The civic university and the leadership of place

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Abstract

The paper discusses the drivers and barriers behind university engagement in city and regional development and the role of leadership in building bridges between the university and civil society in a particular place. It draws upon ongoing OECD reviews of the role of universities in city and regional development which have highlighted the leadership challenge for both universities and regions if effective collaboration is to be established. These challenges are viewed in the context of debates about the role and purpose of public universities and parallel calls for a more holistic approach to territorial development and for place based leadership. The two debates are brought together in the concept of the 'civic university' and the themes illustrated by evidence gathered from research to scope a universities and civic leadership development programme undertaken in the cities of Bristol, Newcastle and Sheffield.

Introduction

The contemporary meaning of being 'an urban university rather than just a university built in a city' (Goodall, 1970) is ambiguous. Is the university **in** the city or part **of** the city? This is a question often asked by policy makers. In this chapter we make the case for the civic university working with others in the leadership of the city in order to ensure that its universities are both globally competitive and locally engaged.

The ambiguity about the university and the city is reflected in the existence of two separate knowledge communities. The first backs into **the university** from a city and regional development perspective and the second backs into **the city** from a focus on the university as an institution. Each of these has its own 'community of practise' linked to the knowledge base and enshrined in two separate domains of government- education and territorial development. From an urban and regional policy perspective the university is sometimes seen as providing the answer to all manner of urban ills from a shortage of jobs through to the inclusion of marginalised communities into the socio-economic mainstream. From a higher education policy perspective engagement with a city can provide an outward and visible sign of the university's contribution to civil society. But there are potential tensions here between internationally acknowledged academic excellence and societal accessibility to knowledge that urban engagement implies.

We suggest here that the concept of the civic university can provide a bridge between the internal and external drivers on higher education. However building this bridge poses leaderships challenge both within the city and within the university and between the two. We illustrate these challenges with reference to experience in the UK and the US and our own work on the design of a universities and civic leadership development programme for English cities and their universities.

Historical context

Thomas Bender, in his 1988 book The University and the City: From Medival Origins to the Present provides fascinating evidence on how universities became embedded in the cultural, economic life and built environments in cities around the world. (Bender 1988). The universities established in British provisional cities like Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield and Newcastle were created to support 19th century industrialisation and are a classic example of civic institutions. These universities not only provided support for the newly emerging industries in the form of scientific advice and skilled labour but also through their medical schools contributed to raising the health of the population. They also played a leading role in the public sphere by participating in debate about literary, philosophical and scientific subjects. The incorporation of universities into national higher education systems and the related institutionalisation of academic disciplines contributed to a disconnection of universities from the places in which they were located. The continuing decline of state funding, the increasing

marketisation of higher education, and a corporate model of governance have arguably further driven universities and cities apart. On the basis of an analysis of the concentration of scientific publications and citations in cities the prestigious science journal Nature in an editorial has asked: 'why do so many scientists ignore the needs of our cities? … Researchers who benefit from opportunities in the cities should ask what can they give back.' (Nature 2010). This is a clear recognition of the disconnect between the academic community and cities where they work.

Re-uniting the city and the university: The territorial development drivers and barriers

From a policy perspective OECD has argued that reuniting cities and regions with their universities requires a better understanding of the drivers and barriers to engagement operating in each domain. (OECD 2007; Goddard and Puukka 2008). From a territorial developments perspective universities have come into play in the context of a discourse centred on building knowledge economies at the local level. (see Harloe and Perry, 2004; Harding et al., 2007; Goddard and Vallance, 2010). Knowledge that originates from universities and 'spills-over' to nearby firms is seen as a key factor in the development of urban or regional clusters in high-technology sectors (Cooke, 2002). Within both academic and policy circles, attention has shifted to supporting the institutional base of a territory that can support collective learning and innovation in the economy as a whole (e.g. see Lundvall, 1992; Storper, 1997; Cooke and Morgan, 1998). This focus has been reinforced by the strengthening of a parallel policy discourse around the notion that cities and regions themselves compete with each other as relatively coherent economic units (Begg, 1999; Sheppard, 2000; Bristow, 2005), and that the basis of this competitiveness in advanced economies is increasingly related to the capacity of supporting ongoing innovation (Amin, 1999).

Various recent strands of thinking in the academic literature have, however, started to move away from the narrowness of the understanding of regional development based on economic innovation and competitiveness alone, and towards more multifaceted frameworks that embrace dimensions such as social equality and cohesion, democratic participation, and environmental or economic sustainability alongside economic prosperity (e.g. Morgan, 2004; Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2005; Pike et al., 2007; Hudson, 2010). For Pike et al. (2007) these attempts to rethink underlying conceptions raise normative questions about how different possible forms of regional development, particularly those focused on promoting economic growth, have uneven social and geographical effects. In response, they call for a 'holistic, progressive, and sustainable' view of regional development that 'emphasizes the role of the state together with civil society in tackling local and regional disadvantage, inequality and poverty' (p.1263). A similarly normative position is taken by Moulaert and Nussbaumer (2005) when they outline the concept of 'social innovation' as an alternative dynamic in territorial development to technological innovation in the economy. The definition of social innovation used in this body of work is one that 'refers to those changes in agendas, agency and institutions that lead to a better inclusion of excluded groups and individuals in various spheres of society' (Moulaert et al., 2005, p.1978). Based in the context of the broader range of actors now involved in the governance of cities, the development of these new forms of non-market and community-based social organisation are seen to arise primarily from the sphere of local civil

society and not the state (also see Gerometta et al., 2005; Moulaert et al., 2007). Hence, the city is seen as a constitutive element of this innovation process, but primarily as a site of community, governance, and social reproduction, rather than of economic production (Moulaert et al., 2005, p.1971). These critiques also accord with wider arguments that the current emphasis on developing knowledge-based economies is often disconnected, or even in tension, with the social development concerns of cities and regions (see Chapain and Lee, 2009).

These loosely-connected endeavours to put underlying conceptions of territorial development on a new footing have thus far not encompassed discussion of how universities fit into these more holistic viewpoints. On one level, the inherent diversity of expertise residing in HEIs indicates that their potential significance as agents of local development cannot be simply reduced to that of catalyst for knowledge-based economic growth. Different parts of academia are active in shaping the various spheres of development mentioned above (e.g. sustainability, social welfare and services, the arts and culture) whether through research, professional training, or their intellectual contribution to informing public policy and political debate.

Re-uniting the university and the city: Higher education drivers and barriers

Recent thinking on the university as an institution in civil society have suggested that there is scope to move this broader civic role more centrally to its mission and identity (Goddard, 2009). For instance, in his 2001 book entitled Challenging Knowledge: The University and the Knowledge Society, Delanty (2001, p.102) argues that widely discussed collaborative notions of knowledge production (e.g. Gibbons et al., 1994) are overly based on a "client model of the user" (p.102), and that these societal transformations present opportunities for universities to engage a broader constituency of civil society in the process (also Nowotny et al., 2001). Delanty suggests that:

> The crucial issue … [is] whether the embracing of the user will allow technological innovation to be shaped by the demands of citizenship. For this to be possible, the university will have to be a forum for users drawn from not only industry but from other domains in society. The university is the institution in society most capable of linking the requirements of industry, technology and market forces with the demands of citizenship. Given the enormous dependence of these forces on university based experts, the university is in fact in a position of strength, not of weakness. While it is true that the new production of knowledge is dominated by the instrumentalization of knowledge and that as a result the traditional role of the university has been undermined, it is now in a position to serve social goals more fully than previously when other goals were more prominent. (Delanty, 2001, p.113).

Against the largely optimistic view of the opportunities for civic engagement, there are equally institutional and cultural barriers within higher education systems that can prevent universities from being oriented towards these social goals, especially as they pertain specifically to local development. A recent essay by sociologist Craig Calhoun (2006) outlines these issues in reference to major structural tensions that universities in advanced economies now face. He

argues that recent transformations have pushed universities to a point where they struggle to accommodate their diverging institutional responsibilities of producing knowledge that is "both applicable in deterministic ways and valuable for informing personal and public choice", whilst also maintaining both excellence (associated with exclusivity and the specialisation of research) and public accessibility in the production and dissemination of this knowledge (pp.18-19). For Calhoun the current situation is one in which the balance is too much in favour of the 'excellence' side of the dichotomy with accessibility, primarily because "research and the rewards for research are deeply tied up with the production of an academic hierarchy – not just with the advance of knowledge for all" (p.31).

Reconciling excellence and accessibility: The Civic University in the UK and the Land Grant University in the US

Both the UK and the US have long established institutions that historically combine academic excellence and public service. As already noted many of the UK's great universities were created in the 19th century to meet the needs of growing manufacturing cities. Local entrepreneurs responded to the needs for scientific knowledge and a healthy and skilled work force by funding universities. During the second half of the 20th century, central government increased control of higher education through public funding, cities de-industrialised, and many of these earlier foundations turned their backs on the cities in which they were based. Increased public funding for research followed narrowly defined academic criteria and higher education was rolled out across the nation to fill in the map of teaching and learning with a diverse set of institutions. Now nearly all UK cities have one or more universities.

Elsewhere we have argued that now is the time to re-invent the notion of the broadly based civic university that served the UK so well in the 19th century but now set in the context of a more globalised economy and society.(Goddard 2009). We suggest that such a university should :

Provide opportunities for the society of which it is part (individual learners, businesses, public institutions).
Engage as a whole not piecemeal with its surroundings.
Partner with other local universities and colleges.
Be managed in a way that facilitates institutional wide engagement with the city and region of which it forms part.
Operate on a global scale but use its location to form its identity.

> By way of example Box 1 provides evidence of the views of two Vice Chancellors regarding the civic role of Birmingham and Newcastle University respectively.

In pursuit of its mission to be a 'World Class Civic University', Newcastle is seeking to mobilise its intellectual resources around a number of grand societal challenge themes which have global and local resonance. In partnership with the City it has established the Newcastle Institute for Research on Sustainability which aims ' to bring people together throughout the university and the wider community to develop sustainable responses to the great challenge of our age: ensuring everyone has access to a fair share of the world's resources in perpetuity' Key themes are: urban living; low carbon energy and transport; food security; water management and clean manufacturing. Another theme is that of an ageing population. The University's Institute for Ageing and Health brings together basic, clinical, social computer scientists to address: how and why we age; the treatment of age associated diseases and disabilities; the support of through life health, well being and independence. It uses research, training, public engagement and

commercialisation to fulfil its mission. Examples of its public engagement activities are given in Box 2.

Box 1: Birmingham and Newcastle Universities

The vision of the founders of much of our higher education system, who sought to enable "the advancement of learning and enablement of life", still provides us with a significant challenge to date these are aspiration which are enshrined I the charters of universities in many of our towns and cities and provide us with a benchmark for assessing the extent to which today's institutions match these ideals. These founders were particularly interested in universities civilising influences and how they could boost economies and transform people within their communities and beyond. "

David Eastwood, Vice Chancellor University of Birmingham

Source: Goddard (2009) p.7

"The combination of being globally competitive and regionally rooted underpins our vision for the future. We've seen ourselves not only as doing high quality academic work... but also choosing to work in areas responsive to large scale societal needs and demands, particularly those manifested in our own city and region."

Chris Brink, Vice Chancellor Newcastle University

Source: Newcastle University (2010) p

While Newcastle University badges itself as a "World Class Civic University", the UKs fourth ranking institution University College London sees itself as "London's Global University". Its Provost has identified four grand societal challenge themes that the university will address – sustainable cities, human wellbeing, global health and inter-cultural interactions. These are informed by UCL's commitment to contribute to "The Wisdom Economy" defined as "the application of knowledge for the good of humanity" (See box 3). In each of these cases it is clear that the universities are moving beyond research for its own sake and beginning to address the public value issues that should underpin such endeavours.

Box 2: Newcastle Charter for Changing Age

- Increased life spans represent one of humanity's greatest achievements
- Increasing life expectancy is an economic good
- Ageing concerns us all
- Each individual has an equal place in our society regardless of age
- Much better information about older people is needed
- Older people are an under-acknowledged asset
- We need to use and expand our scientific knowledge about ageing
- We need urgently adapt infrastructure for an ageing population

Source: http://www.ncl.ac.uk/iah/

Box 3: VOICENorth

- A means to engage with a wide, representative range of people public concerns and and their communities and to consult with them on key issues around ageing and demographic change
- Identifying public concerns and providing real opportunities for lay people to become involved in shaping the future research and policy making
- 3,000 people reflecting the age structure, geographical and socio-economic make up of the North East of England

Source: http://www.ncl.ac.uk/iah/

Box 4: University College London: The Wisdom Economy

- Wisdom – here defined as the judicious application of knowledge for the good of humanity – is the key to providing solutions to aspects of these global problems. Wisdom is the outcome of bringing together different and differing perspectives to address issues in their full complexity.
- Working in partnership with government, commerce and society, the best universities can propose robust solutions to the problems articulated by those groups.
- Only universities with excellence across the disciplines, a critical mass of expertise and a commitment to impact can respond with wisdom on the scale and with the speed required by current crises.
- Establishing a culture of wisdom therefore requires transformative action:

  -respecting specialist knowledge, while dismantling the barriers to its cross-fertilisation

  -supporting the synthesis of new knowledge both within and across fields and disciplines

  -facilitating collective, collaborative working practices in order to gain fresh perspectives and, ultimately, wisdom

  -establishing and advocating policy and practice based upon the wise counsel so developed.

Source: www.ucl.ac.uk/public-policy

Notwithstanding differences in scale a similar narrative of local engagement, disengagement and re-engagement exists with respect to American land grant universities. These were established under the principles laid down in the Morril Act of 1862 with enabled the creation of universities to serve the agricultural and subsequently industrial development needs of individual states. But as in the UK during the latter part of the 20th century many urban universities lost sight of their urban roots in the quest for academic status. Thus the president of Arizona state university, Michael Crow, has noted:

> "Institutional inertia is nowhere more evident than in the academic valorisation of increasingly specialised knowledge. In our effort to produce abstract knowledge without regard for its impact, many universities have lost sight of the fact that they are also institutions with the capacity to create products and processes and ideas for entrepreneurial potential... Through some elitist logic, the concept of entrepreneurship has been eradicated from institutions of higher education in the United States. "
>
> (Crow 2008)

In a similar vein the seniorvice president of Oklahoma State University Robert Sternberg has written:

> "Land grant institutions, contrary to some popular belief, are not really about agricultural development, but rather, about changing the world in a positive, meaningful and enduring way. ...What is important in a land grant institution is developing future ethical leaders who will enrich their communities and their societies... these institutions are about admitting people who will make the difference to the state and the society".
>
> (Sternberg 2010)

Sternberg contrasts the land grant universities to the elite institution where there is a "kind of curious disconnection between the university and society. In a land grant institution traditional scholarly endeavour still matters, but work that gives back to society receives special plaudits. It thus becomes easier for state legislatures and the people of the state to see why research is important to them, not merely to the advancement of individual researcher's scholarly careers" (Sternburg , op.cit).

These views of institutional leaders are reflected in the pronouncements of representative bodies such as The National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges whose Kellogg Commission report on the future of these institutions is entitled "Returning to our roots: The Engaged Institution". The Commission agues that the engaged institution must accomplish at least three things:

It must be organised to respond to the needs of today's students and tomorrows, not yesterdays.

It must enrich student's experiences by bringing research and engagement into the curriculum and offering practical opportunities for students to prepare for the world they will enter.

It must put its critical resources (knowledge and expertise) to work on the problems the communities it serves face.

The Association's Council on Engagement and Outreach has drawn up a set of principles for these institutions as set out in Box 5. Most significantly it has urged its members to "Step Forward as Stewards of Place." It argues that the publicly engaged institution should be fully committed to direct, two way interaction with communities and other external constituencies through the development, exchange, and application of knowledge, information and expertise for mutual benefit. (See Box 6).

Box 5: US Association of Public and Land Grant Universities: Returning to our roots – the engaged institution

- Engagement brings the University's intellectual resources to bear on societal needs.
- Engagement is a form of scholarship that cuts across teaching, research and service.
- Engagement implies reciprocity, whereby the institutions and partners in the community both benefit and contribute.
- Engagement blends scientific knowledge from the university with experiential knowledge within the community to establish an environment of co-learning.
- Engagement involves shared decision-making.
- Engagement is a practice that enables faculties to be better scholars; enhances the learning experience for students; and multiplies the institution's impact on external constituencies.
- Engagement is actively listening to all stakeholders that reflect the diversity of our communities – especially those stakeholders who have not been engaged before.
- A university is engaged when stakeholders see the institution as the 'resource of choice' when dealing with an issue or problem
- Engagement documents and evaluates its effectiveness through traditional measures of academic excellence.
- The quality of engagement is tied to public accountability and is measured by impact and outcomes on the communities and individuals it serves.

Source: NASLUGC (1999)

Box 6: Stepping forward as Stewards of Place

Place-Related. While the demands of the economy and society have forced institutions to be nationally and globally aware, the fact remains that state colleges and universities are inextricably linked with the communities and regions in which they are located. Exercising "stewardship of place" does not mean limiting the institution's worldview; rather, it means pursuing that worldview in a way that has meaning to the institution's neighbors, who can be its most consistent and reliable advocates.

Interactive. The etymology of the word "engage" speaks to the intertwining or meshing of entities. In this context, engagement refers to a spirit of give and take by the university and its partners. For institutions, this means occupying the role of learner as well as teacher. For community and regional partners, this means looking to the university as a resource, not necessarily as "the answer."

Mutually Beneficial. Engagement should inure to the benefit of both parties involved. These initiatives should expand the learning and discovery functions of the institutions while enhancing community capacity to address and resolve the issues they confront. The work of the engaged institution is to be responsive to public needs in ways that are appropriate to the institution's mission and academic strengths. Engagement initiatives should also build greater public understanding of and support for the role of the campus as a knowledge asset and resource.

Integrated. At a campus level, engagement must permeate all levels of the institution, and be integrated into its policies, incentive structures, and priorities. At a departmental level, engagement cuts across the imperatives of teaching and scholarship to bring unparalleled opportunities for the entire campus community — faculty, staff, and students.

Source: AASCU (2002)

Michigan State University, the first Land Grant University to be established exemplifiers many of these principles. (see Goddard 2009). The University Office of Outreach and Engagement is the central resource dedicated to developing connections and partnerships with external audiences. Often, this is helping staff to develop collaborative community-based applied research and evaluation, or provide technical assistance and consulting. Many staff are supported to extend their teaching to engage with non-traditional students at off-campus sites or by technology-delivered distance education, in many forms of continuing professional development. Lots of academics provide clinical services. Many teachers use community based learning experiences as part of their courses. Others have developed and managed learning environments and exhibitions. Currently, MSU has around 70 community based projects and has 170 partnerships in more than 50 countries. It also collaborates with two other regional universities in a research corridor. There are outreach and engagement projects in many civic areas: research and practical initiatives in urban regeneration and re-designing communities; cleaning polluted groundwater with schools; developing literacy; meeting the nursing shortage and helping to rebuild Rwanda. The Office also plays a central role in regional economic partnerships, such as Leap Inc, providing companies with easy access to the range of Michigan's capital, locations, people, university and industry partnerships, in tandem with servcies to accelerate business opportunities/development. This helps diversify the regional economy, attract investment and create jobs.

The Leadership Challenge

The ongoing programme of OECD reviews of higher education in city and regional development have highlighted the leadership challenge of working across the boundary between universities and civil society. All too often city leaders do not understand the drivers behind higher education, particularly the tension between academic excellence and public engagement. For them the university can be a 'black box' with mysterious ways of working. Equally for many in the academy the drivers behind city development and the responsibilities of many public authorities are opaque. However common ground may emerge around the idea that the university and the public and private sectors can come together around 'the leadership of place'. There is a growing body of academic literature on the role of leadership in shaping the integrated development of places – cities and neighbourhoods within cities. According to Gibney et. al. (2009) this 'new' leadership of place is concerned with "facilitating interdisciplinary working across institutional boundaries, technology themes, sub-territories and professional cultures to promote the development of sustainable local economies (and) ensuring the comprehensive engagement of local communities so that they can contribute to and fully benefit from the outcomes (avoiding the dangers of exacerbating social polarisation). Collinge and Gibney (2010) suggest that new complexities are being encountered by leaders working outside their own organisation. "Leaders find themselves representing places rather than organisations; there are more uncertainties to be accommodated as outcomes are difficult to pin down and there are more unknowns; leaders are increasingly required to lead initiatives without formal power but with responsibility; they must accommodate the views of organisations, groups and communities historically excluded (consider for example the engagement of social enterprises with the knowledge economy)" (p.386)

Where do universities and their relationship to place fit into this picture? Hambleton has argued that "universities, provided they see themselves as civic or engaged institutions can make a significant contribution not just to innovation (broadly defined) but also to the development of place based leadership" (Hambleton, 2009). However a recent survey of leaders in six universities and their civic counterparts in three UK cities (Bristol, Newcastle and Sheffield) has found many barriers in the way.(Goddard et.al 2010). (Boxes 6 & 7)

Box 7: Obstacles and challenges faced by university leaders in working with external bodies.

- Universities' stretched resources place limits on the degree to which they can get involved in a range of external projects.
- 'Civic partnership' is not itself part of their core business, but only a means to other ends, and hence there are few people within universities whose main role and responsibilities are to support these relationships. Many of the activities that fall underneath the label civic partnerships are cross-subsidised from other funding sources, and therefore may not be financially sustainable in times of reduced resources.
- The multitude of organisations that are involved in the political and economic governance of cities and regions in the UK creates challenges of understanding the "local political-organisational map" and knowing who are the most important partners with which universities need to work. The way this varies across geographic and administrative boundaries can be a source of further complexity.
- Universities are not institutions located directly within the local political sphere, and are therefore unable to exert significant influence here.
- Instability and changes in the leadership of local politics can make it hard for university leaders to build strong relationships with city councils.
- External organisations in the private and third (voluntary) sectors may have a poor perception of universities as being unreliable, inefficient, or overly self-interested, and are therefore discouraged from working with them. Alternatively, many external bodies may still perceive universities as solely inward-focused teaching and research organisations, and therefore are not aware of the opportunities working with them offers.
- It is sometimes difficult for universities to know whether their civic engagement activities are having an impact, particularly in the long-term.
- A lack of demand or absorptive capacity for the knowledge that universities could supply. For instance, only a small proportion of SMEs would actually benefit from academic research outputs.

Source: Goddard et.al 2010.

Box 8: Obstacles and challenges faced by civic leaders working with universities

- There seems to be a persistent gap between the strategic and operational levels of universities, or between the higher management and rest of the organisation. Some respondents placed this disconnect as high up in the organisation as starting below the PVC level. This means that things that are agreed with the leaders of the university are often not followed up on further down the system.
- The university is not a homogeneous body: its size and diversity can make it hard for civic partners to get a single view from people there.
- Many civic partners do not know who to work with in the university below the top level. This applies to academics, meaning that large potential sources of expertise remain untapped, but also to people in the administrative or support services, where the civic leaders may not always be clear of who is responsible in areas like finance or estates.
- Many people outside universities may not understand their organisational structures and procedures well enough to be able to interact with them properly. In particular they may not be familiar with the terminology used by people within the university system to describe these structures and procedures: for instance, the differences between Vice-Chancellors, Deputy Vice-Chancellors, Pro Vice Chancellors, etc. The language or jargon used by academics more generally can also be a barrier to their effective external engagement.
- Civic partners in areas like health and business sometimes find that universities work slowly in comparison to them and often do not have the same level of urgency in responding to opportunities or following up on agreements. Some felt that university procedures could also be overly-bureaucratic on occasions.
- The burdens of incentives and targets in the university system occupy gifted academics, meaning they do not have the spare time outside their main responsibilities to pursue other external engagement activities or interests. For some academics these systemic constraints will discourage them from taking risks by seeking to work across the boundaries of academia.

Source: Goddard et.al 2010.

It is possible to identify two relatively distinct forms of leadership that are required to overcome these obstacles. First, the internal leadership of large organisations (principally universities) so that they can become more externally engaged. Second, leadership within city partnerships that require the collaboration of multiple organisational stakeholders. These two forms of leadership have different challenges attached to them and require different approaches. University and non-university leaders have a role in promoting enterprising or boundary-crossing behaviour within their organisations by recognising the potential of outstanding individuals with the ability to make wider connections, and then supporting, protecting and valuing them. People with the personal attributes and sense of purpose to assume a leading or mobilising role can emerge

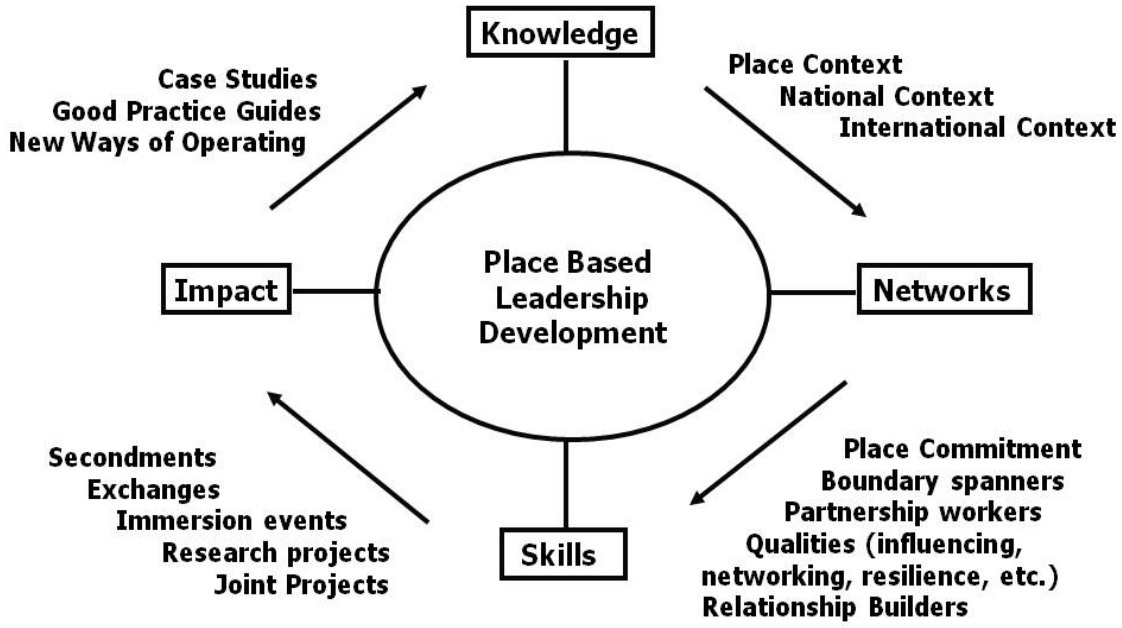
from levels further down the organisational hierarchy, but they need to be supported by upper management and their endeavours aligned with the strategic priorities of the institution. Hence, vice chancellors, chief executives and other equivalent organisational leaders have a vital role in clearly setting out and promoting the civic agenda within their organisation. One Vice Chancellor described this in terms of *"articulating that you're interested where the city's going [and] permeating that sense of availability and openness down the organisation"*. This function of leadership is of particular importance in universities in helping to overcome the disconnect between strategic and operational levels. The creation of new positions dedicated to civic engagement is one option but this may have limited impact if they are not linked to wider cultural or systemic change within the institutions. Efforts should rather focus on building the principal of valuing outreach or engagement or knowledge exchange activities into core university structures like promotion pathways or workload models. However, these external engagement activities should not be compulsory for all academics, as when a person unsuited to this type of role is pushed into a leadership position it is more likely to have a negative effect on the institution's external relationships and reputation.

Turning to inter-organisational partnerships these are distinguished by people being as committed to the mutual benefits it will bring to the city as they are to the interests of their own organisation. These civic partnerships should be relatively independent of the transactional relationships that exist between organisations, (for instance between city councils and universities on estate matters), so that tensions or disagreements that inevitably arise on these fronts do not spill over to negatively affect overall relationships and be detrimental to the city as a whole. This should, therefore, allow leadership of these partnerships to focus on the joint benefits they can bring to their city through real change, instead of preserving the status quo relationships and "not falling out". As with leadership within organisations good civic leadership, whether from the city council or other possible spheres, requires being able to effectively articulate the future direction of the city's development. A process of agreeing and clearly setting out this vision in strategic plan documents, so that all stakeholders are aligned behind the partnership, can see their role, and will be committed to delivering is required. This also indicates the mutual responsibility and trust that these civic relationships entail: if individual or group leaders fail to deliver themselves it destroys confidence and trust within the wider partnership. The form of collaborative or distributed leadership that characterises good civic partnerships does not just involve key individuals, but also works through the type of intermediary partnership organisation mentioned above. Because these organisations normally have only very limited resources themselves, their style of leadership must necessarily be facilitative and understated, concentrating on mobilising and aligning key public and private organisations within their city to achieve their goals.

The analysis above points to the need for developing leaders from the city and its universities to enhance their skills in working together on key challenges facing the city – to lead the city not just lead in the city. To kick start this process leaders from the university and the city need to come together and identify a key challenge such as removing barriers to social mobility or

developing a sustainable city and then hand over to an operational group of future leaders from the university and the city. A possible framework for such a development programme is described in Figure 1. A key task for the university would be to mobilise its global knowledge around the chosen theme and translate this so that it has meaning for the city. Such intellectual leadership should embrace the political, managerial and community dimensions of civic leadership. Leadership development would involve building networks between key actors, locally, nationally and internationally, and developing skills in partnership working through joint projects and benchmarking against best practise elsewhere.

Figure 1: Universities and Place Based Leadership Development Programme



Leadership development programmes with their emphasis on the interpersonal skills of individuals are a necessary but not sufficient condition for creating the civic university. Formal structures within organisations and regulatory regimes can be barriers that even enterprising individuals cannot circumnavigate. Within Europe there is much discussion of the need to 'modernise' the management and governance of universities to meet the 'Grand Challenges' facing the European Union. (e.g. The Lund Dedaration, 2009). Achieving major structural changes in universities is much easier when there is some external shock to the higher education system in the form of a major change in government policy towards the sector and/or

institutional mergers lubricated by substantial additional funding. A recent example of this has been the reform of the Finnish higher education system introduced in 2010. This amongst other things facilitated the merger of three Helsinki universities – the Universities of Technology and Art and Design and the Helsinki Business School to form the Aalto University. This 'new' institution has objectives and values which clearly fit many of our criteria for a civic university – "To be a world class university combining art, technology and industrial design to stimulate innovation…(and)…to educate responsible and broad minded experts with a wide perspective to act as future visionaries in the society… (an institution) with passion to explore boundaries, freedom to be creative, courage to influence and excel, a duty to care, accept and inspire and with high ethics, openness and equality" (Pursula, 2010).

Conclusion

Universities are quintessentially urban institutions. According to the Carnegie foundation 46% of US universities are to be found in large or mid-sized cities. (Quoted in Moore et.al 2010). The world's leading city regions account for the lion's share of academic publications and citations (Matthiessen et.al 2010). In terms of spatial organisation cities are often claimed to be national and international hubs in the knowledge economy. And yet there are deep rooted forces that result in a disconnection between universities and the cities where they are located such that the presence of a university is **not** a guarantee of local economic success or a vibrant and inclusive urban community. Mobilising universities in support of city development in the round needs robust partnerships between universities and local civil society. And achieving this needs effective and distributed leadership on both sides. While some universities and city authorities are devoting resources to enhancing **internal** leadership the challenge now is to develop capacity in leadership across the boundaries between organisations. The role of universities in the 'leadership of place' can provide a powerful focus for such people development programmes.

We have suggested here that promoting the 'Civic University' as a model can contribute to breaking down the barriers between universities and cities. Such universities should not be confined to working with their immediate city but rather use the 'local' as a crucible in which to forge a more open institution able to address multi-scalar challenges like sustainable development. Such institutions would not only mobilise their research around grand challenges but also organise their teaching with a view to producing future citizens whose decisions as consumers, workers or entrepreneurs will bring about societal innovation in the broader public interest.

Across the OECD universities are facing unprecedented financial pressures to do more with less public funding. Unless universities actively seek to break down the barriers with civil society and demonstrate their contribution to the public good they can expect further reductions in tax

payer support. The urban university that wholeheartedly embraces a civic role should be well placed to resist these pressures.

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