make change happen, versus the extent to which the organisation has already decided to become different and these agents are facilitating that desired shift in the culture, though it still be slow and frustrating at times.

Perhaps only in the case of UoB does there seem to be clear evidence that the institution chose to go in a direction of definitive engagement and is looking for leaders at all levels who embody this commitment. Through UoB's new corporate plan and through

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[234] 10/02/2009

the CE strategy, the institution has constructed a clear narrative and roadmap toward these goals. At Sewanee and IDS, this is less clear. While Hartman's comment suggests that the institution has made a choice to move in a SE direction and he is part of fulfilling that institutional aspiration to change, there are still clearly other competing narratives, such as around national-level "elitism" which do not fit comfortably with narratives of engagement. Likewise, IDS' narrative of "quality research" often overshadows the more relational dimensions of its growing commitment to the co-production of knowledge, which does not fit easily with prevailing notions of quality in research and in teaching in the British HE sector. Nonetheless, the turnabout regarding the promotion of Pettit does suggest some shift in standards, such that his contributions to MAP and teaching appear to have been valued more on his second attempt at promotion. Thus, while these actors have clearly been more empowered to promote engaged ways of working in their new positions, it cannot be conclusively argued that their work with these programmes resulted in any direct manner to their advancement.

Though this section has focused on how the promotion of those in non-executive positions has enabled these programmes to shift their institutional learning cultures, it is worth noting again how an adaptive agent at the top of the institution played a vital role in taking Cupp to the next level at UoB. The decision to fund—or not fund—Cupp from university resources fell largely to the new UoB VC, Julian Crampton. Elizabeth Maddison, then Head of Strategic Planning at UoB, recalls her perception that Crampton's support for a core-funded Cupp was solidified when he participated in a Talloires Conference event shortly after becoming VC. The Talloires network[235] aims to promote university engagement and social responsibility by working directly with university presidents.

> This is quite interesting. I think [VC Crampton] started in September and one of his first external appointments was to go to the Talloires Conference… It was a residential event, quite small, intimate, intense and influential. I think Julian was the only UK VC present, or perhaps one of only a couple. So he went for a few days and met these other institutional leaders from around the world, from some very well-regarded institutions… And they signed a declaration about the importance of the role of universities in working with their communities, that committed them to real action. I think Julian found that quite

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[235] See http://www.tufts.edu/talloiresnetwork/

powerful. He was clearly interested before, but the people there were in effect saying, 'This stuff matters. Brighton's pretty good at it. Isn't it great that you've come. We can really do some exciting things together!' And he came back pretty enthused. You know, everyone wants to queue up and 'capture' a new VC and say, 'This is the most important thing, spend your time with me, on my project.' And how VCs choose to spend their time is very important, symbolically and practically. But Julian just chose to go and was submerged in this stuff for a few days. And I think that it was in the following term that we had to sort out the funding issue for Cupp beyond the initial grant… He didn't need a lot of convincing really, which I think is quite remarkable on his part, given the other pressures on time and money (interview).[236]

Shortly thereafter Crampton made the decision to internalise Cupp and sustain it with university resources. In spite of three years of successful work, the future of Cupp once again rested in the hands of the UoB VC. However, as Pro-VC Laing pointed out, UoB has only had three VCs since 1970. Such long tenures are quite unusual, but Laing suggested that this created continuity for the university. As such he argued that "it was no accident" that Cupp was as supported by Crampton as it was by his predecessor David Watson because UoB's VC selection process had ensured that "somebody got appointed who had a sufficency of understanding and engagement with what the university was and where it was going" (interview).[237]

Laing's comment suggests again the power of institutional narrative and aspiration. SE is an increasingly key component of UoB's narrative and identity. As the primary source of capacity building for CE within the institution, Cupp and those who promote its ways of working are viewed as vital facilitators of the evolutionary change in culture the institution has chosen for itself.

Part 2: Institutional Citizenship

Another of the strengths of these programmes is that they cultivate the capacity of individuals within universities to function as adaptive agents. This was most evident at Sewanee where there was seen to be an influence on different types of institutional actors—faculty, staff and students. Students interviewed at Sewanee spoke repeatedly about the encouragement that they received from Outreach staff when they put forward new ideas for projects or suggestions for institutional change. According to Outreach's

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[236] 30/03/2009
[237] 06/04/2009

discernment coordinator[238], "In a sentence, the purpose of Outreach is to make the students better citizens. In the short-term here in this community and the long-term with their lives" (Hille-Michaels interview).[239] This was echoed among the faculty as well:

> [Outreach] broadens their vision. It makes them more caring, giving and appreciative citizens of the world. I think it's fundamental to a liberal arts education. I think it's fundamental to turning out citizens, good hardworking people who are going to be the people who reach out to solve some of the challenges that we face (McGrath interview).[240]

This research found that in addition to building the capacity of students to effect change in the community, engaging with Outreach also contributed to a reciprocal capacity for students and others engaged in the programme to create change within the university as well. Later in their time at Sewanee, students active in Outreach exhibited high levels of strategic thinking and action in trying to reshape the institutional culture to broaden opportunities for the kinds of experiences they had gained through Outreach. Emily Luethke, who first made contact with the Outreach programme in order to create a campus chapter of the organisation Invisible Children[241], later took a very active role as an institutional change agent.

> I feel like I've been put in a position to be an initiator because I help a lot of people get to the point where they can start doing their stuff… I think that fact that Dixon and Angela showed me my freshman year how I could go about making change and now working with them in the office, they've allowed me to be that person, I've taken their position (interview).[242]
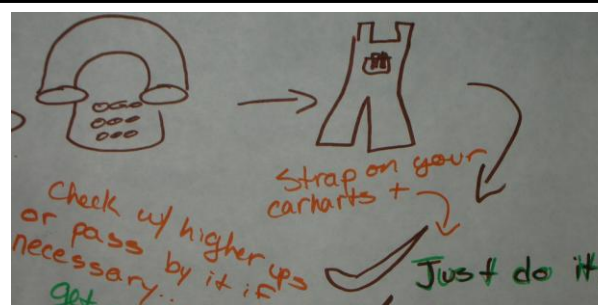
Emily Luethke's rich picture from the research workshop demonstrating her approach to institutional citizenship.

Picture 3: Workshop Rich Picture—Institutional Citizenship

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[238] In addition to acting as a liaison between faculty and community actors, the other main responsibility of the Outreach discernment coordinator is to organise and lead the Lilly Summer Discernment Institute, a summer programme subsidised by the Eli Lilly Foundation which provides summer internships, with organised periods of group reflection before and after the placements, for university students interested in careers/vocations in the religious or voluntary sectors, with "discernment" being a term often used in specific relation to deciding upon an ordained religious vocation.
[239] 10/02/2009
[240] 24/03/2009
[241] See http://www.invisiblechildren.com/
[242] 18/02/2009

Luethke ran and was elected as the student representative on the university's academic policy and curriculum committee where she has advocated strongly for expanding the CE offerings at Sewanee.

> I don't think they knew when the Order of Gownsmen elected me that I was part of this Outreach push… I definitely feel like I'm in an opportune place and I'm going to be on the committee again next year (interview).[243]

Similarly Carrie Ryan, another student active in Outreach, is the author of a proposal to create a CE academic minor.

> I recognize the fact that there are others that have gone before us that have created this culture but that it's in our hands now and we need to shape it for the next generation of Sewanee students (interview).[244]

This led her to seek the elected office of student trustee. In this position, she participates in meetings with the executive committee of the university, which is currently in the process of developing a new strategic plan for the university. Ryan has used her position to push issues of diversity and CE at the university.

> [In the strategic planning meeting] one question was 'In ten years what would you want to be able to say about the Sewanee experience?'… I said it really should be a relationship of reciprocity, as much as we get from this place we should return to it. I think we have the duty to do so. I want to be able to say as much as we took we gave back. I don't think I can say that at this moment, but we're heading in that direction. In several more years, more and more people are going to be able to say that about their own experiences at Sewanee…It's empowering to be there saying this with [the Dean of the College] on my right, the Provost on my left, and right across from me is [the Dean of Students] and down the row is the VC sitting there (interview).[245]

Also from Ryan,

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[243] 18/02/2009
[244] 21/09/2010
[245] 21/09/2010

You're really given the privilege and authority at the strategic planning committee, as a student trustee, to say I want a student who is coming in in ten years not because they want to be [in a secret society] like their dad and drink bourbon on the weekend in the [fraternity] lodge… but students who will come into the university and say, 'I'm here to learn something. I'm here to engage in the community and I'm here to make a difference, to make the university live up to their philosophy, and to engage in the world and become a citizen. I think that's powerful stuff and it's essential that students become part of that conversation. That's why I wanted to be a student trustee (interview).[246]

Similarly as faculty and staff became more connected around the Outreach programme, with structures like CLECE taking form, these individuals became more aggressive in trying to reshape opportunities for engaged teaching in their departments and for shifting the wider context of the institution to a more favourable environment for these ways of working. As one long-time faculty member pointed out, academics at Sewanee are not typically active within the institution:

It's amazing to me how much disempowerment there is on the part of educated people... If you become so aware of how systems work, you think it just becomes too big, too challenging (Brockett interview).[247]

By contrast, the academics who had actively engaged with the Outreach programme exhibited much vigour in tackling the blockages in the system at Sewanee.

In my strategy for change, what I think is key is showing that something works. Taking a risk, a small risk, making it work, then demonstrating that success so that others will be willing to take that risk. Then I think, little by little, those successes add up and the administration buys into it. I really think that's how it changes here. I really think you've got to put your money where your mouth is. Without an action, without a risk, without something to show, you can't get anywhere (McGrath interview).[248]

There's been a lot of resistance with these courses being taught—especially with taking the students to Haiti… Deborah and I are now trying to create a summer-in-Haiti programme and one of the stipulations from the administration is that, for any summer programme, travel to any countries that are on the State Department warning list is prohibited. Flat out prohibited. So alarm bells! I call up the Associate Dean and I say,

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[246] 21/09/2010
[247] 24/03/2009
[248] 24/03/2009

'We're trying to run a programme in Haiti which is always on the list. What do we do here?' He said, 'Well, you've got a proven track record. You've been to Haiti many times. You'll be fine…' Because we've gently been doing it for three years now, suddenly it's okay now. So what this means is there is a process of acculturation which is a good one to engage in first if you're trying to do anything different. And to do it very slowly and gently and suddenly when the idea is presented in a fully formed way to make it formal—'Yeah, that sounds familiar. That's not that different. Okay, let's do it!' (Malde interview).[249]

As well, university staff who had actively involved themselves in Outreach exhibited a strong tendency toward activism within the university as well as outside of it.

[Outreach] has helped me to see a different light, to not have to be behind a desk. To go where [the students] are at. I don't have to be in an office, I don't have to push paperwork. I'm very thankful for that… It's about me and about getting out there and I think it's great (Banks interview).[250]

I'm adversarial to the status quo. And it's not just limited to my area of influence. It's wide open to anybody who walks in, and in particular toward those that are most traditional, most rigid. To them I find myself gracefully hostile, to ask the hard questions (Hartman interview).[251]

These movements in attitude represented a shift toward a perspective of what could be labelled as "institutional citizenship". As Block writes,

We can choose to become full citizens and become a cause rather than an effect. This means we must act as if our institutions are ours to create, our learning is ours to define, the leadership we seek is ours to become… (81). Deciding to act as citizens means we are the cause of our environment, not the effect of it. We are not consumers of the organizations, waiting to see what management has in mind for us, or wants to sell us. We decide what this place will become. As citizens we have the capacity to act on ideals (Block 2003, 84).

This was echoed by Outreach coordinator Myers, in his attempts to liberate the creativity of those who collaborate with the Outreach programme.

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[249] 12/02/2009
[250] 18/02/2009
[251] 10/02/2009

> I tell Eric, 'Do Ecuador. Run with that.' He basically never asked my opinion on much so I let him run with it... Other assistant deans have done [ASB] programmes. Students have thrived on their leadership roles. So letting those wild stallions run... If you try to constrict people then you're defeating your own purpose... Same way with Pradip, letting him and Deborah run with their programme. All I did was just initiate their going down there [to Haiti] for the first time. So you have all these energies going on. You can't control all that, you can put in your opinions, but at some point you've got to let people run (interview).[252]

As such Outreach's *modus operandi* offers a challenge to the hidden curriculum of most HEIs. As Palmer points out, the hidden curriculum within most universities teaches competition rather than cooperation.

> The context of education today is not community but conflict and competition, with students being set against one another (and often against their teachers) in the quest for academic rewards. By practicing adversary education, the schools are conveying the… message: you had better learn to go it alone, because in this school (as in the world) no supportive community is available… The world is a jungle, we say, and students had better be prepared to fight for their own. This is the… assumption at work: the great community is gone and will never be available to us again. So the schools turn out a steady stream of young people who have been taught to cope with the collapse of community but never challenged by a vision of community renewed (1981, 78-79).

Against this atomistic approach, Outreach has encouraged individuals within the university to be accountable for the quality of the whole of their community and their university, and promotes processes that allow them to work together with others in the university and in the community to achieve these ends, toward a co-created "vision of community renewed." In working with Outreach, participants develop as public citizens and institutional citizens.

> To be a citizen is to show up—to accept the invitation to participate, or to create it if it is not offered, to act as a co-designer. At any moment we can choose to speak of our idealism, express our feelings, and reflect on and deepen our questions. Acting on what matters is an act of leadership (Block 2003, 173).

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[252] 13/02/2009

Thus, one of the contributions of the Outreach programme is to provide a space for adaptive agents within the university to act on their deeply-held values, taking ownership of the institution and driving its evolution toward ideals of engagement and SC.

A strong parallel was found with MAP students at IDS. Despite their having less time on campus at the Institute than other MA students, MAP students were found to take a very active role in the institutional life of IDS. The Head of Teaching commented on the distinctive way MAP students conducted themselves:

> It was a very different cohort to the other programmes… The student body was very different, a lot more activist… They were also a lot more mature... How they interacted as a group, they were much more self-sufficient, ended up kind of organising themselves... They talked about what they were going to do as a group, whereas other groups usually need some guidance—'what can you suggest?'—whereas they'd have a discussion and come back and say, 'Here's what we're going to do.' It was completely different (Brown interview).[253]

The MAP curriculum itself explores varying conceptions of citizenship in different political and cultural contexts, particularly the idea of "claiming spaces" for citizenship when none are provided (Gaventa 2006). As such, MAP students are quite conscious of their roles as change agents in all contexts. The MAP04 students who participated in this research were active at the institute organising institute-wide workshops on ideas such as "complexity and social change" as well as events for sharing various participatory methods. They also actively took part in processes for determining the future of the institution. During the 2009 annual review, a day-long workshop that involves all IDS employees, several MAP students participated in the PPSC's group discussion of what they wanted to feed into the annual review process. When the time came to present back PPSC's ideas to the entire institute, one of the MAP students stepped forward and argued the case for the team's positions—something that had generally been done by the leaders of the other research teams. It was a striking contrast, and a clear indication of the PPSC's willingness to empower and the willingness of MAP students to step into roles as institutional citizens. Much of the

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[253]16/07/2009

PAR work that the MAP students do during their field work examines their roles as institutional change agents within their own contexts/organisations. As with Outreach, when MAP students hone their skills for being engaged citizens in the world outside of the university, there is also a strong tendency for them to assume the same stance within the university.

Bifurcation Point

In systems language, the bifurcation point is the moment in the lifecycle of a system when it reaches a point of instability and migrates to different pattern of operation.

> In many nonlinear systems, small changes of certain parameters may produce dramatic changes in the basic characteristics of the phase portrait. Attractors may disappear, or change into one another, or new attractors may suddenly appear. Such systems are said to be structurally unstable, and the critical points of instability are called 'bifurcation points,' because they are points in the system's evolution where a fork suddenly appears and the system branches off in a new direction (Capra 1996, 135).

The concept of bifurcation has been used by organizational change theorists such as Morgan (1986) and McMillian (2005) to explain shifts in institutional cultures and processes. Salem *et al.* based their large-scale case study analysis of a Texas statutory service provision agency around a bifurcation point conceptual framework. They explain the concept in this way:

> The natural variations within and around all complex adaptive systems may build up to a stage challenging old forms. This accumulation happens because of the recursive interactions of the components and subsystems within the system. The bifurcation point is the stage where the system 'chooses' its future, the stage of greatest tension between the old and the new (2003, 3).

Using systems/complexity thinking as a heuristic for understanding organisational change also illuminates related concepts such as learning loops. In many ways, double-loop learning is a form of systemic bifurcation.

> In our discussion of chaos theory, we described how systems that are moving away from the influence of a dominant attractor pattern toward a potential new configuration encounter bifurcation points or forks in the road. At these points, the energies for change either dissipate or dissolve

in a way that allows the old attractor to reassert itself or shift the system into a new form (Morgan 1986, 249).

Morgan argues that the creation of new "contexts" within organizations can move them more rapidly toward bifurcation and shifts in attractors. Such new contexts are created when new rules and information are introduced into the system which produce small examples of the kind of change that is being sought more generally, very much akin to the "probes" and "safe-fail experiments" recommended by Snowden (2009). The new context strengthens as more and more subsystems of the organizations adopt the pattern of the new attractor. Either gradually or immediately—depending on the amount of instability in the system—a bifurcation occurs and tips the system toward the new attractor regime.

Such transitions are not always so definitive and complete, however. As the concept of prochronistic change suggests, human systems rarely transform in such a way that the institutional history and the previous culture of a system are completely attenuated. In such contexts, Mitleton-Kelly has suggested the concept of "bistability" in which "a system may have more than one possible equilibrium point" (2003, 17). Her concept is drawn from the work of chemists Nicolis and Prigogine who found that certain chemical compounds can exist in more than one stable state, even under identical conditions (1989). Thus, Mitleton-Kelly argues that "simultaneous stable states could coexist under the same boundary conditions" (17). In which case, systems and organisations may operate under the influence of multiple attractors. The Lorenz Attractor (*see Fig. 7*) presents visually the concept of systemic bistability.

Under certain parameters, the Lorenz attractor will oscillate around two attractor points. Although the system originates with a single attractor (left), the system eventually bifurcates toward a second attractor. However, this bifurcation is not complete and the system achieves bistability which encompasses both attractors.

Figure 7: Bifurcation and Bistability

The argument of the subsequent section is that these SE programmes have developed into strong attractors within their institutions, drawing increasing participation of students, staff and academics over time. These programmes have introduced, legitimated and disseminated new ideas and replicated new ways of working which over time have been spread across the wider system. As these ways of working have proliferated, they have created the new internal contexts necessary for institutional bifurcation, or least for the emergence of bistability around old and new institutional cultures.

Reaching Bifurcation
Part 1: Institutional Holism

As the influence of these programmes has increased within their institutions, they have emerged as attractors within their institutions which offer an alternative paradigm for the role of HE. This alternative paradigm begins to take shape when these programmes exhibit viable methods for teaching and research. When those who adopt these alternative methods are praised for their work rather than punished, the new paradigm becomes more attractive, drawing more actors into its orbit. Eventually this leads to the development of a functional alternative culture operating within the HEI. As such the presence of the programme has led to a partial bifurcation that creates an alternative internal context to the mainstream of the institution. It is not that the older paradigm has disappeared, but adaptive agents of the programmes can operate successfully in another sphere of activities which have their own increasingly coherent structures, processes and standards. Thus, these programmes have led to the emergence of what Chambers has described as a paradigm:

> Paradigm can then be defined as a coherent and mutually supporting pattern of: concepts and ontological assumptions; values and principles; methods, procedures and processes; roles and behaviours; relationships; and mindsets, orientations and predispositions (Chambers 2010, 3).

The resultant culture of these institutions can be seen as akin to the Lorenz "butterfly attractor" which forms around two competing attractors. Given the prochronistic nature of HEIs discussed in Chapter 4, it seems logical that the older institutional paradigm would not disappear altogether, but that the new set of practices would come to encircle it and begin to change the appearance and ethos of the institution over time. Such a pattern of activity has been notable at UoB and Sewanee.

UoB's comprehensive CE strategy, authored by Cupp, provides further evidence of a bifurcation at the university, in that the ways of working that Cupp has promoted since 2003 are being significantly scaled-up and embedded across the whole of the university. The strategy identifies university staff, students and community-partners as the main actors in the university's SE work which aims to address "disadvantage, sustainable development, citizenship and social justice" (UoB 2009, 3). As such UoB aims to position itself as a permanent part of the "community infrastructure" (3) while also reflexively making changes to its own ways of working, including making university facilities a more accessible public resource, increasing levels of socially-engaged research and promoting greater involvement of students in community issues through increased engaged teaching and volunteering schemes. Moreover, the strategy document explains how the university will develop a new department for Economic and Social Engagement, thus facilitating the implementation of this agenda by linking Cupp staff "with faculties and central departments" (7). This new department for Economic and Social Engagement was put into place in 2010.

While these SE practices are likely to remain a minority component of the university's overall volume of work, they are indeed fully recognised and valued as a core feature of UoB's identity, and understood as an intrinsic element of "what universities are for" (Watson 2005). Perhaps uniquely among the programmes, there appears to be consensus at UoB on the direction of this change throughout the institution, as evidenced by the continuous support of two VCs and the high level of enthusiasm voiced for SE in the participatory phases of the consultation for setting the institution's latest five year plan. Aims such as opening the university facilities to the public and shifting public perceptions about the university as a community resource already seem to be taking hold, as evidenced by the data in the first half of this chapter.

Likewise, Outreach has increasingly attained a more embedded role throughout the culture of the university. Originally a marginal programme, it has in recent years become a rallying point for innovators in the curricular domain of the university and for institutional leaders who oversee the student life experience of students. By facilitating shared ways of working between these areas of the university, Outreach has contributed to a diminishment of the space between the classroom and the lived experience of

Sewanee students. Palmer has argued that such an integrated approach to learning can transform the "hidden curriculum" of a university and promote the social and moral development of students by locating them centrally as actors within their own learning experience:

> An integrative pedagogy is more likely to lead to moral engagement because it engages more of the learner's self and teaches by means of engagement: the curriculum and the 'hidden curriculum' embedded in such a pedagogy support a way of knowing that involves much if not all of the whole self in learning about the world (Palmer 2010, 32).

Sewanee's Dean of Students picked up on a similar theme, saying, "[Students] get plenty of intellectual development, but what they don't get much of is emotional development" (interview).[254] He described how working with Outreach had influenced his own understanding of the student experience at Sewanee, seeing the need for students to be able to live a more coherent life within the university:

> It helps change young peoples' lives, and moves them toward greater purpose, more meaning. It gets them to stop compartmentalizing their experience so that they're living more like one life, with some transparency, as opposed to trying to be the son of doctor over here, a frat-daddy Greek partier here, a scholar over here in the classroom, and a pot-smoker once a month over here in the corner (Hartman interview).[255]

As a result his department has begun an ongoing process to completely reshape the student residential experience through the LLCs programme. Hartman hopes the programme will bring more coherence and meaning to students' experience at the university.

> It presents the university in a more cohesive manner… Students here are just longing for cohesion. We're such a fractal, we're beautiful, multifaceted—but so complex that it doesn't make any sense. And for an eighteen or nineteen year-old looking for purpose and identity, you've got to help them make sense of it... The hope is that it serves as a way to connect lectures, Outreach, the community and leadership development to the curriculum but with institutional support and in a structure that makes sense to students (interview).[256]

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[254] 10/02/2009
[255] 10/02/2009
[256] 10/02/2009

Although the LLCs are based on thematic communities such as "music, performance and the arts" or "environment and development," Hartman does not aim for CE be a separate theme amongst the communities, but rather to be a practice and mindset which is embedded in all LLCs, with each group establishing a consistent, ongoing initiative in the wider community (interview). As such, this holistic approach aims to deepen the integration with the community that Outreach has initiated.

Thus, by way of the LLCs programme, Outreach has helped to catalyse a major shift in the way different areas of the university interact with each other as well as a shift in the institution's perceived purpose, moving beyond university education as a purely intellectual process of learning to one that also includes students' personal and moral development. This outcome is a reflexive institutional process that has grown out of the work of Outreach. In questioning their own roles and responsibilities as students and educators to the wider world, those involved in Outreach have also begun to ask those questions of the institution itself, in keeping with Block's theory of institutional change:

> The real task is to help the institution question its own purpose… Acting on what matters is a question for our institutions as well as for ourselves. Meaning comes when we raise questions about purpose in our workplace—questions of social responsibility, social equity, civic engagement, the meaning the institution has for the community. All these can be pursued while at the same time getting the work of the organization accomplished (Block 2003, 191).

Similarly Outreach has contributed to a shift in the way the university perceives itself and its role.

> When [students] would report back [to the university's Board of Regents], there was always this great sense that 'This is good work of the institution.' In some ways it got more time in terms of reporting than the curriculum did. The Regents aren't listening to much about 'In the classroom, I'm learning about...' They hear a lot about: 'On the streets of Miami...'; 'In the 9th Ward of New Orleans...'; 'On the outskirts Arjalia Alta [in Ecuador]...'; 'In Trenchtown...' You just go through the whole gamut. Those stick to you more… It fits under the heart why we feel good about the pulse of the institution (Hartman interview).[257]

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[257] 10/02/2009

> Outreach has been really important in changing attitudes, in getting students as well as our faculty and administration broader, not navel-gazing as much as we were in the past, much more integrated into the community. Before we were just truly an island, now there are lots of marshes around us. I think that's been really really important (Gottfried interview).[258]

> It's a heavy influence… It's a bit of the moral compass of the place. I think most people would be more comfortable pointing to the Cross as the moral compass—which may be the symbol—but I think experiential aspect of the moral compass is Outreach... it's more prevalent than what anybody would ever testify to (Hartman interview).[259]

Moreover, the holistic and reflexive approach embodied by the LLCs was evident among students and faculty. One academic commented how engaged education had encouraged her students to be more critical of the hidden curriculum of the university itself:

> What they felt was the nascent seed of ethics, which is the sensitivity to hypocrisy. They're thinking, 'We were taught about solar panels in class but I don't see a single one around here!' That sort of seed allows them to do the kind of changes that help us to move forward (Brown interview).[260]

Brown also noted how she encouraged students to become more aware of their inextricable influence on the university and community:

> I help students see where their intellectual development demands that they live certain ways to have certain kinds of social impacts… One of the main principles of Buddhist philosophy is *paticcasamuppada*, and basically, what that is, is the realm of cause and effect, the realm of interdependence. So if everything is subject to the law of cause and effect, if this whole world, social and intellectual—everything—is interdependent, it's not a question of 'Will you make a difference?'—you *are* making difference! The question is 'What difference *are* you making?' For students, that's where I come from. It's not a matter of 'Will I get involved?'—you're already involved! So what are you going to do with your involvement? (interview).[261]

Such perspectives on complexity and reflexivity were also found amongst students.

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[258] 04/03/2009
[259] 10/02/2009
[260] 24/03/2009
[261] 24/03/2009

> Since I've come here, I came here... spending so much time thinking on—outward! outward! outward! other people! other people!—and not any time at all thinking about what that means inwardly and what that means just in your own life and in the way that you live and think and be (Adams interview).[262]

The density of these kinds of experiences now available on Sewanee's campus can be conveyed by the following email communication from myself to Dixon Myers in September 2009:

> Things seem to really be going well—to find the new VISTA person in your office and Mae [Wallace, Chair of the Teacher Education Faculty]—and to hear Mae telling how they're strategically lobbying all of the departments and the admissions office on CE—to see the long list of CE classes posted in the hallway at Walsh Ellett [Hall]—to find [Dean] Eric [Hartman] talking to Will Watson [a student who interned with Falling Whistles] and Sean Carasso from Falling Whistles [an NGO working with child soldiers in Congo][263] when I dropped by his office—to talk to Grace Greenwell [a student] about her summer internship with UNICEF—to hear about your summer programme on the river—and get the book about it! I was only in town for three hours! (Bivens personal communication).[264]

Thus, in the cases of Cupp and Outreach, the non-linear systemic outcomes catalysed by these programmes has been substantial. By stimulating their HEIs to bring institutional resources to bear on local and social issues, these programmes have facilitated systematic collaborations which enable the whole of the institution to pursue shared and coherent aims that involve academics, staff, students and community-partners collectively. The approaches which emerge from these programmes shift the context of the learning culture of the institutions away from practices of purely entrepreneurial, individualistic study and research to cultures which also have an overarching and common aim of serving the community in ways that simultaneously promote student learning and quality research. Such shifts in institutional practice have been promoted by those who advocate a systemic approach to learning, including Packham and Sriskandarajah who write: "The focus has to be less on what we learn and more on how we learn and with whom—with a much greater focus on participation" (Packham and

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[262] 11/02/2009
[263] See www.fallingwhistles.com
[264] 25/09/2009

Sriskandarajah 2005, 123). Moreover, Bawden argues that the normative, value-driven approach disseminated by these kinds of programmes is essential for the development of meaning for learners, and also for those who teach:

> The issue is that normative elements are as basic to the worldviews that we hold as are cognitive elements, and that awareness and critical consciousness of them are necessary perquisites for the 'emergence of meaning' from any learning system (Bawden 1997, 9).

 As such these programmes have not only contributed to a more holistic and coherent learning environment, but they have introduced themes of personal, emotional and values development that can be considered essential to individual and systemic transformation. By increasingly involving institutional as well as personal dimensions of the student university experience in the attractor patterns of these programmes, these HEIs are moving toward more complete stages of bifurcation, as the previous cultural attractor is crowded out. Though old attractor regimes will linger in some form, the institutions are shifting their narratives and aspirations increasingly toward SE.

Part 2: Collective Action

Of the three HEIs, UoB has most clearly reached a bifurcation point around SE. The internalisation of Cupp by VC Crampton undoubtedly accelerated this process, however the emergence of engagement as an institutional priority from a university-wide participatory consultation marks the clear point of bifurcation, in achieving consensus and buy-in on the importance of SE from the top to the bottom of the institution.

Whereas UoB has undertaken a very intentional process of identifying and raising engagement to the level of an institutional priority, through which a distinct bifurcation has occurred, change processes at Sewanee have continued to be fractal, with various areas and individuals within the university attempting to link themselves into the attractor that is the Outreach programme, and to import and replicate its ways of working.

> What's true is that [Outreach]'s having great success. The sizzle is genuine. It's not added to something or near the margins. It's very genuine. It's challenging—the challenge is everyone wants a piece of it.

> A lot of people want a piece of it, want to do something (Hartman interview).[265]

The growth of the programme itself, bolstered by high levels of student demand, the curricular efforts of CLECE and the LLCs initiative of the Dean of Students office, has generated a significant body of interrelated approaches and projects which can be characterised by the idea of bistability. Such approaches are not universally practiced, but they are present in all major areas of the institution. Moreover, they are continuing to converge into a coherent alternative to the traditional approach of the institution. As such, Sewanee appears to have reaching a level of bistability, with the SE attractor firmly embedded, not dominant, but still expanding.

Having grown in numbers and success, the supporters of the alternative paradigm are increasingly mobilising and strategising, looking to fill the institutional gaps where they do not have strong-buy in. Richard O'Connor, director of the Center for Teaching, believes more Sewanee faculty are interested in and capable of engaged work than have been involved thus far:

> A lot of other faculty, I would say this from the Center for Teaching, they're really eager for these kinds of things because it gets you outside of your department. It isn't just that. There is an eagerness to do things for Sewanee and for the community… I think there is a genuine interest out there... I think there's a sense of responsibility. It isn't activism *per se* but a sense that if you live in a community, you owe that community something. So I have heard from faculty that we are their vehicles (interview).[266]

This sense of optimism that even broader faculty participation in the engagement movement is possible has energised the core supporters of these approaches to develop a plan to systematically engage in discussions with every academic department, as well as other important morphogenic areas of the institution such as admissions and financial development. They have laid out an institutional organising strategy, seeking additional allies and constructing incentive structures.

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[265] 10/02/2009
[266] 18/02/2009

It might be better to divide this work among CE core faculty because we each have histories in working with various departments. So, for example, John Willis might be asked to talk with the history department, Jim Peterman with philosophy, Asian studies, etc. We identified these relationships in asking Deb to talk with Environmental Studies and me to talk with International and Global Studies. I think we could divide the labor so that no one would be heavily burdened. Also, I think it would be wise to have some support to offer - the $500 (or more) per course, staff support, etc. This might be something to put in the proposal as something we want to do if/when we have something to offer, noting the success of CLECE to encourage (read "grease") course development with minimal resources… I think the entire document is about creating a campus culture that both directs some of the work of the college toward making the world a better place AND offers some alternatives to the party life. We need to add a student subcategory, with admissions, leadership, work study, Canale, etc. Then faculty, community, curriculum, co/extra curricular relationships make sense (Wallace personal communication).[267]

One thing that's on Richard's checklist is to meet with [the Director of Financial Development], to meet with the Dean of Admissions, to meet with top level people, to pursue some of these other channels (Schneider interview).[268]

This collective action increases the penetration of these ways of working and minimises the risk to any one individual.

Part of it is who you surround yourself with. If you surround yourself with people who are willing to be activists, who are willing to stick their necks out, then you don't feel like you're so alone (Willis interview).[269]

It is not only faculty who are mobilising. Students are also working from their side to organise student voices to more effectively lobby the institution for further curricular integration of CE.

A bunch of students and I are meeting on Tuesday to talk about how we can get support from the student body for CE classes. I've got about seven or eight of us doing that. It's organically grown out of the Outreach network (Ryan interview).[270]

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[267] 07/06/2010
[268] 13/02/2009
[269] 27/03/2009
[270] 21/09/2010

As well, students are actively collaborating with faculty and Outreach staff on these same issues. According to the student representative on the academic policy and curriculum committee,

> Dixon, Angela and I and all these professors—who do service and engagement and are trying to bring CLECE into the fore—if we can make something that we can present to the Deans and show them that this is a valid option and that students should get credit for this stuff, then hopefully they'll let us move forward with it (Luethke interview).[271]

Similar comments were made by the student trustee:

> There's a movement now to break down that glass wall. I think the key thing is not to make it a disjointed movement, but a unified one, where professors are working alongside students and students are working alongside administrators… The potential is there, so many people are talking about it in so many different arenas (Ryan interview).[272]

Within their wider strategy, this group has taken a particular interest in the recruitment policies of the university. They want to promote Sewanee's engagement work aggressively to perspective students in order to draw more students who arrive seeing SE as one of their core university activities.

> One way to change the curriculum is to bring in more students like that. Because faculty will respond to students and in the end that will matter (O'Connor interview).[273]

> If you've got students coming in wanting it, then it becomes a demand on the institution (Peterman interview).[274]

In this way they hope to "stack the deck" so that student demand for engagement increases and pushes the institutional culture toward a definitive bifurcation. This pressure is already having an influence. Recent admissions videos for the university have spotlighted the Outreach-initiated work of student Richie Hubbard's NGO in Bangladesh as well as documentary research on Haitian midwives carried out by Haiti project participant Jack Wyrick. Moreover, there are already indications that their efforts are shifting the composition of incoming classes.

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[271] 18/02/2009
[272] 12/09/2010
[273] 18/02/2009
[274] 25/02/2009

> In the past two years, different kinds of students are coming into Sewanee. More broadly travelled internationally. Committed to seeing certain agendas through. More engaged with CE. I think that is part of the larger shift of the curriculum toward community service approaches and CE approaches. The other part is us just letting them know that we expect this from students when they apply… There's been a huge impact. One clear example is what I mentioned earlier on. I think we have more students applying to Sewanee than ever before who have a particular attitude that can maybe be described as 'the concerned citizen'. There's more of that than ever before (Malde interview).[275]

> Outreach is a great selling point. When they want to attract great merit students they go to Outreach to give presentations. The university has recognised the importance of attracting high-calibre, caring students in a way that only an Outreach programme can do (McGrath interview).[276]

Multiple Sewanee students interviewed in this research mentioned the role of the Outreach programme in their admissions process. These included Colby Adams, who was already committed to another university when she first visited Sewanee, but after having met with Outreach coordinator Myers, was so impressed with the work of the programme that she changed her mind and attended Sewanee instead. Similarly, Jack Wyrick commented that Myers had made a significant impression on her in her first visit to the university: "When I was a perspective [student] here, I met Dixon and he told me that lives of service depend on lives of support. And I have not forgotten that" (interview).[277] These perspectives were affirmed by the Dean of Students.

> It's a major feature of the institution's admission programme... It's breathing life into spotlight features like Richie Hubbard [and his work in Bangladesh]. Those are great experiences and great experiences beget more great experiences. Now they're a pretty major attraction for many students that are coming (Hartman interview).[278]

Like Sewanee, IDS has reached a level of bistability rather than a bifurcation. In raising the status of teaching within the institution, MAP and its contributors have definitely shifted the institutional context. The recent appointment of a new senior-level Director

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[275] 12/02/2009
[276] 24/03/2009
[277] 19/02/2009
[278] 10/02/2009

of Teaching suggests that the learning culture of the institute is likely to continue to evolve, perhaps with renewed energy under the direction of a full-time manager with significant institutional authority and leverage. As PPSC member Robert Chambers commented about the IDS teaching programme, "We're on the verge of a sea-change" (interview).[279] MAP's impact on the research culture of IDS is less clear, though the extensive discourse on knowledge co-production in the Institute's most recent strategic plan suggests that MAP has catalysed new possibilities which may evolve into more transformative changes in the future.

This section has noted the role of collective action in pushing the universities learning cultures toward a bifurcation point. UoB has most clearly achieved such a bifurcation, particularly through the participatory consultation which surfaced engagement as a widespread priority of employees across the whole of the university. However, this research identifies Sewanee as an institution still thickly in the midst of institutional change. Many years of grassroots efforts have converged into a functional paradigm of engagement. Although these efforts have achieved a large measure of coherence and bistability, the adaptive agents inside this movement continue to drive institutional change processes forward. On one hand by working collectively and strategically to locate and involve allies in key positions within the institution, and on the other by aiming to shift the overall context of the student life experience by reshaping the demographic composition of incoming students bodies so as to create a student population with greater and greater proclivity for engaged ways of learning. Like Sewanee, IDS is still the midst of competing attractor regimes, though the student life experience is likely to be much improved with the appointment of new staff member to focus on these issues extensively, which in time may contribute to a more systemic and complete shift in institutional culture and priorities.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that these SE programmes have catalysed outcomes within their respective institutions which reach beyond the curricular and into the learning cultures of these HEIs, triggering double-loop learning which has shifted somewhat the policies and perceived missions of these HEIs. Some quite specific changes to the university culture and environment were found to have resulted from the presence of these

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[279] 06/07/2009

programmes on campus. The programmes pushed their universities to open their campuses more for community purposes and to recognise the value of bringing the public into the university environment. At UoB, a particular series of events surrounding the internalisation of the Cupp programme and the elevation of SE to a top institutional priority in the most recent corporate plan suggested a shift in the learning culture that has embedded engagement as a part of the institution's formal identity. As well, it was noted how the MAP programme's emphasis on co-creation of knowledge has begun to permeate the discourse of that institution's research and teaching programmes, appearing as a priority in the IDS' 2010 strategic plan.

Furthermore, the chapter has shown that these programmes can become pervasive forces on campuses which expose students to ideas and practices of engagement on a daily basis, saturating their academic and social environments. This was found particularly to be the case at Sewanee, where themes from the Outreach programme are integrated into the student experience at all levels. The value of a holistic, immersive learning experience was also noted among MAP students, who desired to live in community with their peers during their time at the Institute.

Analysis using the systems/complexity concepts of adaptive agents and bifurcation point helped to make sense of how some of these changes in learning culture have occurred in these HEIs. Although these programmes have often challenged existing ways of working, the research found that each SE programme revealed examples of individuals from the middle ranks of these institutions who have achieved much professional advancement within the university, in part because of their work with these SE programmes. At one level, the elevation of these individuals accelerated the spread of the influence of the SE programmes as these adaptive agents were in positions of greater visibility, influence and authority. However, implicit in the promotion of these individuals was also a subtext of changing institutional narratives which appeared to be changing to embrace ideas of SE, and so rewarding and elevating those who demonstrated these capacities and commitments—in addition to fulfilling the conventional requirements. Moreover, the programmes' capacity building of academics, students and staff to act as adaptive change agents in the wider world appears to take an increasingly institutional turn over time, wherein participants are focused not only in creating change in communities and in projects outside of the HEI, but also in changing

the university itself. They adopt a pattern of behaviour which may be characterised as "institutional citizenship," in which they actively try to co-create the university rather than accepting the university culture as static.

Subsequently, the chapter argued that as the influence of these programmes continues to spread from individual to individual, and across different levels of the institution, this provides the basis for the emergence of an alternative paradigm within the institution. When the alternative attractor regime evolving around the SE programme has enough paradigmatic coherence—viable structures, processes and standards—then a partial bifurcation occurs in which these programmes foster the development of a functional parallel culture within the institution within which faculty, staff and students can operate safely and successfully. Such bifurcation is marked by an increasing tendency toward institutional holism. At UoB, this involved a clear articulation of SE as a core principle and approach of the institution, with systematic targets and measures set for proliferating these ways of working throughout the whole of the university. At Sewanee, the process of bifurcation was not found to be as complete as at UoB, placing the institution an equilibrium of old and new attractor patterns called "bistability." However, several processes at Sewanee were seen to be increasingly crowding out the older attractor. First, a movement toward institutional holism was also at work. This involved a new systematic initiative called "living and learning communities" (LLCs) which aims to integrate academic and social life components for students on campus so as to heighten engaged and experiential ways of learning. Furthermore, at Sewanee there was also found an increasingly strategic effort, comprised of faculty, staff and students working collectively, to drive institutional changes which would shift policies for the whole of the university. Within this effort was identified another discreet project to shape the composition of future incoming classes by actively promoting engaged approaches to prospective students so as to increase and leverage student demand on the institution. The goal of these efforts is to mainstream these engaged ways of working across the whole university system, thus completing the institution's bifurcation toward a culture of SE.

Thus, the chapter has found that the SE programmes are indeed catalysing systemic outcomes in the learning cultures of their institutions by building the capacity of

adaptive agents to work collectively, and at increasingly senior levels, for institutional change. Moreover, as the ways of working of these programmes are embedded into the strategic plans of the institutions, the institutions move toward cultural bifurcation. Where such bifurcations remain incomplete, the agents supportive of these ways of working continue strategically to change the internal context of the institution so as to further this shift toward a new institutional attractor/culture.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This concluding chapter begins by returning to the initial research questions this thesis aimed to address. The key empirical findings pertaining to the three questions are summarised, namely specific understandings about how SE programmes are created and how they are capable of catalysing systemic outcomes throughout their institutions. These original empirical findings are then utilised to expand upon the concept of a "systemic institutional pedagogy of social change" (SIPSC) introduced in Chapter 2. The difference in the nomenclature of these programmes is briefly analysed as to its influence on the development and agenda-setting of the programmes. Several limitations of the research methodology are identified as to their influence on the empirical findings.

The chapter then evaluates the conceptual framework used in the research. The key concepts and attributes of the framework are reviewed and then analysed as to their utility in helping to illuminate the institutional change processes which contributed to the documented outcomes of the SE programmes. The enablers identified in the conceptual chapters are briefly reviewed and compared against the anticipated enablers posited in the generative fieldwork tool described in Chapter 3. The enablers are then categorised into four areas and a final conceptual model extrapolated from these categories. Lastly the chapter returns to the background literature in which this research is grounded, suggesting several possible implications of this study for these bodies of research and how this area of enquiry might be carried forward in the future.

Original Empirical Findings

This research has aimed to answer questions which emerged from an intensive investigation of literature in the field of SE by HEIs. Gaps in the literature regarding the institutionalisation of such programmes were noted, leading to the development of three research questions:

1. What are the institutional factors that enable SE programmes to develop and become embedded within their HEIs?

2. To what extent—if at all—do the presence of these SE programmes catalyse outcomes within their institutions pertaining to teaching, pedagogy and research? If such outcomes are discovered, what are the processes and mechanisms that enabled these outcomes?

3. To what extent—if at all—do the presence of these programmes catalyse outcomes related to the overall "learning culture" within their institutions? If such outcomes are discovered, what are the processes and mechanisms that enabled these outcomes?

Table 6: Review of Research Questions

This research has helped to shed light on all of these questions. In regards to the first question, new SE programmes emerge under a combination of conditions. First, the data indicates the programmes require a strong champion at the top of the institution to make a space within the HEI for practices that are new and innovative. Although institutional leaders may have limited engagement after the start-up phase, their involvement gives permission for the institution and its employees to try practices that are different and potentially risky. Such programmes also appear successful when there is a convergence of energies around local happenings and discourses in the wider society. As such, the programme needs to be connected to a wider movement and societal conversation which exists beyond the university. Moreover, because such programmes usually indicate an attempt by the HEI to depart from "business as unusual," the staffing of such programmes is found to be essential. If the new programme's staff and ways of working are indistinguishable from other groups in the university, then it may not gain momentum inside the institution. Conversely, staff members that bring something different produce a programme that works differently and becomes distinctive within the HEI. In particular, staff that have backgrounds in community/voluntary sector work were found to be very effective in these roles because of their ability to act as "boundary spanners" between the university and the community. Furthermore, this study finds that knowledge of the history and context of a university and its community

is essential to the successful development of SE programmes. Awareness of past interactions between the university and community is also key to initiating new relationships through such programmes. Although these findings regarding context are somewhat self-evident, the implications are challenging. Because SE programmes should be uniquely tailored to match the institutional environment and the community context, there are no such things as replicable models or "best practices" which can be imported from other programmes elsewhere. Each programme should fit the idiosyncrasies of its context. Furthermore, the complexity of working across the boundaries of the university into the community requires that programmes be adaptive, particularly early on. Such programmes cannot be designed in advance. They emerge from practice, with the actual shape of the programme emerging from actual processes of engagement. In this way the programme evolves to fit its unique context. Again, there can be no master plan or blueprint. The programme takes form organically through building relationships and by evolving mutually beneficial processes for community and university participants.

Regarding the second research question, the cases presented substantial evidence that the programmes studied did catalyse outcomes pertaining to the curricula, pedagogies and research-related activities of their universities. In all of the HEIs, these programmes have contributed to the development of new modules which incorporate engagement components. The programmes were particularly vital to the functioning of such modules, as they frequently had the contacts and networks outside of the university that were necessary to develop these new offerings. In one of the cases, not only modules but an entirely new MA course had grown out the activities of the programme. Moreover, the programmes also contributed to the development of new pedagogical practices at their institutions. This was particularly true with regard to reflective pedagogies. The modules which grew out of these SE programmes often involved students examining their roles as actors in community and SC processes. As such, these modules were more focused on experience than on content. The pedagogical intent of many of the modules was then around helping students to reflect on their experiences and to better understand and develop their capacities to contribute to change through changes in their own actions and practices. Pedagogically many of the modules catalysed by these programmes were also found to be highly participatory and dialogical, as the reflective dimensions resulted in an elevation of student knowledge

and experience as a key component of the content. High student demand for such pedagogical approaches also led to the uptake of reflective methods into already existing courses, thus widening the influence of the programmes even further. These processes were also seen to have contributed to specific qualitative influences on the curriculum. In particular, the modules catalysed by these programmes tended to be highly interdisciplinary, in terms of the content and also in terms of collaborations of the teaching staff involved. Further, the modules connected to these programmes generally focused on local community issues, involving field placements, AR and other forms of engagement. As a result the programmes helped to increase the relevance of the university curriculum to the local context. Parallel outcomes were also found at the research level, where many academics, through their engagement with these SE programmes, became interested in local issues, either switching their research agendas to focus on issues closer to home, or finding creative ways to bring local situations into dialogue with their wider research themes. As this localising shift in the university's research agenda became more widespread, institutional practices were seen to shift regarding research ethics. In particular, these changes acknowledged that collaborative research partnerships could be empowering to participants and that more space needed to be made to acknowledge non-academic participants in the research process. The ethics guidelines shifted to recognise the responsibility of engaging with communities as a collective body, rather than just as individuals from within a community.

Regarding the third research question, these cases produced data which indicated that such programmes can catalyse systemic outcomes in the learning cultures of their home institutions. As such the narrative, policies and ethos of the institutions were seen to shift somewhat as a result of the influence of the work of these SE programmes. This occurred on the one hand by fostering a reconceptualisation of the role and function of the university and on the other by influencing the student experience for those attending the university. In the first instance, the programmes were found to catalyse a systemic shift in these institutions' relationships with their communities. As a result, the spatial dimensions of the university had altered, with the boundaries of these HEIs becoming more permeable, such that community members were more welcomed onto the university campus in various ways and were encouraged to see the university as an accessible resource for the community. Moreover, the programmes were found to influence institutional discourse, becoming embedded in the language and narratives of

institutional strategic plans. Thus the ways of working of these programmes were institutionalised as strategic priorities for their HEIs, particularly with UoB and IDS. Beyond such shifts in policy and buildings/facilities usage, these programmes were also seen to influence the experience of students substantially. As mentioned above, the programmes contributed to the development of new modules which encouraged student engagement with the local community. However, these programmes were also found to become pervasive forces in the university environment outside of the classroom as well. Particularly at Sewanee, the programme was found to have deeply embedded itself in the campus social life of the university through working in partnership with different departments within the HEI which oversaw the residential and student activities components of the campus. Moreover, the research identified intentional efforts to bring the academic and social components of the university together around an agenda of greater engagement and reflection.

No Longer Seeking: The Idea of a SIPSC Revisited in Light of the Research
In the outcomes catalysed by these SE programmes, I have found much illumination regarding the concept of a "systemic institutional pedagogy of social change" (SIPSC), which is mentioned in the title of this thesis. In Chapter 2, I described the concept as an educational synthesis of content and of process, at the curricular and institutional level. However, I also acknowledged that this concept was largely hypothetical and provisional. I described it as a "generative idea" that I hoped this research would help me to develop, to build up with some specific meaning, in terms of content and processes. The research findings, I believe, have helped to clarify this concept and to give it substance.

This research has revealed some very tangible, constitutive elements of such a systemic institutional pedagogy: modules which involve experiential learning, reflective pedagogies and interdisciplinary approaches; a holistic student-life environment which constantly raises and debates complex social challenges and intentionally develops students' capacities as agents of change; faculty who teach and research from a place of deep personal values and meaning; an institution which is permeable and empowering in its community relationships, which uses participatory processes to shape and reshape its institutional strategies and narrative. However, the research also makes clear that each HEI will evolve novel practices, influenced by institutional history and context,

and that no two SIPSCs will be alike. Nonetheless, these findings illuminate the underlying processes and values which effectively catalyse the emergence of a SIPSC: a desire among academics to teach, research and act in congruence with their deepest personal and professional values; an openness to surfacing and debating incongruence between expressed institutional values and actual practices; a drive among those within the university to organise with colleagues to push step-by-step toward a more just and life-affirming practice of HE which empowers, challenges and nurtures those within the institution, and also those in the university's wider community; and an actualised belief and institutional commitment that seeking justice and social change is indeed "part of what a university is for." This fleshed-out understanding of the SIPSC concept, which synthesises both the empirical and conceptual findings from this study, is a significant outcome of this research in its own right, which may be of use to HEIs in a wide variety of contexts.

The nature of this research—its appreciative inquiry approach and it emphasis on seeking enabling processes—has led to findings that are upbeat in their tone, as many successes have been achieved by these programmes. Many of the challenges and difficulties faced by these programmes and their participants must be found by "reading between the lines." Such challenges have been well documented in other literature on CE and community-university partnerships. On the whole, it is the disablers which are more often discussed. Although the thesis can seem to paint a rosy picture of accomplishment for these programmes, the realities are much more complex and nuanced. All of the programmes have faced strong resistance from the dominant institutional paradigm, enduring aggressive challenges about the intellectual and financial merit of these practices. These programmes have been assaulted as anti-academic and financially burdensome to their institutions, accused of drawing resources and academics away from more profitable endeavours. As well, the programmes have attempted, with varying levels of success, to navigate the delicate partnership dance which occurs when universities engage with outside actors, particularly those in the community and voluntary sector. There are persistent issues of power and resource inequality which make such relationships fragile and subject to constant renegotiation. The programmes researched in this study have struggled with these issues just as other such programmes have, and they continue to do so.

Such challenges will be part of the reality and substance of a SIPSC as well. There are no "institutional nirvanas" where are all parts of the institution are congruent with its expressed ideals, nor should a university be so ideologically narrow that it does not have deep, challenging conversations internally about its own mission and purpose in society. Socially engaged HEIs build the capacities of their students to make change in the world by providing them with structured opportunities to do so, but sometimes their students' capacity is built equally well when the institution offers resistance. If there were no changes left for students to fight for within the university itself, no spaces in which to act as "institutional citizens," then a great element of the SIPSC itself would be lost.

A Brief Note on the Nomenclature of These Programmes

The parallel outcomes illuminated in this research across the three SE programmes suggest that the initial nomenclature of these programmes had little long-term influence on the way in which the programmes contributed to change within their home institutions. Earlier in this study the issue was raised that the programmes might be limited in their actions by assumptions built into the discourses which named and framed the programmes. This does not seem to have been the case, however. No matter their typology—as programmes for outreach, CE or SC—eventually the programmes were able to develop networks and learning practices which allowed them to extend beyond their initial conceptual and structural boxes. These labels were ultimately unrestrictive in the long-term because the programmes drew collaborators of all types. As highly visible rallying points for an alternative, axiologically-driven paradigm of HE which challenged the detached, positivistic ethos of mainstream academia and the revenue-seeking forces of HE marketisation, these programmes developed networks which included academics of many shades, some with non-politicised views of CE and others with more Freirian and SC-driven understandings of their work. All, however, were looking for a viable vehicle to challenge the institutional status quo and other forces which, directly or indirectly, impeded their aspirations of being engaged in creative and socially meaningful teaching and research. Thus the structures and strategic networks that evolved from the work of these programmes were composed of a wide range of actors and viewpoints whose diverse influences augmented the programme staff's understanding of their work and allowed the programmes to evolve and to transcend their initial labelling.

Limitations of the Research

No piece of research achieves all of its objectives. Limited resources, time and access constrain the research process and create boundaries for what can be practicably achieved. Several such limitations are worth noting in regard to this study.

This research would have likely been strengthened by including a case study from the global South, as significant contextual differences from the UK and US may have resulted in an SE programme with very different practices and interactions with its home HEI. As was detailed in Chapter 3, Southern cases were envisioned in the early phases of the research planning, but as the research design began to take more definite form, Southern cases became impracticable. Moreover, they were largely outside of the scope of the existing literature in the field. As a result, the three Northern case studies in this study were agreed upon as those mostly likely to generate the detailed data which would illuminate the thesis' research questions.

Although the focus of this research looks inward at the institutional outcomes of these programmes rather than outward to community outcomes, the research process still involved members of the communities with which these programmes engage—except in the case of the MAP programme. Given the global nature of MAP's "community" it was practically impossible to engage with the organisations and communities from which the MAP students hail and return to conduct their AR projects. Thus, there is a missing dimension to that case study that could not be avoided given constraints of access to these distant, dispersed locations and groups.

Another limitation—or perhaps more accurately, a trade-off—of the research was the use of appreciative inquiry.[280] By focusing on the successes of these three SE programmes, I believe that I was able to gain much greater access to these institutions and actors at all levels than if I had taken a more critical approach. The attribution of comments to actual informants throughout this work is unusual, but indicates the transparent, participatory nature of this research process. It demonstrates the high levels of trust and access that I, as a researcher, was granted. During interviews, institutional challenges and negative experiences were brought forward not infrequently. In keeping with Grant and Humphries' concept of a "critical" AI (2006)(see Chapter 3), I did not

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[280] See Chapter 3 and Annex 3 for more on appreciative inquiry.

suppress these discussions of problems or challenges facing the programmes. As opportunities to reflect on their SE work were rare, research participants often exhibited a strong urge to express their frustrations straightaway. However, such problems did not become the focus of the conversation. Indeed, having got such frustrations "off of their chests," participants were then more inclined to think about alternatives and potential for action which lay beyond the limited number of paths that they perceived as being consistently blocked.

I acknowledge, however, that this appreciative approach may create what appears to be an overly optimistic portrait of the experiences of these programmes. Nonetheless, AI has enabled this study to identify quite specific ways in which these programmes have made strides in building ties with the community, by staffing the programmes with community actors, by involving community-partners in research dissemination and conferences, etc. These practices are outcomes born of past challenges which have been addressed with some success. Indeed, part of the success of these programmes could also be attributed to their having faced intense challenges within their institutions and within their communities which have forced the programmes to learn, adapt and innovate in order to survive. Every enabler is preceded by a disabler. To name them both, however, is a much longer thesis.

Conceptual Findings

A Review of the Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this research has utilised concepts from the fields of systems thinking and complexity within a context of institutional learning and development. Systems and complexity are premised on holism. They emphasise analyses of a complete system rather than focusing intensively on a single part. Instead, these fields argue for an epistemological shift from examination of parts to an examination of process and interactions which create a whole system. This perceptual shift is based on the concept of "emergence," in that the whole has properties which are not found in the constitutive parts. Another key element of the systemic worldview is nonlinearity, in that causality is not always direct or proportional. Various interacting processes may create outcomes which may not be easily attributable to the source, as there may be large separations of time and space between cause and effect, or intermediary parts of the systems which may serve as conduits and amplifiers for

certain forces, creating ripple effects while obscuring the initial source of the influence. Such perspectives have led to the development of new methods such as "outcome mapping" which look for indirect and unintended outcomes that may be catalysed by the actions of organisations attempting to create change in complex systems. Nonlinearity and outcome mapping have been intrinsic elements of the analytical framework for this research. Rather than looking for only direct cause-and-effect related to these SE programmes, this conceptual perspective shaped the research into a holistic investigation of systemic outcomes catalysed by the programmes.

Several other key systems/complexity concepts have been heavily utilised in analysing the data from these case studies:

- *Prochronistic change*—systems are a product of their history and carry with them path-dependencies
- *Adaptive Agents*—social systems are not mechanistic and predictable because they are populated by autonomous actors who consciously work to reshape the system
- *Attractors*—underlying patterns of ordered activity within the seemingly chaotic behaviours of a system
- *Bifurcation Point*—point in time when a system suddenly moves from one attractor pattern to another
- *Fractals*—patterning in which the part and whole share characteristics

The utility of this conceptual framework is considered below.

Seeing Through Systems and Complexity

The use of systems and complexity thinking as the conceptual framework for this paper has been both exciting and challenging. My colleagues and supervisors were excited by these concepts as well because they offered new and potentially powerful lenses for looking at processes of organizational and social change. Within the wider field of development studies, there has been a great deal of recent interest in these concepts, for helping practitioners and researchers to grasp the complex processes and interactions which facilitate social and economic development.

Nonetheless, utilising any new tool involves a learning curve as one experiments with how to apply it effectively. Because these concepts are often used as generative and metaphorical "think tools" rather than as analytical frames, it was difficult to find practical examples from which to drawn guidance.[281] Moreover, factional tensions between (hard and soft) systems thinkers and complexity theorists have created divergent understandings of what certain concepts mean and how they should be applied. However, one of the strengths of systems and complexity thinking lies in its "methodological pluralism" (Midgley 2000). As such, there are many different and equally valid ways to link together these concepts and methods to fit the idiosyncrasies of the enquiry.

At a practical level, these ideas were quite influential and enabling during the formative period of my research and during my fieldwork. They provided a new epistemic lens through which to view these SE programmes. Perhaps most importantly, they caused me to move away from linear notions of causality. These concepts challenged me to construct a holistic enquiry that looked at the mutual interactions and influences between the programmes and their wider institutions. As a result, my way of measuring the success of these programmes shifted, opening new ways of seeing which led me to take on research questions regarding systemic outcomes rather than simple, linear programmatic outcomes of growth in programme size/budget. Indeed, before I began to think in terms of the programmes' systemic influences, I was hesitant to have Cupp as a case study because it was so much larger in terms of staff size and budget than Outreach or MAP. However, when viewed through a systemic lens, which looks for patterns in organisational development and institutional influence, these dissimilar cases began to evidence similar trajectories and outcomes. This systemic analysis resulted in insightful and coherent data about the research questions, despite differences in scale and form of the case study programmes. For example, although MAP was the only one of the programmes created with an explicitly curricular mandate, in practice all three of the SE programmes actually catalysed substantial curricular outcomes within their institutions. By opening the boundaries of the systems analysis to look beyond just formal

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[281] Some of the most cutting edge work with complexity concepts is being done by private consultancy firms who consider their methods/tools proprietary and the outputs of their work the property of the companies for which they have worked, thus decreasing the availability some of these newer materials.

components and responsibilities of the programmes, new insights were generated and unforeseen parallels across the three cases were identified.

 In carrying out my fieldwork, these systems/complexity concepts proved to be very enlivening and thought-provoking for participants in my research workshops and interviews, many of whom found that these concepts provided new and encouraging ways to perceive and visualise the outcomes of their efforts. Systems and complexity concepts very much shaped the direction of the interviews and the workshops. Without an awareness of the concept of prochronistic change, I would have spent very little time looking at events which occurred prior to the formation of the SE programmes. Again most methods of evaluation would not have suggested looking at the formation of the programmes to be analysed or the early history of the organisations within which they were embedded, yet doing so produced important data which helped to explain in part why the programmes were received the way they were by their home institutions.

Likewise the linking of concepts fractals and attractors helped to bring coherence to the way the programmes' "boundary partners" within the HEIs replicated methods and themes that they had been exposed to through their time-limited engagements with the SE programmes. Again, to have interviewed only the staff of the programmes or other institutional actors with current projects/relationships with the SE programmes would have been to miss the way these non-programme actors continued to reflect and evolve these ways of working within their own spheres of influence within the university. Informed by these systems/complexity insights, my interviews and workshops included a much broader swath of institutional, student and community actors than I might have involved otherwise, including many with past relationships with the three programmes.

In the analytical and writing-up phases of the research, however, these concepts proved challenging to utilise initially. The holistic orientation which had been so effective in generating data during the fieldwork became an impediment as I began the analysis. I initially organised the data using narrative analysis, which complexity thinkers such as Snowden (2001) advocate, in an attempt to maintain the holistic approach. However, this proved to be an ineffective way to compress the data given the word-limited parameters of the DPhil thesis. I then shifted to other methods which have been derived from systems and complexity thinking, such as outcome mapping and dependency

mapping. These provided more analytically rigorous tools for reducing the data within a broader process of deductive thematic analysis.

Another challenge of these concepts is that they are so interdependent. It is difficult to make a single concept from systems or complexity to stand on its own. They are coherent and functional only as a group of interrelated concepts. Nonetheless, the individual concepts are so dense, particularly given their origins in mathematics and physics, that to put forward more than a few of them tends to be overwhelming and distracting from the line of argument. In the end I settled for using a limited number of these interconnected concepts and for putting their detailed explanations quite near the empirical data so that readers could easily make the connections between the concepts and the analysis.

Importantly, as I worked with these concepts, I came to understand that they could be interpreted differently depending on the contexts in which they are applied. The definitions reviewed above are the original scientific descriptions of the concepts, particularly, in reference to concepts such as fractals, attractors and bifurcation. However, for application in an organisational learning and development context, such definitions needed to be augmented to reflect a more specific and pragmatic usage of these terms, while still imbuing them with their larger scientific significance. As such,

- A fractal becomes a set of characteristics of a specific institutional paradigm.

- An attractor becomes a paradigm within an institution.

- Bifurcation becomes a systemic shift from one institutional paradigm to another.

These three concepts, expressed in these terms, very much sum up the stories of the SE programmes in this research. New fractal patterns were introduced into the HEIs through the programmes. Through action learning and emergent practice, the programmes constructed an alternative paradigm by creating a coherent repertoire of activities, methods and values which become an attractor within the institution. As the fractal pattern of the paradigm was replicated in other parts of the organisation, the attractor grew, as in Argyris and Schön's original description of organisational learning:

> An organization is like an organism each of whose cells contains a particular, partial, changing image of itself in relation to the whole. And like such an organism, the organization's practice stems from those very images (Argyris and Schön 1978, 16).

As more and more individuals replicated the ways of working of the new attractor, the alternative paradigm became widely accepted, moving the institution toward bifurcation, toward a paradigm shift. Given the prochronistic nature of institutions, however, the alternative paradigm rarely eradicates the previous dominant paradigm, so the organisation exists in a state of bistability, under the mutual influence of competing paradigms.

When utilised in this manner, systems and complexity concepts need not be enigmatic or nebulous. They can be applied very pragmatically to illuminate how shifts in culture in human systems can occur. They can be used to analyse paradigm shifts in the way that other concepts have been used for the same purpose. The value-added of these concepts, however, is in the way that they reveal the processes of change that underlie these shifts. By drawing specific parallels with natural systems, systems/complexity concepts provide understandings of change processes which are more intuitive because of their parallels with biological processes. Rather than a process of "social engineering," these concepts reveal that SC is much more of an organic process, impossible to control, unpredictable in its specificity, yet possible to stimulate with small interventions which may result in much more substantive systemic shifts through fractal replication.

Despite the various challenges this framework presented, it demonstrates that these concepts do indeed have potential for wider usage in trying to understand and catalyse change in complex human systems at a variety of levels.

Learning About Power Relations Through Systems and Complexity
The systems/complexity analysis in this thesis revealed specific ways in which the SE programmes have influenced the culture and practice of their HEIs. Complexity writers such as Stacy (2003) would argue that in altering these institutional patterns and behaviours, power relations were simultaneously shifted in the universities. In fact, the

findings of the study resonate well with poststructuralist, Foucauldian conceptions of power as described in Chapter 2. From such a perspective, power within a system or institution is understood to be continually in flux, with changes in relationships and processes in one part of the system opening up spaces for new actions and opportunities in a different part of the system.

Although the poststructuralist view of power is most commonly associated with Foucault, other power theorists have further developed this body of ideas. This study finds particular resonance with the work of Hayward (2000) who conceptualises power in terms of human social networks and access to specific networks. For Hayward, agency and freedom arise not through the absence of/escape from, power relationships, but through the ability to reshape barriers by changing and influencing the social relationships, norms and practices which constrain action.

> I argue that students of power relationships should conceptualise freedom as *political freedom*: a social capacity that enables actors, not to transcend or escape power relations, but to participate effectively in shaping and re-shaping relationships (Hayward 2000, 31).

Hayward's understanding of power links well with the experience of the SE programmes as documented in Chapters 5 and 6. The influence of these programmes within their institutions grew as their network of collaborators grew within their respective HEIs. As more actors at various levels of the institutions became allied with the SE programmes, formally and informally through shared ways of working, the programmes were able to leverage change inside the institutions, or were simply able carve out sufficient "spaces of opportunity" (Burns 2007, 37) where alternative practices involving engagement were accepted, encouraged and rewarded. This understanding of power through networks which shape the spaces for action also fits well with the complexity perspective, in that it is impossible to consider oneself as apart from the wider system (Stacey 2003; Burns 2007). Indeed, the institutional actors involved in these programmes could not break free of the power relations within their organisations.

> Although people can act individually and collectively in ways that affect the boundaries defining for them the field of what is possible, these

> boundaries remain the condition for action in the social world (Hayward 31).

As such the success of the SE programmes is in transforming relationships, practices and discourses while remaining embedded in the system itself, thus leading to wider systemic cultural change over time.

These findings, generated through a systemic inquiry, which link well to established power theory, demonstrate that systems/complexity concepts are capable of supporting an analysis of organisational power relations.

A Review of the Enabling Factors

Within the journey from fractal to attractor to bistability/bifurcation, there were many intermediary mechanisms and processes which helped to introduce and distribute the ways of working of these SE programmes across the wider institutional system. Systems and complexity concepts provided tools for sorting the data, revealing these processes which facilitated the dissemination of these practices and catalysed the outcomes documented in the empirical findings section of this chapter.

The table below reviews the fifteen key factors that the research revealed as contributing to the success and institutional embeddedness of these programmes.

Chapter 4 Enablers: SE Programme Creation

1. *Institutional History, Identity and Narrative*—the past shapes the present but identity and narratives can introduce new aspirations
2. *Context*—both the local context and wider policy contexts feed into new programmes
3. *Institutional Leadership*—new programmes need a powerful champion near the top of the HEI
4. *Staffing*—the staff of the programme should bring new characteristics into the institution
5. *Action Learning*—the programmes should act quickly and define themselves in the doing

Chapter 5 Enablers: Curricular Outcomes

1. *Visibility*—the "storefront" effect, such that programmes should be highly visible and accessible
2. *Student Demand*—student energy is a primary driver in the expansion of programmatic influence
3. *Institutional Structures*—developing structures for learning and sharing spreads these new ways of working
4. *Professional fulfillment*—academics researching and teaching in congruence with their deepest values and aspirations
5. *Role Models*—cultivating visible advocates and projects beyond the programme to inspire others to participate
6. *Resources*—providing generative resources such as money and contacts to stimulate new projects

Chapter 6 Enablers: Learning Culture Outcomes

1. *Institutional Advancement of Key Programme Actors*—increases the leverage of the programme
2. *Institutional Citizenship*—the capacity of participants to act as change agents within the institution
3. *Institutional Holism*—creating an increasingly coherent learning environment which recognizes learning beyond the classroom
4. *Collective Action*—coordinating, strategic efforts to disseminate the new ways of working across the HEI

Table 7: Review of Institutional Enablers from Chapters 4, 5 and 6

Table 8: Anticipated Enablers and Actual Enablers

Anticipated factors from the generative fieldwork tool		*Factors emerging from the the research data*
Institutional History of Research	→	Institutional History,
Institutional History of Teaching		Identity and Narrative
Institutional History of Service		
Local context	→	Context (local and policy)
		Leadership
		Action Learning
		Staffing
		Visibility
		Student Demand
Institutional Processes	→	Institutional Holism
Institutional Structures	→	Programmatic Structures
Financial Incentives	→	Resources (various forms)
		Role Models
Personal Initiative + Risk	→	Institutional Citizenship
Professional Achievement	→	Professional Fulfillment
		Advancement of Key Actors
Relationships	→	Collective Action

This table shows the relationship between the anticipated factors described in the generative tool which was used during the fieldwork, in interviews and workshops (see Chapter 3), and the actual factors which emerged from the analysis of the empirical data. In some instances the data revealed entirely new factors which were key to the success of the programme, at other times the data help to refine and clarify factors from the earlier, generative tool.

Looking across these fifteen enablers, it is easy to see clear linkages between certain factors. Clustering these factors into thematic groups helps to simplify the list and illuminates four overarching areas which contribute to the creation and embeddedness of these SE programmes: context, leadership, processes and institutional linkages. The following diagram shows the enabling factors distributed into these four areas. Moreover, each area is linked with an associated concept from the systems/complexity framework which helped to illuminate each particular grouping of enablers.

Prochronism

Context
- Institutional History, Identity and Narrative
- Context (Local and Policy)

- Visibility
- Student Demand
- Structures
- Holism

Institutional Linkages

Attractor

Emergence

SE Programme

Processes
- Action Learning
- Professional Fulfillment
- Role Models
- Providing Resources
- Collective Action

Leadership
- Institutional Leadership
- Staffing
- Advancement of Key Actors
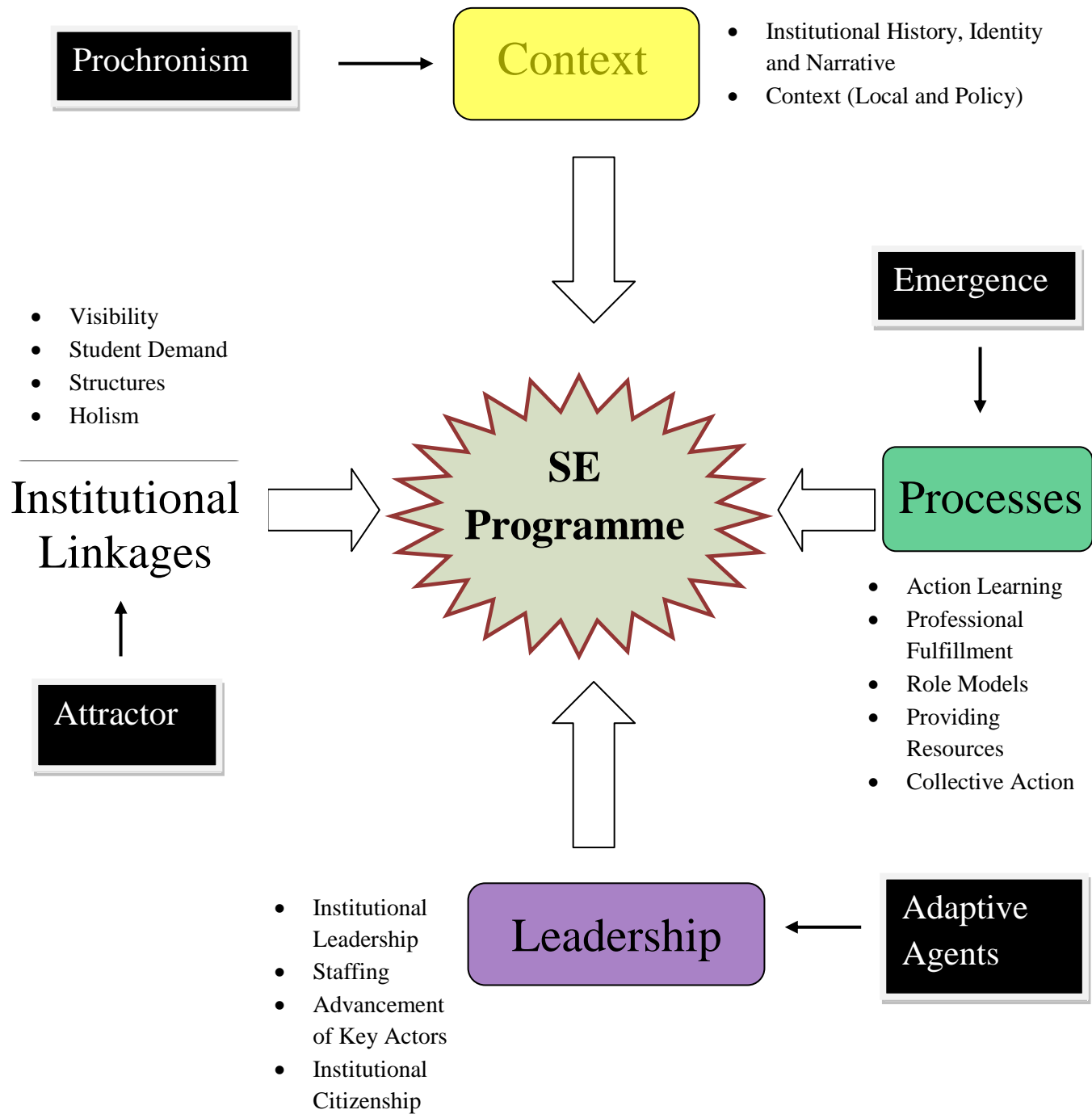- Institutional Citizenship

Adaptive Agents

Figure 8: The Four Prime Enabling Forces for SE Programmes

Implications and Ways Forward

There are several significant implications that can be drawn from this research. As reported in Chapter 2, a limited body of literature on the institutionalization of SE programmes exists, much of it written by university presidents who have pushed their universities toward greater engagement from the top down. This is not unlike what was found to have happened early on in the SE programmes in this thesis. However, in this study, the data suggests that the long-term processes of institutionalisation of such programmes happened without strong centralized leadership. Further case studies may reveal similar patterns at other HEIs, such that top-level leadership is necessary to jump start new SE programmes but that their long-term success is dependent on other forms of mid-level, "follow-through" leadership which arises from the programmes themselves and from the network of actors who engage with them.

Likewise, the empirical findings from Chapters 5 and 6—which strongly suggest that these programmes catalyse many outcomes *within* their own institutions—are worth exploring at other HEIs. If similar outcomes are discovered at other universities, this would confirm an important "value-added" of these kinds of programmes that has not been previously noted in the literature. If this is indeed the case more widely, then SE programmes should be recognised not only as important assets for their communities, but also as assets for the institutions that house them.

More broadly, this research has illuminated processes of change within HEIs. Despite being a centre of production for much research on organizational learning and development, HEIs themselves have rarely been a focus of such research. Given the almost continual pressure now placed on universities to change, innovate and compete, having a deeper understanding how such processes occur is vital knowledge for those working within HE, as well as for policymakers on the outside looking to stimulate sectoral change. This research has been particularly illuminative in revealing how university cultures disseminate new ideas and practices.

The processes of institutional change revealed through this research may also have relevance in organisational contexts beyond universities. The findings suggest that

individuals and programmes within institutions are capable of generating significant institutional influence, although traditional evaluation methods often do not perceive these outcomes. Thus methods from this study, such as outcome mapping, are important for creating a new lens for documenting and analysing institutional changes which are generally viewed as random or unintentional. Numerous small changes in attitudes and behaviours, when analysed collectively, may suggest patterns of systemic change within institutions. Likewise, the specific enablers deduced from this study may also provide a useful map of institutional "high leverage points" (Senge 2006) which have the potential to generate nonlinear change which is disproportional to the amount of energy applied to the system at these particular points, like a rudder turning a boat. Thus these enablers may prove an important resource for those looking to alter institutional environments where their views are marginalised or are perceived as hostile by the current power holders of the organisation.

This study has also contributed the use of systems and complexity concepts within organisational learning and development contexts. The conceptual framework and methodology of this research could prove a useful supplement to the existing methods for measuring and benchmarking SE in HEIs. Although SE programmes are often called upon to audit their work in the community, less attention is given to how these programmes are influencing the HEI itself. Although some quantitative measures are made to assess levels of engagement, less effort is made to assess shifts in institutional processes or cultural changes which may accompany the proliferation of engaged ways of working. The systems/complexity-derived methods used in this research provide the means for a holistic analysis which surfaces wider trends in the culture and functioning of a university system.

The concepts utilised in the thesis have also shown promise for making change processes more intelligible at a systemic level. The successful use of systems and complexity concepts in this thesis, to map long-term cultural change in HEIs, may also suggest new ways for strategically influencing change processes in even larger and more decentralized human systems. By further developing these concepts and the methods which apply them, future research into processes of systemic change has the potential to undertake much more ambitious goals beyond the institutional, such as

improved understandings of societal learning and social change at community and perhaps even national levels.

The thesis has contributed to increased insights for how SE programmes are created within universities and how they subsequently influence their home institutions in unexpected, nonlinear ways. Furthermore, by illuminating the processes which have enabled these programmes to create such unanticipated institutional outcomes, the thesis has also contributed to a better understanding of how change happens inside HEIs. As such, this research has produced original findings which will help to build the new field of knowledge which is emerging around the social responsibility and commitment of HEIs to human development and social change.

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Annex 1: Contributors to the Research

This study would not have succeeded without the help of numerous colleagues who were willing to be interviewed for this research. As a small sign of my appreciation, I would like to mention them here by name.

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Annex 2: Further Background on Outcome Mapping

As the principles of Outcome Mapping (OM) have been influential in the formulation and analysis of this thesis, I have elected to include a slightly more extensive explanation of this method than space allowed for within the main body of the thesis.

Although OM has been modified and utilised by development organisations around the world, its origins lie with the Evaluation Unit of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Ottawa, Canada. IDRC is primarily a donor organisation. As such, it rarely carries out development projects directly, but awards grants to researchers to carry out studies or funding to locally-based development organisations to implement projects of various kinds. Because IDRC works mostly through intermediary partners to carry out its projects, it has had difficulty assessing the impact of its programmes; there were always many actors and factors which intermediated the effects of any project, thus making direct empirical claims of causality between a project and its perceived impacts murky.

Drawing on systems thinking, IDRC's evaluation unit developed OM as a way of looking at the influence of its projects on the groups and individuals with which it worked directly, usually the programme staff and other local actors directly engaged in carrying out a project. Thus, instead of assessing changes in the conditions of programme beneficiaries, as would a logical framework evaluation, OM looks for changes in the behaviours in the intermediary actors with whom IDRC is in direct contact. Because these intermediaries are active at the boundary between IDRC's exogenous efforts and the realities of the local environment, these actors are described in OM terminology as "boundary partners." OM also tracks changes in the functioning of the Centre's programme itself. By combining this emphasis on changes in boundary actors and the emphasis on organisational change, I used OM in this thesis to locate changes in individual behaviour and practice (Chapter 5) and changes in the function of the HEI (Chapter 6).

Several aspects of OM made it a suitable methodological approach for this thesis. While designed for development contexts, OM is useful for any organisation which is seeking to generate change in a given environment, thus making it relevant to university SE programmes. Moreover, as Patton points out, OM "supports learning as a primary

outcome of development programme evaluation" (2001, xiii). This fit well with the action research and appreciative inquiry dimensions of the research, in that OM would help provide new insights for the SE programmes which I was researching. Like development organisations, university SE programmes generally look for impacts on their beneficiary/target groups, paying rather less attention to how their work is affecting their project partners with whom they carry out their work. As OM's authors note, the emphasis of the analysis is thus shifted to "improving rather than proving, on understanding rather than reporting" (Earl *et al.* 2001).

Beyond shifting the focus of the enquiry to a different set of actors, the systems/complexity underpinnings of OM also opened up new spaces for potential learning/knowledge for the SE programmes through my research. OM takes into account the systems/complexity thinking concept of emergence. The practical application of emergence is anticipation of the unexpected, and thus the need for adaptability. While a strict OM approach involves the setting of many explicit goals in advance for desired changes in behaviour of boundary partners, including benchmarks for progress toward these new ways of working, OM also builds in learning mechanisms which allow for the integration of new outcomes and influences which were not envisioned at the outset of the project. As such, certain indicators within the evaluation may be dropped in mid-project and others added if interesting, unanticipated changes are detected in certain domains of the project. As Earl *et al.* note, this provides room to understand better "how and why" changes are occurring rather than simply documenting results (2001, 6).

In terms of this study, the augmentation of the analysis to look for unanticipated outcomes catalysed by the SE programmes was intrinsic to the direction of the research. These SE programmes were not tasked with spurring curricular and institutional innovations at their HEIs, thus these achievements were not heavily emphasised in their self-evaluations. More so than MAP or Outreach, Cupp did envision itself as a force for institutional change from the start, but even at UoB institutional audits of CE were generally focused on measurable outputs and impacts rather than on changes in behaviour or the development of new practices. Thus OM, with its openness to emergent outcomes, allowed for a more reflexive enquiry into the influence of the SE programmes within the HEIs themselves, including changes in the perspectives of academics, staff and students.

OM also takes into account a complexity perspective on time. Rather than assumptions of linear causality, OM takes a perspective of nonlinearity, wherein cause and effect are understood at times to be distantly separated in space and time (Scharmer 2009). A practical application of this perspective is that it acknowledges that many outcomes of a project may occur after the project has officially concluded. Thus, influence is understood as a much longer term process than direct impact. For my enquiry into the university SE programmes, this aspect shifted the analysis from reviewing only current projects and current boundary partners to also looking at individuals who had engaged with these programmes in the past. While their formal interaction with the SE programme might have long since concluded, the analysis looked for changes in their ways of working long term within their own sphere of influence within the HEI.

Also related to this complexity conception of time, OM acknowledges the influence of prochronistic forces on a programme. At the beginning of a formal OM process, project participants conduct a historical scan to "review the program's history, its achievements, and the events and issues that have influenced its development to date" (Earl *et al.* 2001, 24). As in my research workshops, the initial OM workshop begins with a participatory timeline activity to surface these past issues and developmental factors.

As with other methods used in this study, such as single and double-loop learning, OM has been tailored to fit the specific context of my research. In strict applications of OM, the project vision and desired changes in behaviour are worked out in advance of the project's start, then tracked over the lifecycle of the project. As the authors of OM note, however, these methods can also be adapted as a post-project tool as well, looking at past work, which has the case of its application in this research.

Citations for Annex 2

Earl, S., Carden, F. & Smutylo, T. (2001) <u>Outcome Mapping: Building Learning and Reflection into Development Programs</u>. Ottawa, IDRC.

Patton, M. Q. (2001) "Forward" in Earl, S., Carden, F. & Smutylo, T. (2001) <u>Outcome Mapping: Building Learning and Reflection into Development Programs</u>. Ottawa, IDRC.

Scharmer, O. (2009) <u>Theory U: Leading from the Future as It Emerges</u>. San Francisco, Berrett-Koehler.

Annex 3: Further Background on Appreciative Inquiry

As the principles of Appreciative Inquiry (AI) have been influential in the formulation and methodological design of this research, I have elected to include a slightly more extensive explanation of this method than space allowed for within the main body of the thesis.

AI is a recognised methodological approach for organisational change management. It was first developed in the late 1980s and has become widely used in the past decade. This approach has its origins in the private business sector and has been used by large corporations such as British Airways, John Deere, and Verizon. However it has also been utilised by change-oriented development organisations such as Save the Children, World Vision and the United Nations.

The basic premise of AI, *vís a vís* other approaches for organisational change, is a shift in the focus the enquiry from organisational problems to organisational strengths. In keeping with Stacy's complexity perspective on organisations, in which he argues that organisations are basically ongoing conversations (2000), the originators of AI take a similar constructivist view of organisations, positing that what employees think and talk about most is what they create as a company/organisation. Cooperrider and Whitney write, "Human organisations grow in the direction of their deepest and most frequent inquiries" (2005, 21). As such, they argue that standard approaches to generating change, because of their emphasis on what is wrong or broken in an institutional context, actually exacerbate a deficit mentality and discourse within the organisation.

Instead, AI is a participatory process which begins with widespread workshopping and interviews which ask participants to discuss what they feel the organisation does well and to explain what aspects of the organisational culture they value, enjoy and take pride in. From these "discovery" workshops and interviews, the perceived "core strengths" of the organisation are extrapolated. As the AI process continues, participants are asked to imagine what the organisation would be like if these strengths were magnified. These aspirations of a company/organisation expanding upon its core competencies are eventually turned into concrete strategic plans which become the future goals of the organisation at the end of the formal AI process.

Proponents of AI emphasise the axiological underpinnings of the approach, rather than seeing it as a methodological format which must be followed strictly. Accordingly "each AI process is homegrown, designed to meet the unique challenges of the company or industry involved" (Cooperrider and Whitney 2005, 15). Likewise, my application of AI has been tailored to fit the specific context of my research. However, the core principles which give AI its identity were retained. Among these principles are a need for positivity, imagination, and an openness to the concept that organisations are dynamic, rather than static, and thus is "co-created" (48) by the knowledge and experience of its employees. AI also emphasizes the principle of "simultaneity," which like action research, argues that the process of enquiry is intrinsically part of the change process, not a separate event (50); therefore, the AI process should embody the changes the institution hopes to generate. Indeed, Bushe described AI as the more important advancement in action research in a decade (2001).

As described in Chapter 3, AI was appealing as an approach for this research for several reasons. First, it fit well with the organisational learning concepts upon which the generative and analytical frameworks for the study were constructed. It emphasised the sharing of knowledge and experience across the whole of the organisational system and in an empowering manner which argues for the levelling of institutional hierarchies and the strengthening of human relationships across the institution as a part of the process itself.

This aspect of AI very much informed the research workshops in my study. While these workshops were at one level an opportunity for me to discuss my research questions with interview participants in a group format, the workshops also provided an opportunity to strengthen and generate new relationships between actors involved with the SE programmes. As Cooperrider and Whitney write,

> What effect is my question having on our lives together? Is it helping to generate conversations about the good, the better, the possible? Is it strengthening our relationships? (2005, 51).

As one might expect at UoB, my workshop brought together academics from across the university who shared a common thread of being involved in Cupp, but, in many instances, had never met each other. As these were largely academics outside of the Senior Researchers Group, they had few opportunities to come together with other academics interested in CE. More surprisingly, perhaps, was that new relationships

were also formed in the Sewanee workshops, where students, community-partners, and academics, all engaged in different aspects of Outreach's work, often crossed paths for the first time as well.

Whitney and Trosten-Bloom's analysis of successful AI inquiries noted that one of the underlying reasons for the success of AI appeared to be that it "interrupted a cycle of depersonalization" in which employees saw each other in terms of their institutional roles rather than as people first and foremost (2003). This was indeed found to be an effect of the Sewanee workshop, which began with a "rivers of life" exercise (Denicolo and Pope 1990) in which people mapped out their life story on a sheet of flip-chart paper using the analogy of a river to describe the major bends and rocky rapids which had profoundly influenced their lives. Even academic colleagues who had worked together for decades in a very small institutional community reported learning new things about their peers, which helped to make their colleagues' perspectives and research interests more understandable and appreciated, such as an American professor's background in Thai studies which developed from his having been stationed in Thailand for several years with the US military during the Vietnam war, or an academic with an interest in anorexia because the faculty member's child had suffered from this condition. Thus, while the AI workshops accelerated organisational learning about SE through the sharing of stories and strategies, it also strengthened the overall SE attractor within these HEIs by deepening the relationships and personal bonds between these individuals active in engagement work in the institutions and communities. In fact, some participants from the workshops have written to say that they have found these methods useful additions to their own practice as change agents. The then assistant coordinator of Outreach, who now works for the Anglican Bishop of Haiti, recently wrote:

> You were such a wonderful asset in the presence that you had during the time you were around Sewanee. I learned so much from those workshops you did. I have used your method several times since because I saw how effective it was to have people do a little introspection and then get to know each other on a deeper level before being asked to think 'outside the box' about the issues that they are all dealing with (Galbreath personal communication).[282]

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Furthermore, as a form of action research, AI provided an entry point to the HEIs and SE programmes I wished to research. Such an approach meant that the research process would intrinsically attempt to contribute to the improvement of the research context. Thus, I pitched my research to the institutions and the programmes themselves as an opportunity for reflection and learning about their CE and SE capacities. In particular, the AI approach meant that my enquiry would focus on what the SE programmes were doing well, helping them to identify their strengths, and through my analysis of the data, providing them with a better understanding of how they were achieving their positive outcomes, thus creating in the process a roadmap for potentially amplifying their achievements. In AI terms, this is described as an "appreciative topic choice."

This particular topic I believe helped to facilitate my access to the programmes and to actors at different levels of the institution and community. As Cooperrider and Whitney suggest, more critical methods of enquiry often generate defensiveness among participants, which may impede access to deeper understandings and interrupt the flow of new ideas (2005). Although AI has been criticised for side-stepping institutional problems, as Earl *at al* point out from their experience as evaluation specialists at IDRC, change-oriented organisations "are often more critical of themselves than an external evaluator would be" (2001, 81). As such this enquiry provided an opportunity for the SE programmes to concentrate on their strengths and shift their perceptual lens away from seeing the challenges and blockages in their institutions, to looking for mechanisms and strategies which had successfully enabled them to catalyse institutional change previously, particularly in areas of the university where their influence was nonlinear, such as through the changes in behaviour of "boundary partners" and in the emergence of new institutional practices. Thus, while the direction of the research workshops and interviews were partially aspirational, these aspirations "of the future emerged out of *grounded* examples of the organisation's past" (Cooperrider and Whitney 2005, 29, italics original).

Citations for Annex 3

Bushe, G.R. (2001) <u>Clear Leadership</u>. Palo Alto, Davis-Black.

Cooperrider, D. & Whitney, D. (2005) <u>Appreciative Inquiry: A Positive Revolution in Change</u>.   San Francisco, Berrett-Koehler.

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