

# **UNIVERSITY CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN FORCED MIGRATION**

**A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY ON UNIVERSITY  
SUPPORT PROGRAMS FOR MIGRANTS AND  
ASYLUM SEEKERS IN NORWAY AND THE UK**

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**University Civic Engagement in Forced  
Migration: A Comparative Case Study on  
University Support Programs for Migrants  
and Asylum Seekers in Norway and the UK**

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# Abstract

This study aims at to address the problem of understanding how the University of Oslo (UiO) and the Kings College of London (KCL) support refugees through their respective programs: the Academic Dugnad and Sanctuary. To do so, the first step was to structure a conceptual framework based on the idea that university civic engagement (UCE) can be conceptualized as a network. By using value network theory, UCE was described as a network of value exchanges that was characterized by the actors involved, engagement activities, and the different forms of value that were exchanged. That way, the involvement of universities in societal problems can be related to not only the mechanisms, through which they contribute, but also to the political economic context and the idea of refugee integration.

Qualitative research was the research method used in this study. The data was collected through document analysis and two interviews with the leaders of the programs that each university carried out. The sampling was purposive, as this study was limited to a scope focused on the decisions taken at the strategic level rather than in describing the cases from all the possible angles.

The findings of this study revealed a complex set of institutional interactions that characterized the relationship between universities and their external environment, for the case of refugee support programs. In both cases, the process of relating with society implied first and foremost the administrative and strategic efforts to link the traditional activities of the university in a useful way to the solving of the social problematic of the refugee crisis. Nevertheless, that process was always limited to certain internal values and norms, as academic research and admission to university were processes that were not used in an instrumental way. On the other hand, although both programs presented similar forms of UCE, the interactions that characterize them were conditioned by the political economic context. While in the Academic Dugnad several actors from government agencies cooperated with UiO, in the Sanctuary program the university acted rather alone, although cooperating civic organizations and other universities outside the country. The study also argues for an important role of higher education in the integration of refugees, especially in their acculturation, economic success and access to different forms of social capital.

# Dedication

This study is dedicated to my parents, María Ester Moya-Grau Dulitzky and Marco Araos Barrera, for always supporting me in every decision and adventure I have had.

To my friends and family, because I am who I am because of them.

Finally, to all the people who are part of the Master's in Higher Education program, it has been a unique and enricher experience.

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# 1 Introduction

The social role of universities has become an important issue for researchers in the field of higher education, especially considering the growing relevance of knowledge for economic and social development. The knowledge economy and society, concepts usually used to refer to such issues, have exposed universities to different pressures, pushing them to become relevant economic drivers (Välilmaa & Hoffman, 2008). Their contribution to the economy through research and teaching, both understood nowadays as determinant for labor skills and innovation, have centered the attention in higher education. But universities are no longer expected to contribute only to economic development. There are also pressures for them to become assume public responsibility, what can be observed in several European policy initiatives and declarations (Prague in 2001, Berlin in 2003, and Bergen in 2005, Convention of Recognition of Qualifications, among others) (Weber & Bergan, 2005). The link between the University and Society seems to have never been as important as today, where it is expected of higher education institutions to serve useful purposes by addressing the major issues or else becoming irrelevant and therefor unsustainable institutions (Boyer, 1990).

Civic engagement is a complex concept with many definitions in the literature (Adler & Goggin, 2005; Reuben, 2004), but what is certain is that it involves the participation of private actors, such as individual citizens or organizations, in public issues relevant for the community. However, political economic contexts differ among nations, and so might be the case for how university civic engagement expresses. The refugee crisis of 2015 has become a major issue for the region. Over a million people arrived to Europe escaping from conflict and persecution in 2015<sup>1</sup>, most of them from Syria, encouraging many civil actors to act in order to help the newcomers<sup>2</sup>. This study addressed the idea of university civic engagement, by addressing their involvement in the refugee crisis and by focusing on the interactions that characterize it, as it is a relational phenomenon. In addition, it considers that not all contexts are equal for civic engagement, as political economic differences may condition their action in different ways. Two cases of refugee programs in Norway and the UK, the Academic Dugnad at the University of Oslo and Sanctuary at the King's College of London, allow focusing on these aspects and in how they contribute to refugee integration.

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<sup>1</sup> Europe Refugee Situation UNHCR: <http://www.unhcr.org/europe-emergency.html>

<sup>2</sup> Governments and Partners UNHCR: <http://www.unhcr.org/governments-and-partners.html>

## Rationale

University civic engagement (UCE) as a concept derives from the idea of universities having a third mission, a dimension in their endeavor in which they are expected to directly connect with the external world (Laredo, 2007). In that sense, UCE considers that universities have a responsibility in collaborating for solving social problems. As Ćulum, Turk, and Ledić (2015) point, most of the literature regarding that issue is “rooted in the idea on universities being morally accountable to society in general”. In addition, the attention has mostly been set over what they can or should do based on their structural capacities (Escrigas & Lobera, 2009; Harkavy, 2006; Laredo, 2007; Macfarlane, 2005; Ostrander, 2004). Jongbloed, Enders, and Salerno (2008) had a different approach, since they set their attention on actors and power relations, although focused on the economic contribution of universities. This means that most of the attention has been set over how they can contribute to society given their structural capacities to educate and produce knowledge. Such approach does not necessarily help in understanding how university civic engagement contributes in practice or to how the environment in which they are embedded conditions their participation. In addition, assuming UCE as a contemporary trend does not consider necessarily that it may be a part of their core values and norms, something that characterizes universities as institutions

Because of this, this study proposes to apply a network approach to conceptualize university civic engagement. Doing so will allow to focus on other aspects beyond the activities that are understood as part of what it means to be a civically engaged university. A network approach focused on value exchanges sets the attention over interactions between actors, allowing the comparison of different national institutional settings. In addition, focusing on value allows including specific aspects of the relation between the integration of refugees and higher education. While universities can contribute to their resettlement, few empirical studies address how such contribution takes place in practice.

## 1.1 Background

This study will focus on the cases of Norway and England, two countries very different in terms of their economy, politics, and immigration policy, but which have received a similar number of refugees since the most critical period of the refugee crisis in 2015. The Norwegian government’s integration policy seeks to allow all residents, including refugees and asylum

seekers, to be able to utilize their skills and resources and to participate in society, preventing immigrants and their children to become an excluded community subjected to live under poverty conditions (Thorud, Haagensen, & Jølstad, 2006, pp. 49-59). Furthermore, the *introduction act* has encouraged different social actors to engage in the refugee crisis. NOKUT, to begin with, is an independent expert body, dependent of the Ministry of Education and Research of Norway, in charge of recognizing foreign higher education qualifications<sup>3</sup>. Selected municipalities and boroughs are responsible for the resettling of refugees, assigning them an advisor that helps in their integration process. Also Norwegian language training is offered at that level, according to the Norwegian language curriculum. This context of a national policy facilitates the participation of several actors, as well as an integration process that can include higher education as one of its stages. The University of Oslo (UiO), together with other higher education institutions in Norway, has developed a program to support refugees and to engage in the refugee crisis in different ways: The Academic Dugnad. The initiative contemplates the provision of relevant information for entering higher education, open lectures on relevant migration issues, and support for persecuted academics, among other activities.

In the UK, on the other hand, the Syrian Vulnerable Person Resettlement Program has focused on providing five years' humanitarian protection status for selected Syrian refugees to come to the country, working with local authorities and the voluntary sector, developing plans for a "community sponsorship" scheme<sup>4</sup>. The idea of sponsorship differs considerably from the Norwegian case. While in Norway, there is coordination among several actors in the national institutional framework, such as the ones previously mentioned, in the UK the government's focus is set on providing incentives for different actors to engage. In that context, the King's College of London (KCL) has developed the Sanctuary program. The initiative contemplates several activities that include scholarships, provision of information and of online and blended education, structuring a new research center focused in forced migration, seminars, among other activities. In Norway, universities are free and state-owned, and in the UK non-profit private organizations with tuition fees. However, both UiO and KCL are rather autonomous in terms of governance. In addition, the two universities are located in their respective capital and are considered as flagship research-intensive universities. Both

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<sup>3</sup> NOKUT: <http://www.nokut.no/en/About-NOKUT/>

<sup>4</sup> Commons Library briefing: Syrian refugee and the UK response. <http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/SN06805>

cases offer an interesting setting for studying and comparing university civic engagement in different national settings, as well as a chance to explore over how higher education can contribute in the integration of refugees in their host countries.

## 1.2 Aims

**This study will focus on:**

- Characterizing the different activities that the University of Oslo and the King's College of London have organized as a response to the Syrian refugee crisis from the perspective of university engagement and forced migration;
- Exploring the way those activities support refugees and other actors involved, from the perspective of the university leadership and/or management, by identifying different forms of value that are created and exchanged for such purposes;
- Exploring how the nature of the University as an institution and the political economic context condition the way both universities interact with society.

## 1.3 Research Questions

The starting point of this study was the idea of universities having a responsibility in engaging in social problems. On the one hand, it has been pointed out that the literature addresses such issue but in very general terms, only focusing on to what extent the structural capacities of universities can be used for such purpose. On the other hand, little attention has been given to how the national context may condition universities when addressing social problems or to how universities can contribute to the resettlement of refugees. Thus, the main research problem is formulated as follows:

*How are the University of Oslo and the King's College of London addressing to the Syrian refugee crisis in their respective countries?*

This research problem was addressed by answering three research questions. The first one has the intention of describing and characterizing the different ways through which each university is addressing the problem of the refugee crisis, and it is formulated as follows:

- 1) *How can the Academic Dugnad and the Sanctuary programs be interpreted as “university civic engagement”?*

The second research question has the objective of identifying differences in the way the programs are conceived and implemented conditioned to their national context in which the universities are embedded. The question is formulated as follows:

- 2) *How is the national context conditioning the universities behavior? What other factors conditions them in the organization and implementation of the activities?*

The third and final research question is focused on characterizing the way the activities described through the previous question contribute to the solution of the specific problem of integrating refugees by supporting them and by collaborating with other actors in society. The question is formulated as follows:

- 3) *How are these programs supporting refugees and other actors from the perspective of the university leadership?*

## **1.4 Relevance of this Study**

The significance of this study is considered as important for several reasons. The first one refers to its contribution to the debate over the social role of higher education and university civic engagement. As was mentioned before, there are not many studies focused on the connections between actors to characterize the third mission of higher education. As far as this study could cover in the literature, only Jongbloed et al. (2008) had such an approach, and its focus was not centered on university civic engagement. In addition, this study contributes as it proposes a historical perspective of the relation between universities and society, as well as a comparative approach for understanding national political economic differences for such matter.

Secondly, this study also contributes to the literature on refugees and higher education, a topic especially significant in current times. Few articles found for the purpose of this study focused on such topic (Abamosa (2015) and Gateley (2015) for example), and none of them related the integration of refugees with the third mission of higher education.

Thirdly, the study will inform the leaders at the University of Oslo and at the King's College of London about the findings, as they may look to evaluate their programs. This is useful for them but also for the refugees, as it may allow learning from the experience of the other and from the analysis of their own program.

Fourthly, it provides a conceptual framework that can be used for analyzing and enhancing the way universities engage with society in other contexts, such as innovation systems. In the immediate, it was already agreed to share the results with leaders at the University of Chile, as they seek to improve their capacity to transfer knowledge to business and industry.

## **1.5 Limitations of the Study**

With the focus set over the perspectives of the leaders of each of the two universities selected, this study is delimited itself to their views over how both programs, the Academic Dugnad and Sanctuary, are contributing to the resettlement of refugees. This have left outside relevant actors such as the refugees, governments and non-profit civic organizations, who could have contributed and in some cases contradicted the vision of the interviewees. Nevertheless, it was beyond the scope of this study to address their perceptions, as the focus was set over a strategic perspective, which implies limiting to understanding the drivers of their decision-making.

In addition, the universities chosen for this study are elite institutions that are located in the capital city of each one of the countries, London and Oslo. This also limits the study, as other type of higher education institutions and other cities may be more representative of the reality of refugees.

The approach of networks chosen for this study focuses on value exchanges to characterize the interactions that take place in the context of university engagement. This supposes a limitation, as it makes hierarchies, an important aspect of governance, to be left outside. This is why this study is limited by proposing to focus on value, because as Jongbloed et al. (2008) argued, power relations can be a determinant factor when relating with the government and other actors. For the case of Norway, this could be especially relevant as it was observed in the study that the relation with governmental actors was rather close and important. Nevertheless, this does not condition the findings and future research could include such variables.



## 1.6 Definition of the Main Terms

Some relevant terms need to be defined in order to avoid confusion while reading this thesis.

*Coordination* - advancing in their own interests in a rational way in strategic interaction with others (Hall & Soskice, 2001, pp. 6-10).

*Higher Education* – in this thesis, this term refers to the system in which higher learning is provided and that gathers together different actors, rules and norms. The actors include universities and universities colleges as providers of education, while the system may also include regulatory bodies and agencies.

*Higher Education Institutions* – this term refers to the providers of education that form part of a higher education system. This includes universities and universities colleges.

*Integration of refugees* – the process of social and economic inclusion of refugees in their host country (Adamuti-Trache, 2013).

*Institutional Complementary* – the process through which one institution –such as higher education- complements another by improving its efficiency and efficacy (Hall & Soskice, 2001).

*Institutional positioning* – the process through which higher education institution seek to position themselves in the higher education system in which they embedded by locating themselves in a specific niche (Fumasoli & Huisman, 2013), such as university civic engagement.

*Market-based coordination* – coordination achieved by using market based mechanisms, such as competitive funding schemes.

*Refugee* – as a way of simplifying the reading of this thesis, the concept of refugee will be used to understand both, asylum seekers and refugees. While the first ones refer to those who seek international protection in other countries, because generally they are under persecution, refugees refer to persons who have already been granted a residence permit in a host country.

*Strategic coordination* – coordination achieved through non-market mechanisms, such as deliberative instances, like a meeting with several actors that allows consensus.

## 1.7 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided in seven chapters which address different topics but that also relate with one another in some way.

*Chapter Two – Literature review.* This chapter presents a review of the literature regarding different topics that were considered as relevant for understanding university civic engagement as a network. First, it begins by reviewing the third mission and university civic engagement concepts present in the literature. Secondly, it reviews the idea of value and of value networks. Thirdly, it reviews literature regarding how to apply the concepts of value in different political economic settings. Finally, it reviews literature that relates refugee resettlement to higher education, and integrates those ideas to the concept of value.

*Chapter Three – Conceptual framework.* This chapter discusses the conceptual framework and how it will be used to characterize the activities in the Academic Dugnad and Sanctuary programs as value exchange networks.

*Chapter Four – Methodology.* This chapter discusses and describes the methodological approach chosen for this study as well as the arguments for its selection. This includes research design, sampling, data collection and analysis, ethical consideration, validity and reliability and limitations of the methodology.

*Chapter Five – Analyzing University Civic Engagement.* This chapter presents the analysis of the different activities that were identified as part of the Academic Dugnad and Sanctuary program, as well as a value network analysis for each one of them.

*Chapter Six – Discussion.* This chapter includes a discussion of each of the main topics of this study based on the analysis of the results presented in chapter five. This includes University Civic Engagement, the University as an institution, and the Political Economic and UCE, and Higher Education and Migration.

*Chapter Seven – Conclusions.* In this last chapter each one of the research questions proposed in this introductory chapter are addressed. In addition, limitations and implications of them are discussed.

## 2 Literature Review

### 2.1 The “Third Mission” of Higher Education

The idea of universities engaging with society in the literature covers both social and economic issues, and starts by proposing them to have a mission that goes beyond the traditional activities of teaching and academic research: the third mission. The concept has appeared in the academic and public discussion over higher education as a part of the debate over the role universities should have over economic growth, self-financing and the transfer of research results to technology and industry. In that sense, universities are called to provide direct support to regional and national economic development and social impact (Ćulum, Rončević, & Ledić, 2013; Ćulum et al., 2015). All this activities that may go beyond the missions of teaching and research are referred usually as *service* or third mission. These trends in the academic literature surrounding higher education’s relationship with society focuses on trying to describe and conceptualize the different motives and mechanisms through which it takes place.

Although the idea of the third mission of universities is found in many different policy discussions, the discourse differs, with three main basic models elaborated in the literature. First, it is considered as an exclusive contribution to economic development. Secondly, third mission is also seen as university-community civic relationship. And finally, as an integrated concept making all three sectors (public, private non-profit and private for-profit) relevant for cooperation Ćulum et al. (2013, p. 169). Jongbloed et al. (2008) refer to the third mission by applying Stakeholder theory to higher education, arguing that a university is expected to respond to organizations and/or groups of individuals who can affect or are affected by the achievement of the university’s endeavor. Furthermore, they argue as well, that today’s higher education institutions (HEIs) face a scenario where they are not only expected to provide education and research of high standards. The outputs must be also relevant to the productive process, providing help into shaping the knowledge society, exposing them to a constant process of reassessment of their social-economic contribution.

The third mission then will consider universities as providers of some form of service to the community, although yet there is not clarity over what kind of activities are involved in such relationship. Macfarlane (2005) studied the interpretation academics give to the third mission,

finding five different areas that characterize it. First, it is considered as an administrative tasks and secondly as a way of providing customer service for students and business organizations. Thirdly, it is related to collegial virtue as a moral obligation in supporting colleagues. In fourth place, the third mission was considered as a civic duty, expressed in voluntary work for the benefit of the local community, not necessarily connected with scholarly expertise. Finally, and more related to the activities of teaching and research, the third mission was interpreted as a form of integrated learning, connecting academic study work and community based projects and internships, carried out by students and not by the academic staff. The third mission was interpreted as a mission of the universities separated from the academic activities traditional missions of teaching and research, as at the most it was used as a tool that complemented the learning process.

Some other authors argue that the third mission should only be expressed through scholars developing new original teaching curricula and research projects. Furthermore, by integrating the third mission with teaching, it understands that the central role of universities is to train students and to prepare them as professionals, being that the way universities contribute to society (Laredo, 2007). Others on the other side have a different approach for combining teaching, research and the third mission, arguing that the boundaries between them are disappearing, even considering the relationship between them as interdependent, instead of hierarchical (Bortagaray, 2009; Greenbank, 2006; Karlsson, 2007). Some authors interpret this relationship a bit differently, arguing that the third mission and its activities are more a reflection of the relationships of cooperation that the university has to build with different stakeholders in the community (Jongbloed et al., 2008). A consequence, rather than a mission of its own.

## **2.2 University Civic Engagement**

Within the concept of a third mission of higher education lies the idea of universities having a civic mission. The concept of civic engagement (CE) addresses this issue, but its definition is not clear. Reuben (2004, p. 199) refers to it by defining civic engagement as “the participation of private actors in the public sphere with the aim of influencing decision-making or pursuing common goals”. Adler and Goggin (2005, pp. 237-241) compared different definitions for civic engagement in the literature, founding that the concept is commonly related to ideas such as community service, collective action, political involvement and social change.

Furthermore, the authors proposed a more general definition for CE, characterizing it as “the interactions of citizens with their society and government that describes how active citizens participate in the life of a community in order to improve conditions for others or to help shape the community’s future”. In that sense, university civic engagement (UCE) will respond to universities interacting with society as a civic actor to influence in the decision-making and to participate in solving problems that condition the community’s present and future.

There are a variety of discourses or rationales guiding UCE in the literature, focused on how their social responsibility and commitments should take form to resolve social problems. Four different models will be considered in this review. The first one refers to a view where universities contribute to society through education, by moving from a paradigm of forming students as competitive human resources towards a one of educating global citizens that will build more inclusive, just and fair societies (Escrigas & Lobera, 2009). A second –and similar- view proposes that students should be educated to be democratic, creative, caring and constructive, and that such education is needed to preserve and develop democracy (Harkavy, 2006). Both visions consider that universities mostly contribute to society through the education they provide to their students. Other views consider different and more complex ways of interacting with society and its members.

Ostrander (2004) considers that if universities limit civic engagement to ethics, democracy and moral development of students, the civic mission of universities will be marginalized. In that sense she argues that the civic mission should be observed in i) teaching and learning, ii) curriculum transformation, iii) in setting research priorities in cooperation with the community to solve social problems, and iv) by producing knowledge. This view of the civic mission of universities differs from the one exposed before in that it considers not only through its teaching mission, but also through research, integrating external actors in the process of knowledge creation in different ways. Parallel to this, a fourth vision is included. This one considers that the civic mission of universities, and because of that of the scholars that give shape to them, is not static but dynamic, and focused on the concept of punctuated equilibrium. Such idea considers that the concept of UCE and its implications are evolving by going through different processes of stability or equilibriums, and that waves of fundamental changes establish new equilibrium periods (Sandmann, 2008, pp. 92-94). In that sense, the argument is set on that there is no wrong understanding on what the civic mission of

universities should be, but rather a concept that has been evolving in time due to the context over which universities must function.

## **2.3 The Engaged University: A Historical Perspective**

All of these trends surrounding the idea of universities engaging with society in different ways propose them as rather contemporary. Understanding the concept of engagement as a two-way interaction instead of only being from the university to the community, allows reviewing the nature of its relation with the external environment. Engagement will then be defined as a bidirectional reciprocity that is expressed through campus-community explicit or implicit partnerships (Sandmann, 2008, pp. 92-95). Such definition is not necessarily related to modern ideas like the knowledge economy and society, and allows providing an historical perspective of such relation. The idea of universities relating with different actors outside the boundaries of the campus is not a new phenomenon that responds to today's context. By looking to the origins of the modern research university, in particular of the Humboldtian University from the end of XVIII century and throughout the XIX century, it becomes possible to get a clearer picture of how this idea of engagement with society is not as new as it seems in the literature.

Turner (1971) provided an historical analysis of the birth of the research university in Prussia. There, he states that in that period universities “came to be regarded by the state as showplaces of Prussian intellect” and German culture, “groomed and maintained as national symbols”. But, more important, a symbol of Prussia's resistance to Napoleon (pp. 173-182). Furthermore, in that context, the relationship with the government was rather close; academics submitted publications directly to the ministry for review, which favored university administration with financial support and quick promotion of young scholars whose work had particularly impressed them. Disciplinary reputation became the basis of university competition; specialist-communities of scholars related directly with the government to set disciplinary-standards and to advise in the appointments at universities; and, at the center, the idea of the creation and transmission of knowledge to be the duty of the university. In essence, engagement was at the conception of the modern university.

Universities have related with society for long time, meaning the idea of engagement cannot be reduced to a modern concept. Nevertheless, today's context does offer a position where the notion of a university being an organization entirely dedicated to create and transmit knowledge of a wide spectrum of disciplinary approaches takes a different connotation. The knowledge economy, on one side, proposes knowledge to be one of the main drivers of economic growth, while the knowledge society positions it in the center of social development (Välilmaa & Hoffman, 2008). The appearance of mass and universal higher education, on the other side, have created a world where big proportions of the population access higher education, but also where the position of it in society has changed radically. While from the times of the Humboldtian university –and before that- until the second half of the century the access to higher education was concentrated in the elite, mass and universal access changed the logic towards meritocracy and a society expected to adapt fast to social and technological changes (Trow, 2007). Therefore, although engagement is not a new idea and it lies in the concept of the modern university in itself, its relationship with society has indeed become more complex, in hand with the social and political changes that characterize the society in which it operates. Because of this, rather than analyzing university engagement as a new phenomenon in the functioning of universities, this study proposes to focus on the actors and their interactions, conceptualizing civic engagement as being part of a network.

## **2.4 Civic Engagement as Value Exchanges**

As mentioned before, the idea of engagement will be considered as a bidirectional relationship. Placing that idea in a specific national context requires considering that several actors may be interacting with the university, directly or indirectly. Until now, the idea of the UCE has focused on different ways through which universities may relate with society. This study proposes an alternative approach that attempts to understand university civic engagement as embedded in a network where several actors participate and interact. In that sense, it will be characterized not only by through which type of activities universities contribute to society, but also by the actors that relate with them and by what is exchanged when interacting with them. For that matter, value network theory will be used to understand university civic engagement from that perspective, as well as an extended definition for value that will allow integrating both tangible and intangible assets in the process.

## 2.4.1 The Value Network

Since the focus of this study is set on understanding UCE as a network where several interactions take place and where value is created and exchanged, this study proposes to use value network theory (VNT) as the framework for understanding it as such. The value network considers the existence of a mediating technology that links different actors in a network who are or wish to be interdependent, facilitating exchange relationships among them (Stabell & Fjeldstad, 1998). Furthermore, organizations that are part of a value network can be understood as mediators or intermediaries that, by establishing bilateral relations with different actors, enable multilateral interactions between them. In that sense, universities will be understood as mediators that exchange value with several actors, enabling them to interact with each other. For the case proposed here, universities will be mediators between refugees, governments, and other civic actors, in their efforts to integrate them in society by providing them value. The process of resettlement, and the interactions between actors that take place in it, will then characterize different value networks that support the refugees in each national context.

Allee (2000) proposed a conceptualization of the Value Network that considers both, tangible and intangible assets, for the understanding of how value is exchanged, giving special attention to the role of knowledge, a key strategic asset of universities. Furthermore, the idea focuses on that a value network generates the exchange of value through complex dynamic exchanges between several actors. Such engagement is expressed in more than just transactions between goods, services and revenue, other assets such as knowledge and intangible benefits are considered. Three different currencies -defined as such because they serve as a medium of exchange of value- are defined:

- *Goods, services, and revenue* refer to transactions involving contracts and invoices. Knowledge or services that generate revenue are considered in this category if they are part of a service.
- *Knowledge* refers to exchanges of strategic information, planning knowledge, process knowledge, technical knowledge, collaborative design, policy development, or similar, which flows around and support the core product or service. An example of such can be observed in the feedback an organization may request voluntarily after a service was



provided, or when a social network gets access to data regarding the interests of their users.

- *Intangible benefits* refer to exchanges of value and benefits that go beyond the actual service and are not accounted for financial measures. This includes assets such as the sense of communality, loyalty, image enhancement, or co-branding opportunities.

Such a conceptualization sets the focus over value exchanges, rather than on the technologies that support it. Exchanging intangible value will allow explaining activities that are not necessarily directly favorable for an organization, which may be the case of this study. By mapping the value exchanging as a flow diagram, showing all three types of values created in the network separately, the framework allows to prevent that something is left out. To understand how the value is created and exchanged, especially when it comes to intangible assets, it is also necessary to conceptualize such process by defining some dimensions of value exchange. First, intangibles are exchanged as *negotiables*, meaning that actors receive one currency in exchange of another. Second, intangibles are managed as *deliverables*, meaning that when it is negotiated, it can be transferred to another actor. And finally, the third dimension refers to how both, tangible and intangible assets are dynamically converted into other forms of value (Allee, 2008). Furthermore, a *transaction* will occur when a deliverable is conveyed by one actor and received by another. Two or more reciprocal transactions are an *exchange*, what can basically occur either through the conversion to monetary value or through a negotiable form.

## 2.4.2 The concept of Value

Although VNT gives attention to non-tangible forms of value, it becomes necessary to reconsider the idea of value in itself in order to adapt this approach for university civic engagement. Haller (2016) addressed the matter of defining more complex forms of value in what he refers to as *integrated reporting*, a framework for understanding a more wide approach to define value. According to this framework, the concept of value is not monistic, meaning that two interconnected dimensions give shape to it: the economic and social value. This idea combines an economic approach, present in the idea of Shareholder Value that derives from finance theory (Rappaport, 1986), with more social approaches such as Stakeholder Value (Freeman, Harrison, & Wicks, 2007) and Public Value (Moore, 1995). While stakeholder value tries to capture the relational nature of business by focusing on

groups of people in society, public value sets the focus on all contributions of an entity to society and its functioning, according to the perception of its members, considering all impacts of an entity over people and their environment (Haller, 2016, pp. 41-42). Adding a social component to the idea of value, allows capturing other dimensions that are not necessarily quantitative. This may be determinant in systems where knowledge or other type of assets play a relevant role, and where financial assets are just one of many forms of value present. For the case of universities this is especially important, since they are considered as knowledge intensive institutions (Clark, 1986).

### **Deconstructing Value**

According to Haller (2016), value can be decomposed in stocks of different types of capital. Value creation will depend on changes in those stocks, which are not necessarily quantifiable, and which should consider expectations and perceptions from the relevant stakeholders. The capitals “represent all different types of resources an entity uses or impacts”, and are presented bellow (Haller, 2016, pp. 47-48):

- *Financial capital*: refers to the pool of funds that are used in the functioning of an entity, and are obtained through financing, either by debt, equity, grants, operations, investments or other sources.
- *Manufactured capital*: refers to manufactured physical objects that are available for the entity to use them in the production of goods or provision of services, and that includes external infrastructure.
- *Human capital*: refers to the “people’s competencies, capabilities, and experience, and their motivations to innovate” (ethical values, alignment with an organization’s governance framework, ability to develop and implement an entity’s strategy, or to lead and manage, etc).
- *Intellectual capital*: “organizational knowledge based intangibles” (patents, copyrights, software, licenses, etc.) and “organizational capital” (tacit knowledge, systems, procedures and protocols, etc.).
- *Social and relationship capital*: “the institutions and the relationships within and between communities, groups of stakeholders and other networks, and the ability to share

information to enhance individual and collective well-being. It includes shared norms, common values and behavior, key stakeholder relationships, intangibles related to the brand and reputation of the organization, and the organization's social license to operate”.

The first four forms of capital described can be easily contextualized for the case of higher education. Financial capital can take different forms depending on the funding mechanisms that characterize higher education in each national context. This can include scholarships, competitive funding mechanisms or direct funding received from public or private sources. Manufactured capital on the other side can include any form of infrastructure related to higher education, be facilities or scientific equipment, as well as any material used for the purpose of education. Human capital, in the context of higher education can make reference to either the competences of academics, non-academic staff and even to students, as they can be understood as a relevant actor in the functioning of universities. Considering that the core activities of universities are teaching and research, intellectual capital will take an important place in understanding value in the context of higher education. In that sense, teaching will be understood as a way of delivering intellectual capital, while research as a way of producing it.

Social and relationship capital are more complex to contextualize. While on one side it refers to relationships with different stakeholders and networks, it also refers to intangibles such as legitimacy. For that reason, in the next section this will be addressed by differentiating between the idea of coordination and institutional positioning. While relationship capital will be related to solving coordination problems that universities face in different political economic contexts, social capital will respond to the idea of universities seeking to build legitimacy in society in order to protect their own values and norms. That will allow understanding university civic engagement as networks, as it will characterize the nature of the interactions that take place when relating with other actors as well as setting it in context.

## **2.5 Civic Engagement in Context**

Conceptualizing university civic engagement as a network of value exchanges requires understanding the context and the nature of the interactions that takes place when universities relate with other actors. Although the concept of civic engagement has evolved in time, there is an idea of how they can contribute to society, always focused on their core activities, teaching and research, be in a direct (collaborating with external actors) or in an indirect way

(through their internal actors). Nevertheless, to build a more accurate picture it is also necessary to understand how these activities contribute to society set in the specific context that the cases of this study proposes and how such relationship affect and condition universities. In other words, not only it is necessary to know how the endeavor of universities responds to the interests of certain groups, it is also relevant to understand how, by addressing such issues, the university is affected or even benefited, conditioned to the specific context in which they are embedded. For that reason, the following parts of this review will address two main issues that are necessary to understand how universities contribute to society and to migration as a social issue in particular. First, the idea is to review different perspectives over how universities as institutions relate with different actors in the context of modern capitalist societies, to that way develop a better understanding over how engagement fits the functioning of macro institutional arrangements. Secondly, in order to address the issue of forced migration, which is at the center of this study, a review over how higher education contributes to the resettlement of refugees.

### **2.5.1 Engagement as a Mechanism for Coordination**

The first theoretical perspective that will be presented to understand how universities relate with their environment is the varieties of capitalism approach (VoC). This perspective over the political economy allows contextualizing the institutional dynamics of universities in different countries, introducing an actor-centered framework for the understanding of political economic differences between nations. The political economy is understood as individual actors seeking to advance in their own interests in a rational way in strategic interaction with others (Hall & Soskice, 2001, pp. 6-10). Although relevant actors can include individuals, firms, producer groups, or governments, VoC assumes that capitalist systems are firm-centered political economies because the activities of companies aggregate into overall levels of economic performance, becoming the key agent for national adjustments. Nevertheless, the importance of strategic interactions in the political economy settles as well the focus over the institutions that condition and alter the outcomes of such interactions, becoming one of the central aspects for understanding differences in the political economy. In that sense, the level of coordination and the mechanisms used to achieve it –the institutional setting to that respect-, are the main factors that will determine different strategic equilibriums among nations.

## **Liberal and Coordinated Market Economies**

The VoC theory considers that firms and other actors must develop relationships to resolve coordination problems in different spheres of the economy. This includes labor relation, educational training, corporate governance, inter-firm relations and problems with their own employees. Following this logic, differences between countries will be determined by the coordination strategies adopted to solve problems in those spheres. Different strategies in the political economy will lead towards different equilibriums, characterized by the idea of *comparative advantage*. This concept derives from the competitive advantage that certain characteristics of a system may confer to firms by improving their performance. It differs in that the advantage achieved in a specific equilibrium is not absolute, and that it will depend not only on the market, but also on non-market relations (Hall & Soskice, 2001, pp. 8-9).

A comparative advantage in a specific strategic equilibrium will be characterized by the institutional features that offer support to the different actors in the political economy when relating with each other. Following this idea, national political economies can be compared by how firms resolve the coordination problems they face. VoC makes a core distinction between liberal market economies (LME) and coordinated market economies (CME), reflecting the poles a spectrum along which nations can be arrayed (Hall & Soskice, 2001, pp. 8-9). In LMEs, the main mechanisms of coordination are hierarchies and competitive market arrangements. On the other hand, in CMEs, firms depend on non-market relationships to coordinate and to construct their core competencies. In that respect, the political economic national context of the two cases chosen for this study allows an analysis over these two main categories. On one side, Norway is considered as a CME; on the other side, the UK can be classified as a LME.

## **Institutions in the VoC approach**

Varieties of capitalism gives special attention to institutions, organizations, and culture, because of the support they provide for the relationships firms develop to resolve coordination problems. Institutions are understood as a set of rules, formal or informal, that actors generally follow, whether for normative, cognitive, or material reasons, and organizations as durable entities with formally recognized members, whose rules also contribute to the institutions of the political economy (Hall & Soskice, 2001, pp. 9-12). Following these definitions, for example, markets can be understood as institutions supporting relationship

between firms of particular types. As mentioned before, while in LMEs the main mechanisms of coordination are hierarchies and market arrangements, in CMEs firms depend on non-market mechanisms. To this extent, the importance of the capacity for *deliberation* of institutions plays a crucial role, meaning that they encourage relevant actors to engage in collective discussion and to reach agreements for several reasons (Hall & Soskice, 2001, p. 11). Deliberation allows participants to engage in extensive sharing of information about their interests and beliefs, improving their confidence in the strategies that are more likely to be taken by the others by facilitating the presence of a thicker common knowledge.

Another important characteristic of institutions in the VoC approach is the complementarity that may exist between different institutions in a political economy. This concept is analogous to what is understood as “complementary good”, such as bread and butter, where an increase in the price of one depresses the demand of the other. Something similar applies to institutions that complement each other. “Two institutions can be said to be complementary if the presence -or efficiency- of one increases the returns from -or efficiency- of the other” (Hall & Soskice, 2001, p17-18). In that sense, the institutional complementarities in a political economy will condition the strategic equilibrium present, since the comparative advantages that an institutional arrangement confers will depend on them as well.

### **Higher Education in the varieties of capitalism approach**

Being the two main types of capitalism characterized, it is now possible to review the role higher education and universities play in the VoC theory. As mentioned before, one of the main differences lays in the way coordination takes place in each national context. In CMEs it is usually achieved through processes of strategic interaction, where institutions play a role in the formation of commitments and deliberation. In LMEs coordination is achieved through competitive markets and institutions play a role in formal contracting and market regulation (Graf, 2009, pp. 570-572). Such difference should also be observed in higher education systems, with greater reliance for one type of coordination over the other depending on the national context. Furthermore, the ideas of institutional complementary and comparative institutional advantage are especially important for higher education. Achieving some kind of coordination –be market or strategic based- in a specific sphere may improve the efficiency in the coordination of another, accumulating into comparative advantages at the national level.

Higher education systems are in constant interaction with several institutions such as science or the labor markets.

In that sense, universities will be considered as organizational actors of relational nature, following the same idea developed in the VoC to understand firms. This perspective over universities was adopted by Graf (2009), who developed an analytical framework to study internationalization in higher education the analytical tools provided by varieties of capitalism. Furthermore, his approach adapts and transfers the institutional spheres defined in VoC for firm-coordination, adding extra spheres that are relevant in the context of higher education and universities. The first four spheres consider industrial relationships, corporate governance, and vocational training and education. Industrial relationships in this matter will refer to the coordination universities must face when securing cooperation with their own workers, with researchers and non-academic staff, when regulating working conditions and wages.

Corporate governance was studied by Gornitzka and Maassen (2000, p. 268-282), offering evidence that highlights the difference between the UK and Norway. In the UK, the findings showed that the government used a *supermarket* steering model for universities, meaning a system where assessment focused on efficiency, economy, flexibility and survival, and where the role of the state was to ensure that the market mechanisms worked properly. On the other hand, in Norway, the model governments use to control and influence universities responded to the so called *institutional model*. This means that the main value that characterizes the system is the autonomy over universities to uphold their own traditions and socio-economic role; to protect academic freedom, and to store and transmit knowledge; to act as carriers of culture, and to uphold its special institutional sphere. In terms of the VoC approach, in the UK, steering takes place mostly through market based mechanisms, while in Norway through strategic coordination.

Other spheres are added to characterize the specific coordination problems universities face as a parallel to inter-firm relations: *inter-university* and *university-firm relations*. These spheres characterize, for example, the role universities play in innovation systems when cooperating with different industries or to how universities coordinate between each other to, for example, admit students, cooperate for research, etc. In that sense, there is evidence that suggest important differences in the way universities coordinate in the context of innovation systems. In Norway, coordination for that matter takes place mostly through government action, which

favors certain strategic industries and incremental innovation, with a high dependency of the state for research funding in universities, reaching 88% (Narula, 2002, p.798-808). In the UK, the national policy for innovation, and several other policies introduces for such purpose<sup>5</sup>, provided incentives and pressures for university researchers to identify and collaborate with the users of their research (Calvert and Patel, 2003, p85-86). This highlights the difference at the institutional level on how universities coordinate with firms. While Norway focuses on strategic coordination, the UK does it through market mechanisms. On the other hand, the way this coordination takes place, plus the way universities are steered, would suggest that universities in the UK are called to compete between each other, while in Norway it would be expected for more cooperation to take place.

*University-student relations* are also considered as sphere in which universities must coordinate. Because of the relevance of students as participants of higher education, VoC assumes that the university management will face coordination problems to secure sufficient number of talented students. Finally, *university-state relations* consider that government regulations are relevant as they affect coordination of universities in the rest of the spheres mentioned before. The different activities the universities perform allow complying with governmental regulations that affect them, securing coordination for that matter.

Following the value creation and exchange logic presented for this study, achieving coordination is interpreted a form of relationship capital, as it will allow universities to enhance the relationships they must build for that matter. In the case of LME, it is expected that coordination will be achieved through market-based mechanisms, reason why the transaction of value should also include financial and/or manufactured capitals. On the other hand, since strategic coordination characterizes CME, it would be expected to observe deliberation. Universities are expected to exchange intangible forms of value, mostly in the form of intellectual and human capital through the activities of teaching and research, exchanged in the context of institutional complementarities or direct relations. Following this logic, UCE will become a consequence of achieving coordination in those spheres, rather than be a mission of universities.

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<sup>5</sup> Faraday Partnerships, University Challenge Fund, Science Enterprise Challenge, Higher Education Reach-Out to Business and Community (HEROBAC), Joint Research Equipment Initiative (JREI) and University for Industry.



## 2.5.2 Engagement as an Institutional Strategy

Parallel to the instrumental view over universities presented in the VoC approach, there is the idea of the University to be a distinctive institution with its own set of values and norms. Separated, but not independent of higher education as an institution of the political economy, the University should also be considered when trying to understand its relationship and contribution to society. Olsen (2007) provides an insight over this idea, where the issue becomes how universities can be organized and governed in order to achieve tasks and objectives in the most efficient way. This issue considers that a set of contracts condition universities to depend economically -and in other ways as well- on contributions. This may very well describe accurately the formal set of rules that condition higher education and, at the same time, separates it from the institutional identity of each university.

For this respect, Olsen makes a separation between the University and the formal set of rules that govern it. He argues that the enduring collection of rules and organized practices of universities, that are relatively invariant, offer a dichotomy between instrumental and institutional rules that explain university dynamics. In that sense, both, the instrumental and the organizational dimensions of universities, are relevant for understanding the functioning of the University in the context of the political economy. Understanding the organizational and institutional nature of the Universities, will allow to characterize the relationship they forge with their environment.

The *pact* can be used to describe the institutional dynamics of universities as parallel to the instrumental approach proposed by VoC. A “pact” will be understood as “a fairly long-term cultural commitment to and from the University as an institution with its own foundational rules of appropriate practices, causal and normative beliefs, and resources, yet validated by the political and social system in which the University is embedded” (Gornitzka, Maassen, Olsen, & Stensaker, 2007, p. 184). This conditions the University to be in the search for legitimacy through the construction of a new pact. According to this, the way the pact is constructed or, said in a different way, how universities build legitimacy to defend their own institutional rules, will characterize the relationships they build for such matter and UCE.

## **Institutional Positioning**

Following the idea of the pact, it becomes necessary to conceptualize the dynamic that takes place between universities and society, as it will characterize the nature of the interactions that take place in UCE. In that sense, the concept of institutional positioning may help understanding such relationship and how it affects universities at the institutional level. The starting point to define such concept is to consider that universities act strategically, although limited by the higher education system in which they are embedded. This means that, although universities will act according to their own institutional objectives, their endeavor will be conditioned by the rules that characterize their environment.

In that sense, the idea considers that higher education institutions will seek to position themselves in their higher education system. This means that, from a conceptual perspective, institutional positioning will become the bridge between the University institutionally and higher education systems (Fumasoli & Huisman, 2013, p. 157). Furthermore, this idea intends to give sense to how universities, in the context of increasing institutional autonomy, adapt to the pressures of the environment under which they operate. Institutional positioning then will be understood as the process through which universities locate themselves in specific niche in the higher education system in which they are embedded (Fumasoli & Lepori, 2011). This means that university civic engagement will become a niche through which higher education institutions build legitimacy, understood as a key strategic asset that may build status and prestige.

Following this idea, universities will employ their own infrastructure and capabilities as a strategic asset that will provide a better access to the resources they require to survive and function. Two dimensions are conceptualized to understand the process of institutional positioning. The first one considers managerial purposiveness of universities when acting consistent to their institutional identity, and the second the environmental influences that condition them. This generates a balance between intensions and constrains as a dynamic interplay between the political economic context and strategic agency (Fumasoli & Huisman, 2013, pp. 160-161).

A niche responds to the different dimensions that relate to the core activities universities perform, be either teaching, research or third mission activities (Fumasoli & Huisman, 2013, pp. 161-162). Furthermore, resources will play a key role, since they are the set of elements

related to the production of research, education and service to society. This includes highly qualified teachers and researchers, students, and the financial resources that may relate to the other two directly or indirectly, what may vary from system to system. In other words, the process of institutional positioning will be characterized by the exchange of several forms of value, be financial, human or intellectual capital. On the other hand, achieving institutional positioning will be interpreted as a form of social capital, as it conditions the reputation of the organization, and its social license to operate. In that sense, this approach starts by the assumption that university civic engagement is in essence a niche in which universities can position themselves as a part of the third mission.

### **The University: A community of Scholars**

The ideas of a “pact” between universities and society, and of universities pursuing institutional positioning in order to protect their own values and norm, presented a vision of universities that allows characterizing their relationship with the external actors they must relate with. However, in order to understand how in such approach the interactions take place, it is also relevant to understand universities internally, since it is there where the core values and norms of the University exist, and because the unique organizational nature that characterize it may condition their external engagement. Clark (1986) defined universities as a formally organized structure for the control of advanced knowledge, being advanced ideas and related skills their basic materials or substances (pp. 11-25). He also refers to them as loosely-coupled organizations. In his words, universities are “a conglomeration, in the dual sense that its missions are multifarious and its organizations composed of numerous disparate elements” (p. 26). Universities are, in that sense and at least in part, their academic communities. Each one of them with a relatively high level of autonomy in the organization. But not only that; since the times of birth of the Humboldtian university in Germany, which founded the modern conception of research university, the relationship between higher education institutions and its own internal communities has been quite different compared to what it could be with other type of organization.

It was during those times, in the XIX and the beginning of the XX century, in which the University passed through an ideological reform in Germany that would expand to the rest of the Europe and the US. *Bildung*, a neohumanist concept that promoted the cultivation of ethical and aesthetical refinement based on ancient Roman and Greek culture, and

*Wissenschaft*, the organic unity of all knowledge that gave birth to philosophy as the discipline of which modern science emerged from, were the core values of the reforms (Turner, 1971). Furthermore, in that period, “scientists adopted the belief that independent research served society not only by adding to the sum of learning but also by contributing to the moral and ethical development of the individual carrying on that research” (p. 153). The University and science were being reshaped –or created- as institutions, and the first notions of academic freedom began to appear as central not only for universities and scientists, but for all German society.

In that period, when the first research universities were born in Germany, “the European University became a rule-governed community of scholars. A loosely coupled institutional framework without an administrative center of gravity within which individual professors remained more or less autonomous”, where “the Rector played a purely representative position” (Nybom, 2007, pp. 63-71). Furthermore, in the second half on the XIX century and beginning of the XX century, the ideal of the unity of science under one discipline was irrevocably replaced in a process of cognitive disintegration and specialization. The disciplines became institutions that transcended universities. They were represented internally through a scholar community and, at the same time, existed externally as scholars moved to one university to another continuing their research under the same disciplinary umbrella. During the XIX century, following the reforms of that period, “universities began to compete more intensively with each other for students, reputable professors, and learned prestige”. Furthermore, this resulted in a “gradual upswing in professorial mobility and the struggles between universities to woo and win famous professors” (Turner, 1971, pp. 144-147). In that same period, as new scientific journals appeared, the German scientific communities, which included academicians, physicians and technical bureaucrats, were consolidated. Some form of institutional duality shaped universities. In time, and during the same period, “discipline-centered criteria replaced institution-centered criteria in university appointments, the various specialist-communities determined precisely what disciplinary standards would be imposed” (Turner, 1971, p. 176). Such values are still present even in the contemporary context of a shift towards an entrepreneurial university, where HEIs are called have to a more business and economic development focus. The norms of open science are still widely accepted and have settled the boundaries of what is appropriate and legitimate entrepreneurial activities at the disciplinary and faculty level (Goldstein, 2010). Therefore, although universities have

changed in time since the emergence of the research university in Germany, much of its legacy remains, and can be observed at the institutional level.

In the Humboldtian University the idea of student also changed drastically compared to previous conceptions. There, the student was an integral part of the scholar community, with less experience and knowledge than the professors, but a colleague in the academic career. During those times, “the philological seminars insisted upon complete independence from traditional pedagogy and upon their aim of giving students sufficient training in philological techniques to enable them to carry put their own independent investigations”. Research was used as a pedagogical tool, and students, through their own research, were expected not only to propagate scientific knowledge, but even to expand it (Turner, 1971, pp. 148-150). In that sense, the Humboldtian university empowered students at the institutional level by making them an integral part of the institution, setting them apart to the more traditional views of liberal education. In the contemporary research university, students also have a relevant role in universities. In the 1960’s and early 1970’s, North American and Western European universities, as well as African universities in the late 1980’s and 1990s, went through a process of democratization where students were included in the decision-making processes (Luescher-Mamashela, 2013). Even in the rise of managerialism of university governance, where student politics have changed towards a more de-politicized model, they still have formal level of involvement in institutional decision-making (Luescher-Mamashela, 2010). This vision over the internal actors of universities differs from the one presented in VoC, as there students are seen as an asset, a resource that universities require for their endeavor. In this approach, students are considered as part of the institution, actors that participate in the activities as members of the university interacting with actors outside and inside the institution.

## **2.6 Higher Education and Forced Migration**

Finally, after reviewing the dynamics between higher education and its environment, by conceptualizing the institutional nature of universities, it is necessary now to also review the relation between refugee resettlement and universities. Doing so will facilitate identifying the different challenges over which the two universities selected for this research are providing support through the activities they perform for that purpose. Identifying them will allow drawing a picture of how universities are embedding themselves in the process of resettlement

of refugees, allowing characterizing as well the nature of the value that is created for them in each of the activities the universities are organizing.

### **2.6.1 Mass and Universal Higher Education: A New Context for Migration**

The relationship between education and global efforts to address forced migration is old and elite higher education played a very specific and key role in its first years. After world war two, the 1951 convention and the 1967 protocol of the UNHCR, which became the cornerstone of the global efforts to support refugees worldwide, set the attention of refugee education over higher education. The focus was set over the provision of scholarships to few migrants with the idea of forming the elite that would rebuild the conflicted nations (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). Furthermore, after 1985, the focus over refugee settlement in host nations was changed over the refugee children population, especially after the declaration of the Rights of the Children and the Education for All policy. After that, little attention has been given to how higher education can contribute to resettlement of refugees.

Nevertheless, the process of massification and in some cases universalization of the enrollments in higher education created a new context in which it has become more relevant for socioeconomic development. This has changed the context of resettlement; conditioning migrants in their attempts have a successful integration in their host societies. Elite higher education was seen as a privilege of the ruling class, with that idea driving the first period of refugee education. Mass and universal higher education on the other side changed the logic towards meritocracy and to the preparation of the entire population to a society with rapid social and technological changes, as is the case of universal access (Trow, 2007). In the OECD, in average, 40% of school leavers are likely to participate in some form of tertiary education in some point of their lives. In some countries this number rises to 50% and even to two thirds, like in Finland and Sweden, showing not only a tendency towards universalization, but also a trend towards widening participation to traditionally excluded groups of society (Osborne, 2003). An example of this can be observed in the 1989 reforms in the university curricula in Spain, which intended to create better possibilities for access for young people of low socio-economic groups.

Schofer and Meyer (2005) even suggested that the process of massification and universalization of higher education, together with the expansion of secondary education, are

linked to the rise of a new model of society. In their view, this is characterized by a shift towards increasing democratization and human rights, scientization, development planning and the notion of a world polity. Nevertheless, their observations suggest that in societies with high ethnical diversity, high levels of competition among the higher education institutions can lead to slower rates of growth in the system and to the exclusion of certain groups like women, minorities and lower class. Griga and Hadjar (2014) provided evidence over how both, low-stratified school systems and alternative access to higher education separately, improve the probability of participation in people with migrant background. The authors highlight not only the relevance of secondary education for the access to higher education, but also how the exclusion from the national system can become a disadvantage by itself in many ways. Their study suggests that in contemporary societies the role that higher education has for all its citizens has expanded, becoming more relevant in the shaping of society and, therefore, for the understanding of potential disadvantages that refugees might experience when resettling.

### **2.6.2 Resettlement: A Multidimensional Problem**

In the EU, the idea of “integration” in society has become a frequent term used in policy documents and debates with regard to refugees (King & Lulle, 2016). For that matter, different frameworks attempt to break down the idea of integration of migrants into different spheres to cope with the policy challenges that such process implies. One of them proposes a simplification of the work of Ager and Strang (2004) and Heckmann (2005), resulting in a list of spheres that are considered relevant for the integration of refugees in their host societies. Listed as *spheres of integration* (King & Lulle, 2016, pp. 58-59), the framework considers that the economic, social and cultural, educational, spatial, and the political and citizenship dimensions are the most relevant aspects for the integration of refugees. The process of resettlement has been considered then as a complex multidimensional problem by the European authorities. In that context, and due to the growing relevance of higher education because of its massification and importance of knowledge for the economy and society, reviewing its role in that matter becomes necessary for understanding UCE in the context of the refugee crisis.

## **Economic Challenge: Collective or Individual?**

In terms of the role HEIs play for the economic development of refugees, much can be said about how relevant is higher education for the development of skills or human capital, and to how it allows better insertion in the labor markets. From the educational perspective, there are several theories that attempt to explain such relationship. One first aspect to consider will be to define whether the issue of accessing the labor market is a collective or an individual problematic. If the object of study is the individual migrant, then the focus should be set over how higher education contributes to a single refugee, separated from the rest of the minority group. Two main theories try to explain such relation: Human Capital Theory (Becker, 1994) and Signaling Theory (Connelly, Certo, Ireland, & Reutzel, 2011). The first one focuses on how education contributes in the acquisition of competences and skills, necessary to improve the chances of success in the labor market, but also on how national economic growth depends on the training of the labor force in the context of nations where the production depends heavily on scientific knowledge. Signaling Theory, on the other hand, states that education provides a signal to the market from the sender, who receives the education, to the receiver, who hires him in the labor market, using game theoretic terms. In that sense, being excluded from higher education could be considered as an important disadvantage for the economic success of refugees, especially in the context of mass and universal higher education.

The approach of Lin (2002, p. 21) towards Social Capital theory provides an different perspective for understanding the relevance of higher education in the economic integration of refugees. The author considers two levels of accessing social capital to gain benefits. The individual level focuses on the returns of networks and the resources that they enable. The group level on the other hand notes that there might be differences in the access to social capital depending on “advantage or disadvantage structural positions and social networks”. Michael B Aguilera and Massey (2003) studied how social capital affected how Mexican migrants obtained a job in the US and whether it was in the formal sector. Their findings suggest a direct and indirect relation, as having friends and relatives with migratory experience improved the efficiency and effectiveness of job search and of higher wages. Similar findings were observed in the 2000 Social Capital Benchmark Survey in the US, adding that race/ethnicity and gender explaining significant differences in social capital (Michael Bernabé Aguilera, 2002). Furthermore, the authors argued that programs providing



labor market information to excluded communities can reduce inequalities, especially if combined with human capital development programs. In that sense, both dimension of social capital, individual and collective, seem to condition the integration of refugees in the labor markets. On the other hand, the explorative study of Gateley (2015) over the impact of UK government funding cuts over the support for refugees for entering higher education also suggests that the provision of information has a determinant role in the economic integration of refugees. The author argued that without the support of RIES, the national agency focused on supporting the refugees, refugees struggled to make informed and strategic decisions about their future and education choices, conditioning their integration in the labor market.

### **Cultural Challenge: Higher Education as a Bridge between Worlds**

The economic dimension of resettlement is not the only relevant aspect to consider when reviewing the role of higher education in the integration of refugees; other social variables may condition such process. The role of cultural differences, to start, is especially important considering that refugees may not come from Western countries. Berry (1997) examined the issue of what happens when individuals move to a new cultural context from the perspective of cross-cultural psychology. The author analyzed different acculturation strategies, referring to how public policy approaches to the issue of the impact that new culture may have on another when engaging in continuous first-hand contact. The conceptualization of Berry differentiates between assimilation, reactive, creative and delayed acculturation, depending on whether the local culture prevails, both groups offer resistance, new cultural forms are stimulated, or if the changes appear after several years, respectively. Furthermore, he argues that education appears as a consistent positive factor for the adaptation to a culture; higher education is predictive of lower stress, and for many migrants it can act as a pre-acculturation process, introducing the language, history, values and norms of the new culture.

Elite higher education, even in the context of mass and even universal higher education, has not disappeared, some forms of it still exists in universities, conforming places of socialization where the mind and character is shaped (Trow, 2007). Evidence of how relevant elite higher education can be for ethnic groups in a society is observed on the impact that increases in high-status cultural capital had when comparing Blacks and Non-Hispanic Whites in the US. The exposure to such culture was associated with higher levels of education, and has contributed to the Black-White convergence is schooling, becoming a

route for mobility of less privileged groups (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996). Such idea questions the role of higher education in the integration of refugees, as its support could go beyond the individual economic integration of immigrants as provider of knowledge as skills.

The individual cultural capital acquired seems to have aggregated effects over the entire ethnic group the student belongs. Ball, Reay, and David (2002) explored over the way choices for higher education institutions are made in minority ethnical groups, with observations consistent with Berry's conceptualization. They observed that, for the choosers in the study, going to university was a process of becoming a person different from the rest of their family and many of their peers. Their choice seem to follow both, a path towards retain part of their ethnic identity and at the same time another towards disentangle from it. The ideas exposed by Erstad (2012), in which learning and identity can be considered as entangled concepts through the idea of *learning identity*, may help understand how higher education can help addressing the cultural challenges of resettlement. Such concept considers that "personal histories and future orientations are used to create narratives of the self, and it is these selves that are central to productive learning" (p. 31). The idea of connecting learning and personal identity allows relating higher education with the construction of new cultural identities. In that sense, becoming a student may be relevant for the acculturation process of refugees.

### **Social Challenge: Studies and Networks**

Although adapting to the culture of the host country is in fact a relevant aspect of social integration, higher education contributes as well in other ways to such process. An example is provided by Vasta (2007), who studied the integration of migrants in the Netherlands. The study suggests that, although the public discourse blamed refugees for not meeting their responsibility to integrate and for practicing "backward religions", the patterns of disadvantage could not be explained by human capital differences. The author argued that it was institutional discrimination and racism what created disadvantages, and that assimilation as an acculturation strategy was likely to create further social divisions. In that sense, studying differences in social capital could help understand how those disadvantages take place for the case of refugees. While some approaches on social capital focus on networks (Grootaert, Narayan, Jones, & Woolcock, 2004), others focus on the resources that are accessed through that relations and connections (Lin, 2002). Higher education can be important in

understanding how refugees use and access different sources of social capital, especially relevant in the context of forced migration.

Wilcox, Winn, and Fyvie- Gauld (2005) explored the relevance of social integration in higher education finding that making compatible friends was essential for retention. In addition, he argued that living arrangements was central in that process, even more than the institution itself. Socialization, understood as a way of networking and as a source of social capital, seems to be an important process that takes place in higher education, becoming relevant in the integration of refugees and in their success as students. Abamosa (2015) studied the individual dimension of social capital focused on the access to higher education for the case of refugees in Norway. His findings suggest that refugees can access and use different forms of social capital when accessing higher education, theoretically reducing socio-economic gaps. Furthermore, he argued that the phenomenon of migration does not necessarily affect negatively social capital in a country, and that refugees can bring new forms of social capital that can be very useful to their host nations.

## **2.7 Final Comments on the Literature Review**

This study has proposed to understand UCE as a network of value exchanges. To do that, this literature review has addressed a variety of topics that were considered as relevant for doing so. First, this chapter started by characterizing university civic engagement by reviewing the different ways in which it may take place. This included teaching and research activities, but also administrative, among others. Secondly, the focus was set over characterizing the different forms of value that can be exchanged in the context of university civic engagement, as well as the context and actors that may configure it as a network. Finally, as this study is focused on two programs that support refugees, the final part of the literature review focused on different ways in which higher education can contribute to the integration of refugees. That way, not only it is possible to identify forms of value specific to the context of universities and their institutional setting, but also to the specific case of the Academic Dugnad and the Sanctuary programs. In the next section, these elements will be combined in a single framework that will be used for the analysis and discussion of the data collected from documents from both programs as well as from interviews with their leaders.

# 3 Analytical Framework

As mentioned before, this study proposes to characterize UCE as a network of value exchanges. To achieve this, the proposal is to build a framework that captures and operationalizes the contribution universities do for refugees and other involved actors and, at the same time, the retribution they receive in the process. For that purpose, the starting point will be Value Network Analysis, as it provides a conceptualization of a value network that can be adapted using the ideas exposed in the previous chapter. This will allow relating the different ways in which university civic engagement can take place with the actors involved and the value they receive, giving shape to different networks that will be analyzed and discussed in chapters five and six.

## 3.1 Value Network Analysis

Value network analysis (VNA) allows linking specific interactions in a value-creating network to a wider strategic perspective of organization considering financial and non-financial assets. It provides perspective over the value creating roles and relationships that shape a network. In addition, it offers dynamic view over the value conversion processes that add value to an organization, providing a view of how value is converted from one type into another (Allee, 2008, p. 11). Furthermore, a VNA considers a three stages process to map the value exchange networks:

- 1) Identify the *roles* in the network, played by individuals, small groups or teams, business units' whole organizations, collectives, communities or even states. Participants have power to initiate action, engage in interactions, add value, and make decisions.
- 2) Identify the *transactions* in the network, meaning the activities that are originated by one participant and end with another. They are represented as a direction arrow and denote direction of what passes between two roles. The relationships can be formal contracts (solid lines) or intangible flows (dashed lines).
- 3) Identify *deliverables* in the network, which are the actual assets that move from one role to the other. They can be physical or non-physical (knowledge or benefits).

## 3.2 University Civic Engagement as Value Networks

Following the idea of VNA, now it is possible to craft a conceptual framework that conceptualizes UCE as networks of value exchanges. Doing so requires defining the three main components of a value network. First, the different transactions that could be observed will be characterized. Secondly, the different actors that are expected to engage with universities. And finally, the different forms of value that could be found as part of the network. Combining these three elements together provides the means for comparing the two cases and for answering the proposed research questions. Identifying the transactions will allow analyzing and discussing how the activities in the Academic Dugan and the Sanctuary program can be interpreted as forms of UCE. On the other hand, by observing differences and similarities in the actors involved in the network and in the forms of value present in it, it becomes possible to compare the two institutional settings, one in Norway and the other in the UK. Finally, the characterization of the value that is received by the university, the refugees and other actors allows analyzing how universities contribute to the integration of refugees and how their institutional nature conditions such contribution.

### 3.2.1 Transactions in University Civic Engagement

As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, UCE can be expressed in different ways. The first form will be defined as *student engagement*. This refers to all UCE activities in which universities contribute to society by educating their students to be the ones who engage in social problems. This can be observed when universities educate their students to become civically engaged in social problems and to participate and protect democracy (Escrigas & Lobera, 2009; Harkavy, 2006). Also, it can include voluntary action of individual and students as well as groups of them (Macfarlane, 2005). For that matter, universities may be providing different means to support their actions, which also forms part of student engagement. Another form of UCE that will be considered is *Special Admission*. This type of transaction will refer to all the activities that seek to support excluded groups –such as refugees– to enter higher education. This includes the provision of relevant information (Gateley, 2015) as well as quotas or special mechanisms for admission or scholarships.

*Pedagogical engagement* will refer to activities that seek to contribute to supporting excluded groups, such as refugees, by educating them. This differs from student engagement in that

here the contribution is made by reducing inequalities in society, as education may improve the chances of excluded groups in labor market and in the acquisition of social capital (Becker, 1994; Connelly et al., 2011). This also includes the development of alternative forms of education and curriculum development for that matter (Ostrander, 2004). Another important type of activity that can be found as part of UCE refers to all activities that seek to transfer knowledge, as it is considered as one of the main services of universities (Jongbloed et al., 2008). In the context of university civic engagement, this can be observed in activities that are centered in the diffusion of relevant knowledge, such as blogs, media, open lectures, MOOCs, among others, and it will be referred to as *open teaching and learning*.

Ostrander (2004) proposed other two types of UCE activities, *cooperative research* and *production of relevant knowledge*. The main difference between one and the other is that the first one considers all activities in which the university co-produces knowledge in cooperation with the community, while in the other case is an exclusive task of the academics. Finally, as Macfarlane (2005) proposes, universities may also engage with society through administrative tasks. This may include sponsorship of external activities, the construction of strategic partnerships, internal coordination, and fundraising, among others. Table I summarizes the seven forms of engagement transactions proposed for this framework. It is important to remark that these forms of engagement are not exclusive of one another, as one or more of them may characterize a program or subprogram in a university.

Activity	University involvement	Description
Student Engagement	Teaching and learning, Resources and support	Engagement through the students the HEIs forms, under the assumption that they will build more inclusive, fair and democratic societies.
Special Admission	Administrative Teaching and learning Resources and support	Engagement by facilitating access to education to excluded groups through quotas, programs to facilitate access, scholarships, etc.
Pedagogical engagement	Teaching and learning Curriculum transformation	Engagement through the development of new forms of education and curriculum redesign to help students from excluded groups.

Open teaching and learning	Teaching and learning	Diffusion of knowledge; open lectures; MOOCs; etc.
Cooperative research	Research	Setting research priorities with the community to solve social problems; research in cooperation with social actors
	Coordination with community	
Production of relevant knowledge	Research	Research on behalf of the university and its internal actors to help solve different social problems, but without cooperating with them.
Administrative and strategic engagement	Resources and support	Engagement through activities that are not necessarily related to teaching, research, admission or student involvement. Examples are fundraising, sponsorship and strategic partnerships, etc.
	Coordination	

Table I: Transactions in University Civic Engagement Value Networks. Source: Author (2017)

### 3.2.2 Roles in University Civic Engagement

The next step to characterize UCE as value networks is to identify the actors that may participate in them. As mentioned before, universities are loosely coupled systems of scholar communities. However, students also play a major role at the institutional level in terms of their engagement with society, something that is not only observable in the history of universities but also in the literature regarding UCE. Students are often called to be the bridge between universities and society. For that reason, this framework will differentiate between external and internal actors, since they may play different roles in the networks. Jongbloed et al. (2008) proposed an idea of who those actors might be based on existing literature and by using Stakeholder theory as a starting point. The categories the authors use to list the different types of stakeholders will be used as a starting point for this framework, although modified to characterize them as internal and external.

Stakeholder category	Constitutive groups, communities, stakeholders, clients, etc.	Location
Governing entities	State & federal government; governing board; board of trustees, buffer organizations; sponsoring religious organizations	External
Administration	Rector and Board	Internal

Employees	Administrative staff; support staff	Internal
Students	Students and students organizations and/or unions	Internal
Internal scholar organizations	Faculties, Departments, research groups, etc	Internal
External scholar organizations	Professional associations, Disciplinary communities and journals, etc.	External
Suppliers	Secondary education providers; alumni; other colleges and universities; food purveyors; insurance companies; utilities; contracted services	External
Competitors	Direct: private and public providers of post-secondary education  Potential: distance providers; new ventures  Substitutes: employer-sponsored training programs	External
Donors	Individuals (including trustees, friends, parents, alumni, employees, industry, research councils, foundations)	External
Communities	Neighbors; school systems; social services; chambers of commerce; special interest group	External
Government regulators and/or partners	Ministry of Education; buffer organizations; state & federal financial aid agencies; research councils; federal research support; tax authorities; social security; Patent Office	External
Non-governmental regulators and/or partners	Foundations or NGOs; institutional and programmatic accrediting bodies; church sponsors; HE and inter-university associations	External
Financial intermediaries	Banks; fund managers; analysts	External
Joint venture partners	Alliances & consortia; corporate co-sponsors of research and educational services	External

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Table II: Actors in University Civic Engagement Value Networks. Source: Adapted from Jongbloed et al. (2008)

### 3.2.3 Deliverables in University Civic Engagement

Deliverables refer to the assets that move from one actor to another in the network. Clark (1986) considers that the main substances of universities are ideas and skills, as universities are knowledge intensive institutions. This idea implies that the main asset that universities can create and exchange is knowledge, an intangibles that can be transferred through the act of teaching –in different forms- and created through scientific research activities. This form of



value will be referred to as *intellectual capital*. Besides that, the process of delivering such assets, and of receiving other forms of value, may involve *financial* and *manufactured capital*, in the form of funding or other type of tangible assets that universities may receive in exchange for the activities they are performing and also deliver to other actors, for example in the form of scholarships. *Human capital* will refer to deliverables that involve the provision of expertise, such as expert advice, or a professional service, such as healthcare or legal services. In addition, it will consider that individuals can be a form of human capital, as talented students and researchers may become a relevant asset for universities.

Finally, *social* and *relationship* capital will be characterized by different intangible benefits that may be involved. Social capital will respond to activities that seek to defend the values and norms of the university and to build legitimacy for the institution. This will be interpreted as forms of institutional positioning (Fumasoli & Huisman, 2013). This can be observed in activities in which universities generate institutional complementarities without becoming instrumental of other actors, coherent to their own mission and vision. Examples of this are activities such as academic conferences, relating current research to social problems, or activities that promote academic freedom. In addition, participating in activities beyond that can also become a form of institutional positioning as long as they do it to protect their position in society. On the other side, relationship capital will be found in activities that provide means for strategic or market-based coordination. This can be observed through market-based mechanisms as competitive funding, for the case of market coordination, and deliberative activities, such as a meeting with external actors, for strategic coordination. Refugees, on the other hand, are also recipients of social capital. This can be observed in activities that seek to build networks or help refugees make use of them for different means, as well as those that promote socialization and improve their position in society. Table III summarizes the deliverables that will characterize UCE as a network of value exchanges:

<b>Deliverables</b>	<b>UCE Value Capital</b>
Financial Capital	Scholarships, grants, financial assets, competitive funding, direct funding,
Manufactured Capital	MOOCs, Software, books, infrastructure, transportation, etc.
Human Capital	Researchers, students, professionals, experts, etc.

Intellectual Capital	Academic research knowledge, expert knowledge, professional knowledge, skills and competences, etc.
Relationship Capital	Strategic coordination, market based coordination, hierarchies
Social Capital	Institutional positioning (universities), networks and socialization (refugees)

Table III: Deliverables in University Civic Engagement as Value Networks. Source: Author

# 4 Methodology

This chapter will describe the methodology used in this study, the research design, and the methods for the data collection. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the methodology used was focus on applying a value network analysis to the different institutional responses of both universities to the Syrian refugee crisis, understood as a set of activities designed to support their integration in society. The nature of this study is deductive, and it intends to set university civic engagement in the context of different theories that could help explain the behavior of universities when interacting with different actors in society. The methods used in this study included document analysis and qualitative interviews to identify and characterize ii) the activities, ii) the actors involved and iii) the value exchange that takes place in them. While the document analysis allowed mapping the transactions or activities and some of the main actors involved, the interviews allowed to confirm and extend the data in the documents, and to identify and characterize the value exchange that took place in both cases, at UiO and KCL.

## 4.1 Research Design

The research design for this thesis includes the application of a framework that attempts to combine different approaches used to study higher education. While UCE addresses the relationship of universities with society, and the way such relationship takes place, varieties of capitalism and the institutional positioning approaches represent a view that conditions such relationship to both, context and institutional nature. In that sense, understanding the effect of political economic differences on higher education supposes a huge breadth, reason why the research design of this study has narrowed the empirical focus to the response of two specific universities to the refugee crisis as an explorative first approach (Patton, 2002, pp. 225-228).

For that matter, a qualitative research design is proposed based on a comparative case study. Because of the complex nature of the issues to be examined from the two selected cases, this type of study appears as a suitable option because an intensive comparative analysis of few cases may be more promising than a superficial statistical analysis of many cases, considering inevitable scarcity of time, energy and financial resources (Lijphart, 1971, pp. 385-386). Furthermore, although in some cases it may seem logical to shift to statistical methods,

especially when testing “macro-hypothesis” concerning the “interrelations of structural elements of total systems”, this research proposes to focus in two cases analyzed in depth. The main reason to do this lies in that this study proposes to use a micro approach focused on the individuals to explain macro-processes. On the other hand, this study includes two qualitative parts, one descriptive, focused on identifying the activities from the universities that support the refugees, and another deductive, that focused on characterizing the value exchange that took place in them. That way, the first part was set to answer the first research question, while the other on answering the other three.

The sequence of the study has been as follows:

- 1) *Literature review*: relevant literature has been reviewed regarding university civic engagement (UCE), varieties of capitalism and the University as an institution. This review forms the foundation for the study’s analytical framework which is aimed at conceptualizing how values are exchanged when universities engage with different actors in society. In addition, literature regarding the relation between higher education and forced migration was also reviewed, aimed at setting value in the context of refugee integration.
- 2) *Document analysis*: since this study’s objective was set on identifying and characterizing the activities that gave shape to the response of UiO and KCL to the refugee crisis, the first data collection stage has been focused on documents from both individual responses or initiatives regarding this same matter. These documents were blogs and descriptive documents, available on each institutional website, and also accessed thanks to the central administration of each university. The idea of this part was to map activities and actors, to that way configure a first approach to structuring the value networks.
- 3) *Interviews with university leaders*: once characterized both cases in terms of their responses, semi-structured interviews with the leaders of each university were undertaken. The objective of this part was to explore how the universities’ activities supported the refugees and the other actors identified, but also the motives both institutions had to engage in such activities, for characterizing the value the institution is receiving. This was done based on the perceptions of the leaders at both institutions, meaning it represents only the vision of the strategic management of UiO and KCL.

- 4) *Analyze finding from framework*: the last part consisted of analyzing the characteristics of the activities, for understanding how UCE is taking place and how the investigated universities are supporting refugee integration; and examining the value exchange to understand how national context and the institutional nature of universities is conditioning such processes.

## 4.2 Unit of Analysis and Cases

The model presented in the analytical framework proposes an actor-centered approach for analyzing value exchange in the context of university civic engagement. That is why the main unit of analysis in this study has been the university as an organization of individuals, but that acts as an actor when it comes to participating in the political economy. This implies that although the university will be considered as an organization conformed by individuals –be administration, faculties, departments or students- the role of the university can be studied as of an individual actor in society, that interacts with internal or external actors, that may explain its behavior in the specific case proposed.

The idea of using the Syrian refugee crisis as a point of comparison is not a mere random decision. One of the purposes of this study is to go beyond the economic functions of higher education by focusing on its contribution to social problems or civic activities, thereby improving the understanding of the interaction between universities and other societal actors. A case like the refugee crisis included a variety of actors that interacted in the context of the two chosen programs, Sanctuary and the Academic Dugnad, such as refugee immigrants and civil society organizations that participated in the refugees' integration processes. That way, this two cases allowed to study not only the way civil society interacts with higher education, but also how the political economic context and the institutional nature of universities may affected these relationships.

The reason behind choosing the University of Oslo and the King's College of London is related to the problem itself and to the framework proposed. First, following the VoC approach, Norway is considered a CME and the UK a LME. This distinction allowed a comparison of these two cases since, from the political economical perspective, they are almost opposite. This also becomes valid when considering the perspective of institutional positioning, since different environments should present different adaptations. On the other

hand, Hall and Soskice have addressed both cases in their book, what gives this study a starting point from a theoretical and empirical perspective when considering institutional differences between both countries. On the other hand, both cases are comparable as they are both located in the capital of each country and both are research-oriented institutions.

Besides these facts, the University of Oslo and King's College of London are two cases worth studying considering that the phenomenon this study has focused on is the university's response to the refugee crisis. On the one side, the University of Oslo, together with two other institutions, has organized what was called 'the Academic Dugnad' for helping refugees, as well as offering help in Norwegian language learning, quoting a cultural asset to explain its motivation<sup>6</sup>. On the other side, the King's College of London has also offered an organized program to support refugees, involving academics, students and other civic organizations through a variety of activities.

### **4.3 Sampling, Data Collection and Analysis**

This study proposes to study university civic engagement by analyzing the interactions that take place in two different programs that aim to support refugees in the UK and in Norway. For that purpose, two cases were selected, the University of Oslo and the King's College of London. The approach chosen for this study focuses on strategy as a way of positioning the university in certain value networks, what means that the first assumption is that the decisions taken in the context of the Academic Dugnad and the Sanctuary programs reflect such strategy. For that reason, this study considered a generic purposive sampling (Bryman, 2012, pp. 422-424), as recruiting participants that allowed to collect data for studying strategic decisions required to fulfill specific requirements. The criteria chosen focused on finding participants who were directly involved in the planning and in the implementation of both programs. That way, the idea was to gain access to not only the motives and rationale behind each activity, but also to information regarding the actors involved, their role, and possible observed outcomes.

Considering that this study was limited to the perspective of each university over the UCE that took place in each support program, the participants that were interviewed only belong to the central administration of both universities, UiO and KCL. The staff in charge of those

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<sup>6</sup> University of Oslo: Academic Dugnad  
<http://www.uio.no/english/about/collaboration/academic-dugnad/>

activities that was involved in both, planning and implementing the programs, was limited, reason why the decision was to perform only two interviews to the leaders of both programs. The number of interviews is limited, although each one was carried out extensively to address each one of the research questions in this study. In addition, the interview considered a semi-structured design that was carried out in two stages. First, a generic version was created, addressing the main points of a value network analysis. Later, it was completed using the data collected from the document analysis, to make each interview as complete and specific as possible. This allowed to have an initial idea of each one of the programs, its actors and the roles they played before conducting them, saving time and making the data collection more efficient. Because of operational complications regarding the impossibility of one of the interviewees to coordinate a time and place for the interview, the leader at King's College of London, it had to be performed using a phone call. Each one of the interviews was recorded and transcribed in detail, and later analyzed using discourse analysis.

#### **4.4 Validity and Reliability Issues**

In a qualitative study, validity and reliability are measurements of the quality of the research process. Regarding the internal validity of this study, the documents analysis does not suppose a challenge as the interviews do, since it corresponds to the explorative part of the study. To increase the level of internal validity this study has used “respondent validation” to guarantee the correct interpretation of the data collected. On the other hand, regarding the validity of the informant, the characteristics of university leadership –it is a hierarchical structure and an institutional response- constitutes a relevant factor to give internal validity to their words, the rest will depend on the reliability of the data collection. Regarding external validity, even though this study presents a descriptive part in the methodology, the final part has an explorative nature, reason why the focus of this research is set on the internal validity to open the door for future research based on this approach over value exchange applied to higher education.

In terms of reliability, it might be the key aspect of this research in terms of its quality. Being a qualitative deductive study, the consistency of the measurements done is not only relevant for its replicability, but also for its internal validity, which in this case depends directly on the reliability of the data. To increase the reliability of the data, especially of the interviews, in this study a semi-structured interview was undertaken that included formal instruments that

allow for the replication of this study as systematically as possible. Both interviews, one with a leader of the Academic Dugnad program in UiO and another with a leader of the Sanctuary program at KCL, were performed in the same language – English – and have been recorded and transcribed in order to allow third parties to compare results and evaluate the data collection methods.

## **4.5 Ethical Issues**

The last part refers to the possible ethical issues that may appear in this study. Most of the data collection is based on document analysis, meaning the main ethical problem would exist in the possibility of not considering certain data that could be relevant for the conclusions and could change the way the contribution of the universities is interpreted. Another ethical issue that may arise relates to the responses of the university leaders, since they are political actors in the political economy and not just organizational leaders. This last issue, the most critical, has been addressed in the design of the interviews by avoiding sensitive issues as much as possible and by limiting it to facts and by comparing it to the actual institutional statements of each university.

## **4.6 Limitations**

One of the main limitations of this study is the number of participants that are interviewed to collect the data. As it is mentioned in the previous chapter, many actors interact when universities engage in social problems. This includes both internal and external actors. For that reason, structuring a complete value network would require not only to consider the perspective of the university for that matter, but also of other actors involved. This, to begin with, includes refugees, which are the main recipient of the help that universities are providing. Nevertheless, this study was performed in the context of a Master's thesis, what implied limited time and resources. A preferable approach would have been a Snow Ball sampling. It would have allowed not only approaching to the central administration of the university to perform interviews and collect data them, but also with the objective of making them propose other relevant participants. Because of this, the study is limited to only the perceptions of the strategic and operational layers of the administration of the university, leaving outside of the study the perceptions of the rest of the involved actors.



# 5 Analyzing the University Engagement Value Networks

In this chapter, the data collected for this study will be presented and analyzed. The detail of each one of the categories that will be used in this chapter to analyze each of the activities that the two case universities used to support the refugees are presented in chapter 3, although a short description will be used here as a guide to understand the data and results through the idea of value network.

The starting point for identifying and analyzing the value networks in which the civic engagement of the universities is taking place is to perform a value network analysis. This considers that, for each of the two institutions, the programs they centrally organize to support refugees were characterized by identifying a series of relevant aspects. First, all of the transactions, represented by the activities organized as part of their programs; second, the roles, characterized by the actors involved and what they do in each context; and finally, the deliverables, the value components expressed in the form of different capitals that go from financial to social capital. Next, on the basis of these ‘characterizations’, the results will be analyzed from the perspective of forced migration and higher education, giving shape to a graphical description of the value networks in which the activities at UiO and the KCL are embedded. Considering that part of the programs of both universities consider facilitating the access to higher education to refugees and that also both programs involve the participation of students, the concept of student needs to be clarified. While the term “students” will refer to regular students at the universities of these two cases, which can include refugees but not exclusively, the term “refugee student” will refer only to refugees enrolled in higher education.

## 5.1 King’s College of London: The Sanctuary Program

The first university to be analyzed is the King’s College of London. The documents collected from this institution were the descriptions of activities that were publicly posted in the official website of the university. It is important to mention that although this information was originally available in the website, which was collected for this study using screenshots, it

was later taken offline. So, although the information obtained in those documents was useful and was used as a first insight into the work the KCL is carrying out to support refugees and asylum seekers, most of the data was collected from an interview performed to the leadership at the university. The interviewee was directly involved in the organization of the Sanctuary program, an activity focused on supporting refugees and asylum seekers on behalf of the whole university. Nevertheless, although an insight over the support students were providing to the refugees was obtained through the website of the university, more information was gathered through the description the student organizations had on their official websites or on their Facebook pages.

The Sanctuary program was considered by the leadership at the King's College of London as an umbrella initiative that allowed gathering all the different activities that were taking place at the university together as part of the same effort. It allowed unifying both, centralized and individual programs taking place at different levels of the university, all under the name of the King's College of London. When asked about the origin of the Sanctuary program, the interviewee answered that it was an initiative of the former vice principal of international affairs, who was linked to refugee and asylum seeker issues from beforehand. In the words of the leadership, that person: "pushed the Sanctuary program forward as an important piece of political and social work in the university, fulfilling our vision of service to society, working together with other colleagues within King's who were interested in these –forced migration-issues". For that reason, a first aspect to consider in the analysis will be the level of the organization where each of the activities that give form to the Sanctuary program took place. Besides that, the understanding of what being a part of the university means will also be considered as important for the analysis, as the internal participants of the program included not only academics but also students and non-academic staff.

On the other hand, there is as well a strategic perspective, the institutional motivation to become involved in this matter. In the words of the university leader in charge of the Sanctuary program, such motivation had its origin in the mission and vision of KCL. In the interview, regarding the responsibility of the university towards society and towards refugees, the leadership addressed it by saying that "one of our key vision statements is that King is trying to answer the big questions, address the global challenges". This statement highlights the global and international dimension of the program, providing a first insight into the strategy of the University for addressing their relationship with society.

### 5.1.1 The Sthier Program

The first transaction identified was the *Sthier program*, described by the leadership as “the major element” of Sanctuary. The focus of this initiative is to provide a way to overcome the barriers that refugees around the world have for entering higher education, or at least for entering into a certain group of universities that accept the solution provided by KCL for that matter. At its center is the idea of creating a “foundational degree”, an educational program that refugees in different geographical contexts can access in a variety of ways, overcoming the barriers they have for applying to higher education. It is relevant to remark that the program did not intend to provide special quotas, but rather to attack the problems refugees have to accredit their background and capacities, making them eligible to enter to university. The description of the project is presented below:

*The Sthier program’s objective is to “provide a special kind of education for refugees that are displaced from Syria. So, the idea is that when students in their early twenties have been displaced because of the war in Syria, many of them may want to go on to university, and they have been unable to do that because they don’t have their qualifications. Be either their school certificate or something that would support the entrance to university. So the idea is that what they need is some kind of foundational access to grades, in order to get into university”.*

The program considers being delivered in three different ways depending on the geographic location of refugees and asylum seekers. One is designed for potential refugee students that might be staying at the home of friends or family in a city with access to internet, at home or in some other place accessible from where they are living, either in the UK or in a bordering country to Syria, such as Lebanon, Jordan or Turkey. The other two possibilities for going through the Sthier program were designed for young people residing in refugee camps, differing in that some of the participants might be located in a camp which is relatively close to a university, while others might not. While one of this two options considers the possibility of receiving part face-to-face education part online, the other is a fully online alternative, designed for camps that cannot access any close by university or higher education institution. Considering this, the Sthier program focuses on two main forms of university engagement transactions. On the one side, the program provides a way to overcome the difficulty of accrediting previous qualifications, necessary for accessing higher education due to the selectiveness and competitiveness of its admission process. This can be interpreted as a form of *special admission* that does not consider to provide special quotas or study places, but

rather to overcome the lack of documentation necessary for accrediting previous studies. Nevertheless, the means used to configure this form of alternative access to the university did consider the development of a special curriculum and the provision of education, meaning that it also is a form of *pedagogical engagement*. In addition, another important form of engagement that takes place in this program corresponds to *administrative and strategic engagement*. The institution is delivering blended education to far away contexts, and, for doing so, a part of the program considers face-to-face education together with online education. To do so, KCL is making use of partnerships with other universities and organizations that are geographically closer to the refugee camps, and which also have a particular expertise that might be useful for the successful delivery of the program, like software or other technological developments.

## **Roles**

As mentioned before, the Sthier program considers three different ways of delivering education to refugees inside and outside of the UK to certify their capacity to apply to higher education. The first role identified refers to the origin of the funds that finance the initiative. The program “secured 5 million pounds of funding from the department of international development”, which means a relevant role of governmental entities in the funding of the project, although through competitive funding rather than through direct allocation.

On the other hand, the provision of education considered three possibilities for the refugees to engage with it, depending on the context in which they were living. The first two alternatives used blended education, meaning having part online part face-to-face, for refugees who are not in camps and for those whose camps are near specific universities. The third alternative is fully online educational provision, meant for those who cannot access the first two options, as they are “in a refugee camp that is a long way from those universities” who cooperate with KCL. Each one of the alternatives considers at least being in part online, as they are forms of online or blended education. The process through which the online educational system was built involved several actors with different roles. Such a process can be observed in the words of the project leader when describing it:

*“(...) the online content is being delivered with partners in Germany and Cairo, who are specialists in online learning, and the substantial aspects of the content, that is the stuff that is really taught in the classroom, that is being developed by academics at*

*Kings. So we developed the content and we accredited the program, so the students will get a degree from KCL, a foundational access degree from KCL”.*

From this statement, it is possible to observe that, although the university is developing the content, the actual software for delivering the program was built outside of the university. Something similar happened for the case of blended learning, where part of the provision is being delivered in an actual classroom in partnership with other universities. The leadership at the university described the process through which the blended learning took place as follows:

*“(…) So the displaced student could be in one of these two locations, staying with friends or family in some place like Jordan, where they might have access to internet, or in a refugee camp, that could be either close to university, we have two partner universities, the American university of Beirut and Al alBayt University –in Jordan”.*

In order to deliver blended education, the university had to make use of partnership agreements with other universities that were closer to the refugee camps and that can complement the online provision. At the same time, there are camps that are far from these institutions and cannot access these other two alternatives, reason why KCL has developed a solution that addresses the problematic of not being able to access either a computer or internet. The solution proposed by the university considered the development of educational portable stations that can be located in any refugee camp and moved if needed. The interviewee described the process through which this alternative was conceived as follows:

*“But the idea is that we are working with our partners in engineering in Al alBayt (University), trying to create learning pods. So these are self-contained learning units that will be helicoptered in, to the ground, and are stocked with computers and online learning equipment, so that students can come into a virtual classroom study, and when the refugee camp is dispended, the learning pods can be removed and taken somewhere else”.*

Again, there is an active role of Al alBayt University, this time through their engineering units that cooperated in the creation of a solution to deliver online education in contexts where it seemed inaccessible. Then, the main actors involved in the Sthier program would be first the King’s College of London and the refugees located in either cities or refugee camps. In other words, the central administration of the university and other internal actors involved in the development of the curriculum of the foundational degree, and a specific interest group which are refugees. In addition, the government provided a competitive funding scheme that made the initiative possible, as it was through this provision that the program became financially

viable. In addition, several external actors were involved. Not only other universities acted together with KCL as partners for the pedagogical engagement, they also contributed in the development and delivery of the technology that made it possible. It is important to remark that although the interviewee refers to other universities in the country, there is no specification about them and the main partners seem to be located outside the country, meaning they are not direct competition in their own national context.

## **Deliverables**

Now that the Sthier program has been identified as a transaction and the different actors involved have been identified and analyzed, it is time to focus on the different forms of value that are exchanged in the interactions that take place in this activity. The first asset that can be identified is a financial capital, in the form of competitive funds that the government provided and that the King's College of London acquired by presenting the Sthier program. On the other hand, for the case of the refugees that are receiving education, the main idea behind this provision is expressed in the following statement from the leader of the Sanctuary program:

*“(...) many of them –the refugees- may want to go on to university, and they have been unable to do that because they don't have their qualifications, either the school certificate or they don't have you know something that would support the entrance to university. So, what they need is to be accredited in some way that –corroborates that- they are ready for university. (...) So, what King's proposes to do is to create a foundational degree, an access degree to get to university that would be one year in duration. That degree would be offered in a combination of blended learning and online learning”.*

Here it is possible to observe a combination of two forms of value that interact. First, this is an educational program, which means that the university is delivering intellectual capital to the refugees that, if in the end turned it into skills and competences, it represents as well a form of human capital. But also, by providing a form of certification of their educational level for supporting their entrance to higher education, the program is also providing a form of social/relationship capital, as “the students will get a degree from KCL, a foundational access degree from KCL”, meaning the university is using its own name as a way to certify them.

For the case of the partner universities that participate in the provision of blended learning, as well as for KCL, the value that is involved is also human capital, as the institutions seem to be interested in the possibility of finding good students.

*“(...) universities in our country and bordering countries, like Lebanon, Jordan and even Turkey, are interested in taking these displaced student refugees, but they are not going to accept them in the university as long as they not are confident in that they can deal with a higher education program”*

There is an interest in the refugees as potential students, although there is a concern over whether they will be able to handle higher education. Then, the program is seen as some sort of filter that will allow the universities to provide access to students who might have the capacities, but who have no way to prove it. In addition, the provision of the blended and online education considers implementing a series of technological solutions. First, the online provision of education used in all the variations of the Sthier program considered the development of an online platform, which was developed by “partners in Germany and Cairo”, but whose content is provided by the King’s College of London. There are several forms of capital interacting here. The first one refers to the human capital those partners provide for developing the solutions, that takes the form of an online educational platform, a form of manufactured capital that acts as a container for intellectual capital. However, its origin lies not in the partners, but in the university, which provides the content that will be packed in the software.

On the other hand, the education that is being provided in refugee camps without access to nearby partner universities, considers a solution to the specific problematic of not having access to internet or a computer. It involved key assets necessary for its implementation, “self-contained learning units that will be helicoptered in, to the ground” that contain computers and online learning equipment, as was mentioned before. This involves two forms of manufactured capital; helicopters and the so-called “pods”, which guarantee access to the program in isolated refugee camps. Finally, all these interactions are part of partnership agreements of the KCL, a form of administrative strategic engagement, which could be interpreted as a relationship capital, as it involves strengthening the university’s networks and relationships with other strategic partners. Nevertheless, it is important to remark that the Sthier program is developed under the context of the Sanctuary program, whose goal is strongly aligned with the vision of the King’s College of London of becoming an institution that addresses global problematics. Considering this, one could add not only a relationship capital but also a social capital, as the program is coherent with that vision and might be positioning as such in society. Figure 1 provides a graphical description of how such

interactions take place, allowing to observe how different actors cooperate to deliver value to refugees.

### **5.1.2 Sanctuary Scholarships**

Besides the foundational degree program that allows students to certify their qualifications, KCL's program to support the refugees considers the provision of a special scholarship. This implies mostly economic support, as the requisite to be eligible for the grant is to be already accepted in a program at the university. The leadership at the university stated the following when asked about the sanctuary scholarship:

*“What we are trying to do there is that we offer two sanctuary scholarships a year that will comprise of two full tuition fee support and help with living costs. Who is eligible for these are asylum seekers who already hold a place, who are offered a place in a King's undergraduate program. So you need to have applied to King's and have gotten a place. And then if you are an asylum seeker you would be applying to a scholarship and if you get it you would be supported financially. It is open to either asylum seekers or children of asylum seekers, or unaccompanied asylum seeking children who came as children and then after 18 or certain age can apply. That's how that works, that's the sanctuary scholarship application program”.*

First, it is important to note that there are only two scholarships a year, meaning it is a selective and competitive program. Also, that the main goal of this program is to facilitate the entrance to higher education, specifically to KCL, since it provides the means necessary to support the tuition fee and at least part of the costs of living in London. For that reason, this program, and the transactions involved in it, can be considered as a form of special admission, as it facilitates the access to higher education by solving the cost-related problems of studying, but also as pedagogical engagement, as the accepted refugees become students of the institution.

#### **Roles**

The main actors involved in this part of the Sanctuary program are the refugees and the King's College of London. One aspect that is interesting to remark is how specific the profiles for the refugees are. It is mandatory to have already been offered a position as a student in the university, meaning they must pass this process as any other student. The condition of being “talented enough” to be part of the university seems to be an important factor. At the same



time, there appears to be a broad definition of what it means to be a refugee or asylum seeker, as it applies not only directly to this core group but also to their children or to refugees that may have been in London for several years already. This opens up a question regarding what it means to be a refugee for the university, either a legal or a humanitarian condition, and about whether there is a related criteria used to decide who will get a scholarship, as there might be backgrounds that are more complex than others.

## **Deliverables**

The main deliverables involved for the refugees in this program are intellectual and human capital, as the program proposes a way to facilitate the access to education at the King's College of London, but also financial capital, as the competitive scholarship covers the funds for tuition fee and living costs. In addition, being part of the university might also be interpreted as a form of social capital, as it may improve the involved students' position in society. The university's selectivity could also be interpreted as a way of securing good students, something that is described by Graf (2009) as one of the spheres in which universities must solve coordination problems. Nevertheless, considering the idea of students being an integral part of the university, not just as an asset or as a consumer of a teaching and learning service, it would mean that a student in this context could be interpreted as a form of human capital that the university is accessing through this scholarship.

### **5.1.3 Student Initiatives**

Another important part of the Sanctuary program refers to the role students play in the conception and implementation of different initiatives that are carried out in the name of the university but that are considered as part of the program. Their role is not only considered as central for Sanctuary; it is assumed by the university that the success of their initiatives is a responsibility of the institution, as it should be the result of the education they receive at King's. The leadership in KCL described the involvement of students in the Sanctuary program as a value related issue:

*“(...) the whole ethos of the sanctuary program is that most of our initiatives should be student lead. (...) The students want to be able to really think through and work up innovative, conceptual and applied solutions to some of these situations that confront the world today, and Kings thinks of being responsible of developing young people who are capable of offering a response to some of these issues”.*

This highlights an interesting perception of the participation of students in Sanctuary program. There is a clear reference to their role but also to how their formation in the university is related to it, as it improves their capacity to engage with the problems of society and come up with solutions for them. Moreover, the educational aspect of the student/university relationship is reinforced when going deeper into its functioning, into the processes over which it takes form:

*“(...) what we are trying to do at the managerial level is to allow them to treat the university as a laboratory if you like, as an experimental work station where they can think about how they can develop innovation solutions to these challenges. But also to encourage them into the whole issue of how they are going to make these interventions work. So, through the sanctuary program we invited a number of different groups of students, some of them are in student societies to think about how they would respond to this situation”.*

As it is possible to observe, the way students interact with the university is defined as a “laboratory”, or even as an “experimental work station”, concepts that relate more to a way of educating, like for example project base learning, than to an administrative relationship. In that sense, the university engagement in this matter takes several forms. For instance, it is a form of student engagement, but in which the university is involved in more than one way. First, it takes place through sponsoring and administrative support –funding for example; but there is a teaching and learning component central for the implementation of the initiatives carried by the students. The involvement of students in the Sanctuary program is an example of how student engagement and administrative strategic engagement come together.

## **Roles**

The participants in this activity, and the role they play, go beyond just a simple sponsoring and funding. On the one side, the program considers student associations as the main internal actor with which the university interacts. On the other side, regular KCL students support refugees not only in the UK, with their resettlement, but also in refugee camps outside the country, reinforcing the “global” vision the university and the program has, making students an integral part of both, values and practice. The project leader provided an example of such idea:

*“For example there are some who are in a dental institute at Kings who want to go out and they do a very important work in my view by providing dental treatment in*

*refugee camps. So that is great, they came out with that idea and tried to deliver that. But what they also do is try to be sure that they are then responsible for thinking about how they will be able to do that”.*

Again, the teaching and learning role of the university can be observed, although this time it takes place not as teacher-student, but in a university-student association relationship, as if those organizations were to be educated by the King’s College of London.

## **Deliverables**

It is possible to observe several forms of value being exchanged in this activity. The refugees inside and outside the UK are receiving different forms of help through the student engagement. Dental and medical help in refugee camps, English language classes, help with homework for refugee kids, help for refugees to “develop relationships and sense of community” (Students Action for Refugees KCL), leisure activities, diffusion of knowledge, among other things. These are some of the activities and objectives that were identified through the website of the university and in the pages of some of those student organizations. In terms of deliverables, the regular students at KCL seem to focus on providing either health services, which could be characterized as human capital as the students are making use of their professional capacities, and relational/social capital, as they providing means to integrate in the community, strengthening both, their networks and position in society.

As for the regular students at KCL that are engaging with the refugees, the vision of the project leader considered that implementing this type of projects has a pedagogical goal, as the relation between the university and the student organizations in the process is described as an enabler for thinking and innovating. Describing the involvement of the students as an “experimental work station” reinforces the fact that it might be conceived in the central administration as a learning experience, relevant for their education. An example of such is provided when describing the main challenges of delivering medical aid to refugee camps:

*“So what are going to be the practical issues of trying to get medical equipment out there, what are the issues around trying to deliver those kinds of medical services? So it is an exercise for them to really try to envision those ideas to become a reality, and about how they deal with the complex challenges that they come up with. So what I try to do basically is to support their ideas by either pointing out to them, we have regular meeting, and either pointing out to them “this could be a problem, this could be an issue”, so we work and collaborate together to try to iron out what the difficulties are and making this thing workable”*

In that quote, it is possible to see that the relationship between the university and the student organizations can be compared to a workshop, or even to a laboratory, as the role of the university is closer to a supervisor or a teacher, in the context of a course, than to a manager, partner or sponsor. For that reason, students are receiving intellectual and human capital from the university, who receives back from them a form of human capital, as the students that form part of the institution are being educated in the process and are a part of the organization. In addition, as the university considers the students to an integral part of the university, together with the academics, by providing them better education, coherent with the norms and values of KCL, it becomes a form of institutional positioning, as it is through them that the institution is represented in the society. The leader at the university even states that it is King's responsibility to form students to face global challenges, a statement directly related to KCL values and the position of its students in society.

#### **5.1.4 Center for Migration and displacement**

The next activity that forms part of the Sanctuary program as a transaction was a project for creating a research center for migration and displacement. This idea from the leadership of the university reinforced the idea of it being a loosely coupled organization, as well as the condition of the faculties and departments as autonomous scholar communities, as the initiative responds more to a coordination of the research they already performed than to a centralized project. This can be observed in the words of the university leader:

*“So some of the things that we have been thinking on doing is trying to create a research center for looking at migration and displacement issues. And if we pull together some of the academics within the institution that are interested in those issues, what they will probably do is develop individual work streams. So there might be one on mental health, there might be one on displacement, there might be one on trauma or conflict or something, and then each academic is responsible for the different work that they are doing. And then, together, we put in a bit for a larger net of funding to fund all those different work streams under the umbrella of a center for migration and displacement or something like that. So that is how you bring all these things together. So you bring different people from across the institution, who is already working in those things to working in collaborative ways to sort of liberate their expertise to form part of something that is more than the sum of its parts”.*

Not only the loose coupled condition of universities as organizations that Clark (1986) refers to can be observed, as departments, faculties and researchers seem to work individually. In

addition, the central administration works as the link that brings together scholars from a variety of backgrounds, coordinating their research efforts, aggregating value in their efforts to get new funding sources. It is interesting to observe how the leadership at the Sanctuary program describes the project of this research center as bringing together the work the academics normally do into a single initiative, joining efforts without the necessity of a common framework that could condition their work to become instrumental of other purposes beyond academic research.

## **Roles**

As seen before, the main actors involved in the implementation of a research center on migration and displacement are academics from different faculties and the university's central administration. It is interesting to see how this initiative pretends to bring together academics from different parts of the university whose work might be relevant for migration and displacement issues, and how the university is acting as the link between them, as a coordinator, as they might never have worked together before. The leadership of the university describes such relation as follows:

*Within the university, there are all sorts of people who are academics from different departments, who work on issues of migration, refugees, and they work on different aspects. They might work on mental health, they might work on trauma, they might work on displacement, they work with migration, and what those people do is that they continue doing their normal research, and there might be conferences, there might be blogs, etc. And then, what we try to do, is to bring those people together to work in a program centrally, so we bring all the expertise together under the umbrella of the sanctuary program, so we try to deliver that work and make the best of what they have to offer.*

In the quote, the multidisciplinary condition of universities is remarked, or as Clark (1986) defines, its extensive and intensive condition in terms of their focus as an organization, as it covers a wide variety of approaches. In addition, the role of the university as a coordinator that allows bringing together such wide spectrum of disciplinary approaches is reinforced, with the administrative aspect of UCE becoming central for that matter.

## **Deliverables**

As was observed in the last quote, the three main actors involved in this part of the Sanctuary program are the academics, from different backgrounds, departments and faculties, the central administration of the university, and the public who will access the knowledge from the research. Through the center, the university is solving a coordination problem, as this allows joining efforts for applying for funding, allowing academics to obtain the financial capital they need to carry out their work. In that sense, besides funding, the university is receiving both, financial capital which is later transferred to the academics, and a form of relationship capital, as the problematic of obtaining funds for the university is being solved by coordinating the efforts of several academics into a single organizational framework.

In addition, the research center seems to have the objective of delivering the work from the scholars at the university to different actors in society who might make a good use of it for their work in helping the refugees. There was no detail on which public it may be targeting to, but it is expected that it may refer to policy makers and NGOs who are receiving the intellectual capital the universities produce, as it was said it was put at disposition of whoever may need it. As for the university, this could either be interpreted as a form of strategic coordination (Graf, 2009; Hall & Soskice, 2001) or as institutional positioning (Fumasoli & Huisman, 2013). Internally, this activity seems to provide both the university and academics strategic coordination for securing funding. Nevertheless, externally, the relation does not seem that direct. Since in the context of the UK there is almost no relationship of dependence with any actor for the matter of the diffusion of such knowledge, it seems rather unlikely for the university to be fulfilling an instrumental role by sharing knowledge for policymaking or politics. If the intellectual capital is indeed shared, as the initiative seeks to make the work the scholars at King's are already doing visible, a more coherent interpretation would be to consider it as a form social capital, and therefore as a way of achieving institutional positioning.

### **5.1.5 Legal Advice for Refugees**

Another initiative that was mentioned as part of the Sanctuary program is trying to build a free service for providing legal advice and assistance for refugees in the UK. The genesis of this activity is not in the university but outside of it, in an NGO, which approached the central administration for help in that matter. Such initiative is only an example of the relationship

King's College of London has with different civil organizations, as it is explained by the leadership:

*“(…) in terms of the external organizations, mostly they come to us through initiatives that the students or staff is getting together. An example would be, for instance, Citizens UK, which is a NGO from London. Students are working with them to try and think about how they can help, because they are an organization that helps to support new citizens in the UK, and we want to work with them to establish the needs that these newly displaced migrants have”*

There, it is possible to observe the dynamic that exists between NGOs and the university in the context of higher education in the UK. The civil organizations tend to approach the university through the students or staff that participates in them, connecting both organizations to deliver a service to the refugees arriving to the UK together. Nevertheless, the idea of providing legal advice was originated after they started working together, since Citizens UK looked for help in supporting newly arrived refugees without necessarily knowing how to do it. The origin of such idea is described below:

*“One of the things we have identified is that they need legal advice, modest situations, so we are thinking that we might try and lead a partnership with the law school and possibly with a law firm to try to provide some pro bono legal advice to migrants who might need it”.*

For that matter, this activity could be interpreted as a form of *administrative or strategic engagement* between the university, a NGO and private law firms, as the main activity being done is to act as a bridge between actors, as a way of creating partnerships to support refugees with legal advice.

## **Roles**

With the purpose of providing legal advice as a service for refugees arriving to the UK, the central administration of the King's College of London has established a partnership with a NGO called Citizens UK. The work they do in this initiative reflects the role that the university and the NGO are assuming, complementing each other:

*“(…) And then the role of citizens UK would be to redirect displaced migrants or refugees that come to them seeking that kind of legal advice. They would then push them on to us and we would try to deliver some support through this kind of pro bono legal advice that would be offered outside of KCL, in partner law firms in the city but*

*also in our law school. So you see the way all these initiatives link up together, marrying together, NGOs, arms within our organization, some government funding, you have to be very creative to put this things together. You have to be capable of linking together a number of different constituencies and people with different interests and different specialties and capabilities to try to deliver all this novel interventions and try to make real change happen”.*

Therefore, the actors involved are the King’s College of London and Citizens UK, but also the students and staff, who acted as the bridge that put them in contact, and the refugees who are receiving the legal advisory service. In that sense, the double membership of students and staff, as part of the university and as part of external associations, is allowing the link to exist. In addition, two more actors are involved in the initiative, as the partnership and the legal service are provided by the Faculty of Law at King’s, and not by the university, who only acted as the contact and by giving shape to the partnership. In practice, the implementation of the legal service for refugees takes place at the Faculty of Law, and even together with private law firms who may deliver pro bono service:

*“(…) we are thinking that we might try and lead a partnership with the law school and possibly with a law firm to try to provide some pro bono legal advice to migrants who might need it”.*

Again, the university is working on coordinating or connecting the lower levels of the university, the loosely coupled parts, faculties and departments, with other actors in society, for delivering the value they already have or that they create. In this case, different from the other activities, the connection goes beyond delivering value, like in the case of the research center, but also by making use of other external partnerships the faculty or the university may have already in place, as the private law firms join to offer pro bono services as part of the same program.

## **Deliverables**

As mentioned before, the university is helping Citizens UK to support refugees arriving to the country. In that process, KCL and the students or staff who are part of both, NGO and university, are providing coordination between Citizens UK and the Faculty of Law, meaning a form of relationship capital, while the university is accessing a network of refugees. For that matter, relating with private law firms strengthens the relationship between them and the university, at the same time that it could be interpreted as them having the chance to be closer



to academia and make them known in society as pro bono service providers. Involved refugees see themselves with less legal problems, with a better relationship with the society in which they are being resettled, what means it could be interpreted as a form of social capital, as Citizens UK tries to make such process easier for newcomers in the country in general. Nevertheless, legal consulting is both, a way of using the human capital of the law firms and the university. In terms of whether the university is achieving institutional positioning or strategic coordination, it is not entirely clear. It could be that participating in this activity may allow strengthening the ties with private partners, a form of relationship capital, but also, by participating and making the university part of this, makes the issue public, increasing the social capital of the institution. In that sense, one could argue that both forms of capital are present. Figure 5 integrates the three elements of the VNA, providing a graphical view of the network present in this activity.

### **5.1.6 Fundraising**

The last part of the Sanctuary program identified in this study, which is considered by the administration as important and as a specific area of the project, concerns fundraising. Not only the university is collecting funds to support the activities that the different internal actors in the organization are developing, but also it is creating a platform through which the general public can engage by contributing with money. Fundraising in this case is a centralized activity; it takes place in the central administration that connects it with the initiatives that take place in different parts of the organizational environment. In words of the leadership of the university, this transaction is described as follows:

*“One of the things that we are doing is seeking extra grounds of funding to support a variety of programs that will help to deliver some aid (...). King, as an institution, is contributing money to support this program, and we are also seeking external funds from research grants giving organizations and also a certain amount of sort of donations, charitable donations from individuals that want to support our work (...). We are developing a page for fundraising; we try to develop a form of crowd funding page, so members of the university and of the general public are able to contribute with money”.*

From the perspective of university civic engagement, this activity represents a good example of how *administrative and strategic tasks* represent an important activity or transaction for both internal and external actors in the university.

## **Roles**

As was possible to observe, fundraising at the university is being carried out by the central administration. This includes the development of a crowd-funding platform and networking to connect all the internal actors involved with the public, with funds from the university, and with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as is the case of the funding received for the Sthier program. An example of how the funding is connecting the rest of the activities and actors is presented in an example about how student organization activities can make use of the crowd-funding platform:

*“So when they see what we are doing with these initiatives, like providing dental care, you will be able to go online and press on an image of somebody drilling on somebody’s teeth. And then, by something like PayPal, you will be able to make a contribution of 10 pounds or 30 pounds or whatever, to support that work, and in that way I hope to make it a rolling success, people will be able to contribute money and carry on those initiatives, so that’s how it works”.*

There, the public is invited to engage with the activities of the students that seek to support the refugees and asylum seekers. Nevertheless, another actor appears as the university does not have the capacity to provide a service for such type of donations from the public, reason why it outsources the payment service.

## **Deliverables**

The main deliverables involved in this transaction are three. The first one corresponds to financial capital, as funding is its main objective. In addition, this activity offers the university a possibility to coordinate the efforts its different internal actors are carrying to support the asylum seekers and refugees, securing funds for research and teaching. In that sense, it provides a form of relationship capital. Finally, by engaging with competitive government funding and directly with the public, the university is obtaining a form of social capital, as a way of achieving institutional positioning. Then, the King’s College of London would be ensuring social capital, as well as financial capital and internal relationship capital.

## 5.2 University of Oslo: The Academic Dugnad

The program of the University of Oslo to support the refugees is called Academic Dugnad. This initiative emerged from the university as an idea of the Rector of that time, Ole Petter Ottersen. In his blog, he describes the action of “*Dugnad*” as a “good deed or voluntary work done as a community or collective” describing the university as a community of students and scholars that must take the lead in a collective action for including qualified refugees in society. At the same time, the call is for partnerships to be formed with relevant authorities and organizations, “to recruit the energy and competence of the range of actors that must cooperate for the ‘*dugnad*’ to succeed”. For that matter, the University of Oslo has cooperated with several actors to help refugees accessing education, providing support for scholars at risk, and by the diffusion of relevant academic knowledge, among others things.

In such approach, it is relevant to observe how cooperating with different actors in the institutional arrangement of Norway is relevant in the speech over how the university will engage with society to support the refugees. As was described in the literature review, VoC classifies Norway as a coordinated market economy (CME). Therefore, it would be expected to find efforts to solve coordination problems between different actors through non-market mechanisms, with the possibility of even finding capacity for deliberation in institutions that promote dialog. As is exposed in the Rector’s blog, and as it will be observed in the full description of the different activities, actors like NOKUT and the Oslo Municipality play an important role in the success of them, but also in their organization.

The data collected for the analysis consisted of the information available in the website of the university, an interview with someone in the leadership of the program, and to the book describing the program Academic Refuge. In the following section, a value network analysis of the Academic Dugnad will be presented, describing transactions, roles and deliverables for each one of the activities identified as part of the program. Later on, an analysis of the value networks identified will be presented for both cases, UiO and KCL, from the perspective of the challenges that the resettlement of refugees represents.

### 5.2.1 Information Meeting: Applying to Norwegian Higher Education

The first transaction identified corresponded to an information meeting organized for refugees in Norway, as a way to provide information about how to apply to higher education in the

country. The meeting, an activity considered as part of the Academic Dugnad, was basically divided in two parts; the first one considered the process through which the initiative took form and in which all the relevant information was gathered and organized for being delivered to the refugees in the meeting. The genesis of the information meeting and its organization was described by the leadership of the activity as follows:

*“(…) and the whole point was that we knew that it was difficult to refugees to get into the higher education system in Norway even if they already had begun studying, or perhaps had studied a lot before coming to Norway, and we needed just to join forces to change, to make it easier for refugees to enter into academia (...). One – thing- is planning for the information meeting, and the other is how we arrange the meeting itself. In planning the meeting, we invited in HiOA, because we know we have colleagues there that we know well, and we knew that they were thinking in the same line with us, and we also called in NOKUT, and Samordna Opptak -the Norwegian agency that regulates the admission to higher education. (...) we had several work meetings, going through all the regulation, to be able to say that this is the information package that a refugee, an asylum seeker, will need. This is the information; this is how we need to present the information to this particular group, so that they can find out how to qualify”.*

In the quote, it is possible to observe how the information meeting was originated as a way to help refugees in the process of applying and continuing studies in Norway. In addition, for the leader at UiO, it also meant gathering up all the actors involved in such process in the context of Norwegian higher education, including the agencies in charge of qualification recognition and admission to higher education. Then, the activity itself, counted with the participation of all the actors invited by the university to participate in its organization, fulfilling different roles in the information meeting, even including the Municipality of Oslo:

*“(…) the meeting itself had 3 main elements; it was this information part, where all it was opened by our Rector and the rector at HiOA and the deputy major of Oslo, who herself has a refugee background. They were welcoming everyone, and then NOKUT talked about general recognition, Samordna Opptak talked about general admission of bachelor programs, staff from the university talked about the admission to master programs, and staff from our department of Nordic and linguistic studies, and the summer school talked about our Norwegian classes”.*

Three modes of university civic engagement can be used then to characterize this activity. The first one is administrative and strategic engagement, as the activity involved cooperation and coordination with several external actors. The second one is engagement through special admission, as the activity's objective is to facilitate access to higher education. In addition,

the last one is student engagement, as both student organizations and individual students participate in the organization and in the implementation of the meeting, as will be described below.

## **Roles**

Several actors interact in the transaction of the information meeting for refugees fulfilling different roles depending on the place they occupy in the Norwegian higher education system. On the one hand, there is the University of Oslo, who organized the activity and invited the other actors to participate. On the other hand, three external actors participated. First, NOKUT, as it is the agency in charge of recognizing the qualifications of the refugees. Secondly, Samordna Opptak, as they hold information regarding the admission process to higher education in Norway. Finally, the Municipality of Oslo, as it was charge of the introduction program that all refugees that granted asylum in the country must go through. The participation of those actors addressed the issues of gathering information and organizing it for the refugees. However, the involvement of another actor was needed in order to address a different task: reaching the refugees. This meant contacting them and making them aware of the activity so they could participate, something in which the university failed as in the beginning with almost no refugee registered for the meeting. For that reason, it became necessary to contact other actors, as it is described by the leader of the program:

*“So we contacted all of them, you know, refugees welcomed, and we wrote to all the mosques in Oslo, because we know that all, the majority came predominately from Muslim countries. We contacted all the different organizations at the university that are somehow geographically connected, you know, at the university, the African students associations, Muslim student organizations, Latin-American and everything. We contacted SaiJ, the students’ organization for help (...). We also contacted all the refugee reception centers and asylum seeker reception centers around Oslo. Because they are not in Oslo, and we arranged free transport from the reception centers to come in. (...). And at that time of course we weren’t that aware of the channels on social media that refugees had created for themselves. We were told about it at the meeting”.*

This implies that two main roles emerged, as the outcomes of the meeting required two different tasks: gathering and organizing the information, and contacting the refugees. For the last, the university approached both, internal and external actors, as several student organizations that were already working with refugees or that were somehow related to them

were contacted, as well as other Municipalities and reception centers. In addition, individual students, not as part of some student organization, were invited to participate:

*“(...) volunteer students from the university were meeting up with those who... -with- the refugees and asylum seekers that participated in the meeting, and they could just seat and chat, have a more informal talk about what it is like to study in Norway compared to other places”.*

The students played an important role, as they socialized and shared their experience with the refugees in a more informal context, but also as part of the information meeting, complementing the work of UiO and its partners.

## **Deliverables**

Several value components were found in this transaction as deliverables. The first one refers to intellectual capital, as the idea of the activity is to provide relevant information regarding admission to higher education in Norway. It is important to remark that the university did not intent to provide quotas for refugees for entering the university, as is indicated by the interviewee:

*“(...) we decided very early that we would not have special quotas for refugees, because higher education is competitive. If you allow people in who have less qualification than the other students, the majority is going to fail. And we didn't want to create loses out of the refugees. Just being in Norway is proof that you have many personal resources, and we thought it was important to both, organize again the information that was available in a way that made sense to refugees, because it was never aimed at refugees, and also to identify the challenges that wasn't properly taken care off inside the current system”.*

As can be seen, the activity's main objective was to inform, starting by the assumption that the available information was not contextualized for the specific case of refugees. Besides that, at the information meeting also an extra initiative was considered in which students and staff gathered books so the refugees could take them home, a form of manufactured capital:

*“(...) prior to the event, we had a book rally where people, students and employees at the university, were asked to donate books, scientific literature, and also novels and children's' books (...). There were people who went out with 8 bags just packed with books of all sorts. Bringing back, there were 3 men who were here from the southern part of Norway, and that managed to get funding to come to Oslo for this day, and*

*they brought back bags and bags to the whole reception center so that people could come together”.*

This can be interpreted as students and staff providing strategic coordination for the university, as they as well cooperated in the organization of the information meeting. In addition, financial capital was provided for transport, as many of the refugees came from reception centers from outside of Oslo. Another form of capital is relationship capital, received by both, the external actors involved in organizing the meeting and by the university. The meeting offered the opportunity to achieve coordination for solving problems that those actors face as part of their institutional objectives in the context of Norwegian higher education and the refugee crisis. For example, as UiO may be solving the problem of finding talented students to enroll at the university, the Municipality and the boroughs in Oslo will achieve a more efficient implementation of the introduction program they carry out. In addition, the information meeting is seen as a way to “give new life to the Bologna process”, another source of relationship capital. From the perspective of the university, it provides an opportunity to address again the issue of transferring “credits and competences from one national education system into one another”, together with NOKUT. Considering this, the involvement of the university in the internationalization process can be considered either as another form of relationship capital, as it allows it to coordinate the efforts for becoming “international” or also interpreted as a form of social capital, depending to what extent the Bologna Process is a part of the institutional arrangement of the university.

For the case of refugees, without necessarily being in the objective of the activity, according to the leadership of the Academic Dugnad, the information meeting had an effect on the way they see themselves in society, as can be observed in the following quote:

*“Many of them came to us and they said that this was the first time that they felt like the person they were before they had to run. Up until that point, they’ve always just been a refugee, but now they were seen as a student of English literature, of pharmacy, or a lawyer, and they could be that person that they actually are. But nobody had been able to show it to them for a while”.*

This can be interpreted as a way of receiving social capital, as it conditions their position in society, changing from feeling as refugees, as people escaping from war, to become, in their view, as student or even as professionals. Figure 7 provides a graphical view of how the information meeting can be interpreted as a value network, or at least as part of it:

## 5.2.2 Academic Practice

Another part of the ‘Academic Dugnad’ is a program called Academic Practice. This program is focused on providing an alternative for refugees to work as research assistants in different universities around Norway, as a form of internship. This project has two main aspects. First, it has the objective of helping refugees who already have an academic background, but who, because of the complications of getting of previous qualifications recognized, have a difficult time when trying to get a research position or professional work in Norway. Second, the Introduction Act, which regulates the integration of refugees in Norway, offers the possibility of an internship to help them in their integration to the labor market, which has also become determinant in explaining the characteristics of the Academic Practice program. The relationship is described by the project leadership as follows:

*“So we contacted the municipality directly and we said: we would like to make a system where it’s easier for refugees that have at least one higher education degree to find an internship placement at the university, because internships are part of the introduction program. In the beginning, you had an internship to practice your language, but then you should have internships to become able to enter the labor market. So we thought: if we could have interns that were part of the introduction program. But they would’ve come to us if they had exactly the kind of education... that they had at least one degree and... it turned out it that this had been something that everybody wanted for long long time and it had been very difficult to find out how to go about it at the university, so we’ve been coordinating”.*

As it is possible to see, the Academic Practice came as a response of universities to the Introduction Program that takes place at the municipal and borough level, as a way to help refugees that could eventually become academics to start the progression towards starting an academic career in Norway. From the perspective of university civic engagement, this program could be interpreted as a form of pedagogical engagement, as an internship is helping refugees to adapt their current education to the standards of Norwegian higher education, at least from the perspective of developing a verifiable working experience.

### Roles

As mentioned before, the Academic Practice program started as a way of supporting qualified refugees that could work in academia entering labor market in Norway. However, as was also possible to observe before, the program is directly linked to the Introduction Program, as it is the main policy regulating the integration of refugees into Norway. Such complexity at the



institutional level is conditioning the university in its attempts to help the refugees in this activity, what is described by the leader of the program, giving insights on the different actors, the role they play and the different interactions that take place:

*“The Norwegian introduction program that all new refugees have to go through after they’ve been accepted as refugees and placed in a municipality, everyone has to go through the introduction program. Oslo is the municipality in Norway where there is a higher percentage of people with a refugee background, and a lot of that is historically also that people go through the introduction program somewhere else and then they move to Oslo afterwards because here there are more chances to find people from the same country. In Oslo, the administration of the introduction program is put into every “bydel”, you know is a sort of subdivision of the municipality, 15 of them in Oslo, and each bydel has (...). Some of them are cooperating, and some of them have their own solution, some of them use NAV, some of them have made their own solution to this, you know they have all the power and they do the way they see it fits, which is part for an organization like us to start cooperating”.*

As each municipality and Oslo borough (in Norwegian ‘bydel’) has no obligation to cooperate with the universities to apply the introduction program, the role of the universities was to approach and provide assistance. Nevertheless, not only the university’s central administration has a role in this matter; the departments and faculties inside the university are the ones providing the positions for the refugees to become interns. The refugees that participate in this program are part of a very specific group, as they are only those who hold higher education from beforehand.

## **Deliverables**

The first thing to note when trying to understand the different forms of value that are involved in the Academic Practice program is the way in which the University of Oslo approached in first instance to offer help to the municipalities and boroughs. As was described before, the introduction program requires refugees to go through an internship, and as the implementation of the program is the responsibility of the municipalities and boroughs. By helping, universities are providing a form of strategic coordination, a form of relationship capital, as it is strengthening the relations between local governments and universities, and helping the former in their endeavor. At the same time, for UiO, the contribution this program provides to the university and to the refugees is seen differently:

*“(…) But it helps us find out where the problems are for the different groups for the different kinds of education, it creates increased awareness in the departments at the university, and it gives the refugees that get placed the chance to show who they are and get some experiences with work class in Norway. So we expect to expand the program to include perhaps more of the things that we offer international guest researchers or new international professors. For instance, where they have been working with Norwegian classes, they get the chances to go to the career center to get help into how to write a CV or a job application. Different things to help them move forward in the right direction and to find out what they need more of, how they can create a career within their own field. But the basic to be a participant, -is that- you have to have at least one degree, and you need to have at least one academic background that we can match at the university. Because then we also don't need NOKUT, because for example if you have a degree in math, it's going to take two weeks as an intern in the department to find out whether this is true or not, you cannot cheat your way into a degree. If you have it, it will show“.*

The program is giving the university a chance to become integrally more involved in the issue of the refugee crisis, or at least it could be interpreted as such, since it makes the departments and faculties become directly involved in the matter. If we consider the loosely coupled condition of universities as organizations, one could argue that this is allowing the central administration to coordinate efforts, a form of internal relationship capital. On the other hand, for the refugees, the program seems to be focused on helping them enter the labor market as it provides internships, possibly a form of intellectual capital if it is considered as a way of acquiring skills and competences. But also, as a way of improving their chances of entering the labor market in a different way, as it may improve their chances of obtaining a job by introducing different networks that may help him or her in that process. Either by having a better way of proving their experience and qualifications, or by using the services available in the university in the career center, refugees seem to be receiving a benefit in the form of social capital, as it is improving their relation with the social structure of Norway.

### **5.2.3 Academic Network**

Another transaction identified as part of the Academic Dugnad is the Academic Network, a program focused on creating a context for students at UiO to help refugees integrating into the Norwegian higher education system. The main idea of the Academic Network is for students from UiO to help refugees with similar academic background, who already had studied or couldn't finish their studies, by meeting, discussing, sharing experiences or by helping with studies. Such experience is described as follows:

*“(…) it is some low threshold meeting place, first of all, so the idea is that someone who has studied social sciences in Eritrea, or Syria, or Afghanistan, or Myanmar, can come and meet others with the same background and start a discussion to get to know each other. This semester we also tried to make it more academic than it was initially. Some groups have earlier worked very well, while others have become more like just groups of people taking coffee and chatting, and then forgetting about the studies. Here is more about bringing people on lectures, like open lectures, and making them aware of the library, and arranging for library cards, and getting to know the place, and finding out just how they themselves can navigate, and also to be able to say... to provide information about where to get more proper information”.*

Here, two forms of university engagement intertwine, as not only it is a place for direct student engagement, but also for pedagogical engagement, as one of the objectives of the program can be interpreted as a way for promoting their self-regulated learning, providing the participants means to become better learners.

## **Roles**

There are mainly three actors interacting in the Academic Network program. Its objective is to provide a space for refugees who could apply to higher education or that are already part of it and for UiO students to socialize and to connect the potential refugee students with the student academic life. First, there are individual students, the academic guides, as are referred to in the program’s description. They fulfill the role of showing the refugees how things work at the university and in helping them with different tasks related to the students’ life. Second, there are the refugees, which corresponds to a specific subgroup, as are the ones that could not finish higher education in their country or are looking to apply to it in Norway. Finally, the last group corresponds to the central administration of the university, which arranged the program and invited the students to participate.

## **Deliverables**

The first thing to mention regarding the forms of value that are exchanged in the Academic Network program refers to the context in which it was embedded. The idea of this program is for it to be a complement of the idea of providing help for refugees to enter higher education, which could be understood as complementary of the Information meeting. In that sense, to understand the idea of universities receiving a form of value in the transaction that the Academic Network program and the information meeting represent, the value analysis should

focus on how does accepting refugee students provides one or more forms of capital to the university. In part, the idea of recognizing qualifications in this context represented a way to “give new life to the Bologna process”, referring to the internationalization of universities in the Europe. This idea of admitting refugees into higher education contributing to the process of internationalization is again observed when asking about how admitting refugee students helped the university:

*“(...) I think it is much more important that the refugees bring general experience and academic insights and knowledge and perspectives, the same as all international students do, but they are being excluded because they came to Norway in a different way that what you did. Because it is fairly easy to come to Norway as an international student if you are part of one of the international programs and you qualify. But when you come for another reason, when you are already here, then you don’t get that chance to participate (...) as they are country voices that we sort of loose out in the internationalization at home in the first place.*

Now, the idea of internationalization, instead of focusing on the idea of credit recognition and transferability of skills, referred to the acquisition of potential academic human capital in the form of “general experience and academic insights”. In other words, for the university, accepting refugee students becomes a way of creating new knowledge, intellectual capital, new approaches and perspectives. The pursuit of new knowledge, without a utilitarian approach, for “curiosity”, is part of the core foundational values of the Humboldtian University. To protect science and expand it, can be interpreted as a way to sustain those values, as a way of achieving institutional positioning. For that reason, such motivation can be interpreted as a form of social capital. As indicated in the following quote, refugees offer an opportunity for the university to expand its academic perspectives as a way of improving its knowledge creation capacity and relevance:

*“(...) the refugees will often represent population groups or countries or nationalities that are present in high numbers in Norwegian society already (...) Because there’s quite a lot groups of Norwegians with small origins, it makes a lot of sense to have their thoughts and experiences and backgrounds into academia. And you know more about this in a society at large, to have those angles, in any academic subject. Perhaps excluding mathematics. But for most, even biology, if you compare it to gender perspectives, if you look at biology and medicine there’s been a tendency, there’s a lot of research that has not been properly done or studied in the right way because one has overlook gender perspectives. Gender, physical gender, might make it different to how you react to medicine or how the whole biology of something works. And the same... the cultural ideas that you bring with you, if you have more than one cultural*

*identity, is important to almost all research, to avoid those blind zones that we all have. The bottom line is just that they should be part of the internationalization at home, and the internationalization at home is important for the academia to stay vibrant, and to continue bringing up and studying new ideas.*

Besides that, the activity in itself, the Academic Network program, is a meeting point for students to help refugees who want to enter higher education to internalize the idea of being a student, or of becoming one. By socializing with students and by starting to participate in lectures and academic discussions, a form of social capital is exchanged, for both sides, and as well as of intellectual capital, as the goals in the program description reflected: “integration and learning”. In particular, for the students, the perspective of the leadership was that participating provided value because it was a volunteering experience:

*“(…) what you get from volunteer work. Similar concepts. More than anything you get a lasting engagement, that kind of voluntary work. More than anything you get a lasting engagement and insights into that kind of volunteering work”.*

In that sense, being a volunteer is understood by the university leadership as a learning experience in itself, providing intellectual and social capital to the students.

#### **5.2.4 Academic Refuge**

The next activity that was identified as part of the Academic Dugnad is the Academic Refuge program. This transaction was different from the rest as it had its origin outside of the university and of the Norwegian national context. It began as an initiative of two external organizations that are part of the international network of universities: UNICA and Scholars at Risk. Both together invited the University of Oslo to become the coordinator of the project, which applied for funding at ERASMUS+, the European Commission program for supporting higher education, which added competitive funding for refugee-support related projects. The project’s aim was described as “to improve the capacity of European universities to assist refugees and threatened academics on campus and to promote understanding and respect for higher education values”. The objectives of the project were described in the official documentation as:

- 1) “Improve the capacity of European universities to assist refugees and threatened academics”.

2) “And to promote greater respect for academic freedom and greater protection for higher education values”.

For that purpose, the Academic Refuge program was focused on three main activities. The first one considered a workshop for staff from different European universities, which included group discussions and guest panels. The other two activities considered the development of a massive open online course about academic freedom and higher education values, and of an electronic handbook focused on how to put those values in practice. In terms of university civic engagement, this activity could be considered as administrative strategic engagement, as it considered strategic partnerships, and open teaching and learning engagement, because of the development of a MOOC and an online handbook.

## **Roles**

Several roles were involved in this activity. The first ones were the organizers: the University of Oslo, the University of Ljubljana, Scholars at Risk and UNICA. Also, the participants, a group of 60 staff members from several European universities. In addition, the guests who presented their work and participated in panel discussions played an important role, as representatives from different agencies from Norway and Europe. This included members of NOKUT, the Minister of Education of Norway, representatives of German universities, members of UNICA and Scholars at Risk, among others. Finally, ERASMUS+, as part of the European Commission, contributed with the funding, which was obtained competitively.

## **Deliverables**

There are mainly three forms of value involved in this program. First there is financial capital provided by ERASMUS+, who at the same time is achieving market-based coordination, through competitive funding, among the European higher education actors in an effort to improve the support for refugees. In other words: a form of relationship capital. At the same time, the universities, UNICA and Scholars at Risk, through Academic Refuge, are protecting the institutional values of the University, as is in the core of the program. In addition, through the activities in the workshop, the participants, as representatives of different universities, are acquiring intellectual capital, as it is a space for discussion and the exposition of ideas of different actors that support refugees in the context of higher education. This can be observed when the leadership at the University of Oslo described the program, as it was considered as a learning experience:

*“(...) the academic refuge is a combination between the scholars at risk experience with the refugee initiative experiences, we are trying to learn from each other and also specialize a bit”.*

The development of a MOOC and of a handbook represent a form of manufactured capital, as well as intellectual capital, delivered to the public who could eventually access it. The intellectual capital, focused on improving the capacity of the universities to support the refugees and on defending higher education values, delivers indirectly a form of relationship capital to them. Since the program allows addressing the challenges of receiving refugees into higher education with a more knowledge-based approach for their decisions, as the participants and guests share their experiences with each other, this program should improve their chances of integrating in society by coordinating their efforts, by sharing relevant information. By including an approach focused on higher education values and academic freedom, the university is highlighting the relevance of the University as a place for free speech, a shelter for student and academic refugees that are forced to flee of their home countries. Because of this, by improving the capacity of universities to address this type of refugees, by truly understanding the social/value related issue, one possible interpretation would be that social capital is being transferred, as refugees are defended and protected in a better way, helping them to integrate in the university life.

### **5.2.5 På Flukt**

Continuing with the Academic Dugnad, another part of the program considered having open lectures, forums and panels that covered different topics regarding forced migration from a variety of academic perspectives. The name of the program was *På Flukt*, which translated means “on the run”, in reference to how refugees run away from their home countries seeking for shelter abroad. One of the main characteristics of this transaction is its origin, as it was not originally an initiative of the central administration of the university, as the leadership of the program explains:

*“The whole På flukt series was an initiative of the Deans from the university, and actually the Faculty of Education started giving lectures without giving this name, and then at the dean meeting they were discussing what to do and decided to share our knowledge, we have to put things out there and actively be part of the official debate. Share what we know and create places where this can be discussed properly and not just through media tabloids”.*

It is possible to note there that the initiative started, without being originally part of the Academic Dugnad, as a single faculty initiative that then extended to the rest of UiO by decision of the deans, becoming then part of the whole Academic Dugnad program. The *På Flukt* program covered several topics that each faculty and department considered as relevant for the issue of forced migration. In terms of university civic engagement, this can be considered as a form of open teaching and learning, as it takes place in form of open public lectures.

## **Roles**

The *På Flukt* initiative considered several actors both internal and external of the university. The open lectures had the faculties as organizers, which had their own external partners that also took part in the activity. One case that was referred to during the interview concerned a professor from Oxford participating in an open *På Flukt* lecture organized by the Faculty of Social Sciences. It was used as a way of exemplifying how in the activities in *På Flukt* several external actors also participated, including not only academics but also representatives of governmental and non-governmental agencies. In all of this, the role of the central administration was described as:

*“(...) på flukt became part of the Academic Dugnad, which started at the same time more or less, but it was decided to make the lectures part of it, but completely run by the faculties themselves, and they were taking turns and discussing with people in the central administration to make sure everybody had the same posters and the same topics. After a little while most of the lectures where hold at Litteraturhuset”.*

In that quote, it is possible to observe that the central administration of UiO played a role of coordinator and sponsor, as its main tasks were to keep all of the lectures under the umbrella of the Academic Dugnad publicly, and also to ensure a minimum level of coherence among the topics. Also, it becomes relevant to observe that from a certain point, the program took place outside of the university, an action that was interpreted by the leadership of the Academic Dugnad as follows:

*“I can only assume that it was there because it has become a very important stage for good and knowledgeable and serious debates in Norwegian society. So by moving it away from the university buildings and out to a more commonly used arena probably it made more accessible for people, because people who are not part of the university society might have a tendency to think that what happens there is only relevant for academics and students, and even on the Faculty level”.*



*Litteraturhuset* played a role by giving a space, outside of the university, where large parts of society, which exist outside of the context of academic, could feel more comfortable, becoming easier to engage. Finally, the refugees play an indirect role, as the lectures play a role in informing the population about the issue of the refugee crisis.

## **Deliverables**

Continuing with the value network analysis, the value components that can be found in this part of the Academic Dugnad are mainly focused on transferring intellectual knowledge to the public in the Norwegian society. The type of intellectual capital that was transferred consisted of a variety of approaches and responded to the research and disciplinary approaches that each faculty at the university had, including the guests that they decided to invite to participate. This is explained by the leadership of the program when describing one of the open lectures:

*“I think for instance that this particular topic shows the complexity. It makes sense if you see it like that; it is a topic about family reunion in exile. If you really are going to shed some light on it and have a good discussion about why this is important, if you have the extremes you will have the people who say that this costs our society a fortune, and that the families can’t provide for them, because they become a sub class society, etc. And then you have the other side where you find the psychological research that show that chances of succeeding very much decrease if your family is not there because of the stress and the psychological impact of knowing that close family is living under horrible conditions, makes it impossible to focus, and affects your priorities”.*

In the quote it is possible to observe how each of the themes that were covered in the open lectures had a high level of complexity as they covered a variety of approaches. It is also possible to appreciate how refugees become an indirect beneficiary of this activity, as the lectures reveal the complexity of their resettlement to the Norwegian population. This can be interpreted as a form of social capital, as it may improve their position in the public opinion. From the perspective of the leadership, the access to intellectual capital benefited the public as it allowed to strengthen the democratic system, providing tools for the participation of people:

*“But for people who are interested in the refugee situation, or in how tax money is being spend for that matter, is very hard to find information, and we elect the people that are running our country. So if the public is not informed, if it is too hard for the public to find information, good information about the complexity of the situation, about the different things that are being done or whatever, then the public doesn’t function the way it should in a democracy”.*

In that sense, to the university, educating the public, providing them with intellectual capital, was seen as a way of improving the democratic system. For the university, doing so also had a different value:

*“The sharing of knowledge and information is at the core of what it is to be a university. Dissemination. The most important things we do are research, teaching and dissemination of knowledge. And then the other side, the Dugnad, is going together, work together to fix something. We as an academic institution saw very early how complex everything was and that there was much that wasn’t solved yet. (...) The deans saw it as natural, which is wonderful, that they should go out and cooperate and get this information out and see who they worked with and bring those discussions out into the public”.*

As it is possible to observe, the dissemination of knowledge is seen as a part of the values of the University, meaning that engaging through that activity, by sharing the knowledge the university already has created in its regular task, can be interpreted as form of institutional positioning. It implies carrying out one of its core tasks, not with an instrumental approach, but with a scholarly one. Finally, this activity made all the open lectures available online on direct streaming and as a permanent video resource. This constitutes a form of manufactured capital the objective of which is to make the intellectual capital available after the events.

## **5.2.6 Language Education**

The final activity that was identified as a transaction in the Academic Dugnad program was the facilities the university was offering for language education. In that sense, not only Norwegian has been considered for providing language support, but also English:

*“All over Europe there are language issues. The European commission has been hopeful, and they are now putting inclusion as an important part in all application to studies and to large extent to research projects, calls of projects. They have also opened up a language-training program, OLS, online linguistic support that was made for Erasmus students, made a hundred thousand licenses available for refugees and asylum seekers. So we’ve been using that, they don’t offer Norwegian, but we’ve been using that for people who want to practice their English”.*

Providing education for English language was considered as relevant, even more than Norwegian for accessing higher education in the country, as is described as follows:

*“(...) it’s an issue because in Norway for instance you have to learn Norwegian that’s part of the whole system if you are an asylum seeker you get some at the reception*

*center, if you are a refugee you have to take Norwegian classes to learn Norwegian. But that's not enough to study because, as you very well know (...) there are no degrees you can study if you only speak Norwegian, not only the bachelor or the masters level, you have to have a good English level to study”.*

Nevertheless, the university also provided access to a MOOC to learn Norwegian, which is open for everyone, not only to refugees. In that sense, from the perspective of university civic engagement, the idea of providing language education responds to a form of pedagogical engagement.

## **Roles**

The actors identified in this activity are three. One consisted of the central administration of the university, which organizes its delivery. Next, the refugees, who received the education, participated as learners. Finally, a third actor that was participating was the OLS developer, a role that took place outside the university. It was a license acquired through one of its strategic partners: ERASMUS+. This means that the European Commission, being responsible for ERASMUS+, is also involved in this activity.

## **Deliverables**

Different forms of value are involved in this activity. The universities are facilitating the access to higher education to refugees, as being able to speak English is considered by the leader at UiO as an important for applying and for studying at university, meaning that it could potentially mean a source of new students, a form of human capital. The refugees are receiving intellectual capital, but that only serves as a bridge for them:

*“English, if you have a master degree you are expected to be fluent in English. And if you come from a middle eastern country, from Afghanistan –for example-, countries where English has a little place in daily society and you haven't had much at school. Then, even if you have a master's degree and you have been working as a specialized lawyer or as a judge for decades, you can't just get a job of any kind on what you are skilled at. One thing is law itself, but you can't be a legal adviser or anything if your English level isn't good enough, and nobody thought about that until we started to talk about it”.*

In that sense, English provides a way to improve refugees' possibilities in accessing higher education but also in the labor market. By acquiring language skills, refugees receive a form of social capital, transferred to them through the intellectual capital that acquiring a new

language means. Finally, as it was possible to observe as well in the Academic Refuge program, ERASMUS+, by providing a competitive funding framework for supporting refugees, allows a form of coordination, receiving and transferring relationship capital gained by both, them and the university.

## 5.3 Value Networks

Now that the value network analysis is completed (look Appendix C for some graphic examples), it is time to look at the different value networks in which the two universities are embedding themselves by engaging with different actors internally and externally. In that sense, a value network will respond to a challenge regarding the resettlement of refugees, regardless of the value components received by the universities. The main beneficiary of a value network is the refugee. In that sense, both programs, Sanctuary and the Academic Dugnad, will contribute in solving the economic, social and/or cultural challenges of being a refugee, which depends on the value components and focus of the different transactions present. For that matter, the analysis of the programs will focus on how higher education can contribute to the resettlement of refugees, as they will be delivering value to support them in the economic, social and cultural challenges.

### 5.3.1 Economic Challenge

A starting point for analyzing how both programs support refugees in the economic challenge of resettlement is to review the interpretation of the leadership of the universities regarding how entering higher education, either to continue studies or to start them, can help refugees. In that sense, the idea will be to put the activities in context with the challenges refugees and asylum seekers face in terms of resettling in a new society.

First, it is relevant to mention the vision the leadership in the Sanctuary program has over how being in the university contributes to refugees, as an important part of the program is focused on helping them accessing higher education, in particular by the Sthier program and through the Sanctuary scholarship. In the words of the Sanctuary project leader:

*“(...) the only way in which they are going to get some stability in their lives is by being able to enter into the work force, earning money and getting their relatives to the UK. Basically, by securing the best level of employment that they can, and they are*

*not going to get that if they don't have higher education. They would end up in situations of being in lower service jobs like cooks or waitresses, and they are unlikely to really be able to advance themselves and sort for their family fortunes in this kind of really low order and precarious ways of employment”.*

There, it is possible to observe a vision in which higher education is seen mainly as a way to overcome the economic challenges of resettlement, as it is seen as a way of improving the chances of refugees and asylum seekers in the labor market. Something similar is observed in the case of the Academic Dugnad, through the activities of the information meeting and the Academic Practice, as indicated in the interview with the UiO project leader when he was asked about the relevance entering higher education had for refugees:

*“The chances of not succeeding in Norwegian society, respective of where you come from or where you were born are very much determined by level of education. There are less and less available positions in Norway as a manual labor, more and more of it becomes automatized. (...) There are few jobs like this and the competition is high. So, for the majority, there are always exceptions, but for the majority you must have higher education to succeed, to get a job, to get somewhere. And this is even more, or seemingly more important, if you are an immigrant; it is hard that you get the jobs, even if you are skilled, and you are at a higher risk of losing a job in an early stage, but you still succeed better. And of course if you get that higher education in Norway is easier to get into the job market, because employers recognize the institution you studied at, which is the same all over the world”.*

Again, the main vision regarding the contribution higher education had made or could make for refugees is strongly related to a human capital approach or even to a signaling approach, where by holding a specific degree refugee students improve their chances of a successful resettlement either by acquiring skills or by sending signals to the labor market. In terms of the actors involved, in the case of KCL, the roles involved included the government as a competitive funding provider, different universities as partners, and an online higher education software provider.

### **5.3.2 Social Challenge**

Another important challenge in resettling as a refugee in another country is the social one. Universities, in this matter, contribute mainly through enhancing the campus environment, by creating better opportunities for networking, improving the possibilities of refugees to insert themselves in society, by being able to socialize or even in terms of labor market opportunities, as the Social Capital theory suggests. In the case of the King's College of

London, it was possible to observe three main activities that had such focus in the way the University seeks to contribute to resettlement. The first one is the student initiatives that received support from the university. There, through several different projects, different student organizations provided social capital as a value component, directly to young refugees and to asylum seekers outside of the UK. Something similar happened in the second one, with the legal advice service the university is providing together with Citizens UK, as solving legal problems may improve their relation with the community they belong to and with society in general.

Third, the research center for migration and displacement had a different approach. The focus in this initiative was not on directly assisting refugees or asylum seekers, but on the diffusion and creation of relevant knowledge from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. The analysis showed that the university perceived that the contribution this activity had in solving the refugee crisis was that it made relevant information available to the public or to any organization that required it. This included supporting the activities that academics already carried out for that matter, such as blogs, conferences or research. In that sense, the support this activity provided for refugees and asylum seekers was indirect, as it made scientific knowledge available, an institutional complementary from the perspective of varieties of capitalism, relationship capital in the form of coordination that is delivered to external actors. Nevertheless, the research center also allowed the efforts for applying for funding to become institutional rather than at faculty or department level, making it more competitive, and, at the same time, focused on continuing the work they were already on without an instrumental approach, becoming as well a path towards institutional positioning.

The University of Oslo had several activities focusing on social challenges. The Academic Network had a focus on socialization and on helping refugees prepare to become students. In that sense, this activity provided refugees and students with the chance of creating a better campus environment where all groups can coexist and help each other in the context of studying at the university. The Academic Refuge program, created a space where universities could share their experiences, exchange intellectual capital for improving their capacity to support student and academics that are in a refugee situation. The interpretation of this is that it corresponds to a form of social capital, as it provides better conditions for refugees that are escaping from intellectual persecution. Finally, *På Flukt* played a role similar to what was done in KCL with the research center, as its objective was to transfer intellectual capital to

different actors in society. The main difference in that respect, is that it was done through open lectures outside of the university, with a clear objective of reaching the general public, not just making it available but creating a space for discussion and dialog, and by turning it into a permanent resource as all the open lectures have been made available online.

### 5.3.3 Cultural Challenge

The last challenge identified is cultural. For that matter, the activities that focus on addressing the cultural differences that exist between host and home country in the context of refugees and asylum seekers give shape to the corresponding value network. In the analysis done, no activities with such focus were identified, nevertheless, as mentioned in the review, higher education can become a space for acculturation to happen. In that sense, in the Academic Dugnad, two aspects of how universities were benefitted by receiving refugees as students and academics, and how they were benefitted by becoming part of UiO, provide an example of how this may be taking place:

*“And the same... the cultural ideas that you bring with you, if you have more than one cultural identity, is important to almost all research, to avoid those blind zones that we all have. The bottom line is just that they should be part of the internationalization at home, and the internationalization at home is important for the academia to stay vibrant, and to continue bringing up and studying new ideas”.*

There, a multiculturalist approach for academia is observed, as having a wider variety of views for research is seen as a contribution. On the other hand,

*“The same way it would help all of our students. To become critical thinkers, to have a wide background of knowledge to continue looking for more answers and more questions, I think this is an area where there is always... where you are always behind. Never going to get in a position where everyone feels seen and included in the university, but we work on it”.*

Becoming a critical thinker is seen as part of what it means to become a student at UiO. From a sociocultural perspective, becoming a student could mean in terms of cultural capital, an alternative path for acculturation, as it forms part of the identity of the refugee that will enter higher education. The idea of learning identity provided by Erstad (2012) can be useful for understanding such process. The term considers that “personal histories and future orientations are used to create narratives of the self, and it is these selves that are central to productive learning” (p. 31). An idea that connects learning and personal identity allows

relating it with the context as a potentially determinant variable in the process of its construction. That way, not only the refugee background would become important for the learning process, but also become a learner will become important in the construction of the refugee identity. In the case of KCL, something similar happened as, for the leader of the Sanctuary program, becoming a student at the University meant being educated according to its mission and vision. Students at KCL were expected to face global challenges and were considered an integral part of the University as an institution.



## 6 Discussion

Now that the value network analysis is complete, it is time to discuss and interpret the findings. As highlighted in the literature review and the analytical framework of the study, it is central for this study to address university civic engagement from an internal comparative perspective, as well as from an institutional perspective. In addition, the extent of the analysis also allows discussing the role higher education has in the resettlement of refugees, as the value networks are set over that context.

### 6.1 University Civic Engagement

In terms of how university civic engagement is taking place in the Academic Dugnad and the Sanctuary program, it was possible to observe different forms of engagement, although the approaches of both institutions were in many respects similar. First, both programs presented special admission and pedagogical engagement as ways to support refugees, focusing on improving their chances of entering higher education. In that sense, the vision proposed where the contribution of universities to society took place through the education of students is reinforced (Laredo, 2007), as it represents a large part of both programs. This is consistent as well with what was observed by Gateley (2015), as universities also considered information regarding how to enter higher education to be strategic for their decisions about their future. Something analogous to these ideas is observed as well in the student initiatives at KCL and at the Academic Network at UiO. Student engagement took place at KCL through the activities the students organized and through the support the university provided by giving access to funding and through mentoring them. At UiO, the Academic Network also represented a form of student engagement, as the regular students at the university socialized with the refugees and helped them integrate in the university life. Both cases highlight how students and formal education become one of the main channels through which UCE takes place. Perhaps the main difference between how students were involved in the programs at both universities can be observed in that at KCL the student engagement took place through student organizations, while at UiO through individual students. Nevertheless, both cases reinforce the idea of UCE being expressed when universities educate their own students to engage civically (Escrigas & Lobera, 2009; Harkavy, 2006).

Nevertheless, those were not the only activities that characterized the programs at UiO and KCL. The production and diffusion of relevant knowledge became an important part of the work both universities are doing as a way to support the refugees, coherent with Ostrander (2004), who argued for civic engagement to go beyond the formation of students. Although, contrary to what the author proposes, this form of engagement is not as institutionalized as one might expect. As was observed in the analysis, in both cases the central administration operated more as a coordinator than as a manager, since in terms of research and knowledge diffusion the departments and faculties limited themselves to continue the work they already were carrying on, but under the umbrella of a common project sponsored as part of the whole institution. This is the case of the PÅ Flukt and of the research center at KCL. Jongbloed et al. (2008) argued that the engagement of universities with business and community was explained by the search for external funding, but also because of a shift in the way technology is transferred, changing from a linear to a network model. Knowledge transfer in the context of university civic engagement may perfectly be suffering a similar shift. In the case of UiO, the channels through which knowledge is shared differ drastically from more traditional ones like academic journals or policy papers; there is a direct connection with the public through the PÅ Flukt program. In the case of KCL, although different, summaries from academic conferences regarding the refugee crisis were shared and partnerships with civil society actors were forged, as the one observed with Citizens UK. In addition, in both cases the internal behavior of universities responded to a network model, as the administration required bringing together the different loosely-coupled parts in the institution to give form to both, PÅ Flukt at UiO and the research center at KCL.

Finally, strategic and administrative engagement had a determinant role in both programs. Not only in the case of UiO, were the interactions with actors from the government were determinant, but also at KCL, where several key partnerships with higher education organizations and NGOs had a major contribution in their success. In both cases, the cooperation with actors outside of the university became determinant, but it is interesting to note how such cooperation takes place through several actors in higher education. In both cases, the cooperation took place internationally, with organizations that included several universities in Europe and Middle East, as well as organizations like Scholars at Risk and UNICA, all part of higher education networks that go beyond the national boundaries.

Then, do universities have a third mission that goes beyond teaching and research? What has been observed in these two cases is that the initiatives are limited to educational or research based activities, or to administrative activities from the central administration. However, in terms of what the internal actors inside the universities are doing, one could argue that they mostly are dedicated to their core activities without adapting them for engagement purposes. While at the faculty and department level, the efforts have focused on gathering the knowledge the academic communities in the faculties have already produced, to diffuse it in a way that becomes coherent with the problematic, the central administration has mostly focused its efforts on facilitating the access to education. At the university level, the activities are quite limited to the boundaries of the two core activities higher education perform, research and teaching, not even adapting towards a more utilitarian or instrumental approach. For example, in both cases, the management of the universities was emphatic on helping the refugees enter higher education but without providing special quotas or curricular changes. Starting-point was that to become a student you need talent, and what the university can do for you is mostly to help you prove you have it. On the other side, in terms of diffusion of knowledge, neither På Flukt nor the research center in forced migration and displacement can be considered expressions of collaborative research or the creation of new relevant knowledge to help solving the refugee crisis in some way. Both cases limited themselves to gather already existing research to share it with society in different ways.

Student engagement seems to be especially relevant in the UK, as in the case of KCL the participation and cooperation of students with the central administration of the university was determinant for the Sanctuary program. Nevertheless, those projects did not counted with direct participation of the academic communities besides providing some form of mentoring, but always as an administrative task rather than as part of the curriculum, although with a pedagogical approach. In that sense, what Macfarlane (2005) observed when studying how academics perceived the third mission of higher education seems to better describe how UCE is taking place in this two universities. The author argued for the third mission to be separated from the traditional missions of teaching and research, and not integrated, more focused on administrative issues, moral obligations with academic colleagues and voluntary work not connected to academia. This idea describes in a better way what is observed in both cases.

The boundaries between teaching, research and third mission are clear and the engagement seems to be carried out more through student engagement, administrative tasks, by offering

support to academic colleagues, and by the diffusion of knowledge. In that sense, the third mission and UCE do not seem too different to what was described before as what the Humboldtian university of the XIX century was like in its relationship with the state and with society. What does seem to have changed is the reach higher education has in the population, as entering was considered as determinant in guaranteeing a better future, at least from an economic perspective. Mass and universal higher education seem to have changed the role students' play in society and, at the same time, they seem to be a structural actor in the university, far from the vision of the customer/service logic. In the Humboldtian university, the students represented the formation of the ruling elite, and scholar communities the showplace of German intellect (Turner, 1971), but with a relationship with society that was limited to administrative tasks when relating with the state, to the creation and diffusion of knowledge, and to the formation of students. Today, it would seem that with higher rates of participation in higher education and with a growing relevance of knowledge for social and economic development, this relationship has changed. In practical terms, it seems more as higher education has adapted to the context while protecting its traditional functioning. What has evolved is the central administrative capacity, it has become more complex, and nevertheless as disconnected from the other parts of the university, maintaining its condition of being a loosely coupled organization. Jongbloed et al. (2008) argued that contemporary universities suffer a sort of mission confusion, leading to an inefficient use of their resources. Furthermore, he argues that a growing engagement with external communities may derive in requiring better managerial capacities at universities, coherent to what is observed in this study. Not only engagement with business is pushing universities to enhance their administrative capacity. Civic engagement may very well be doing the same thing, as the relationship with the civic society implies connecting with networks that can be equally or even more complex. The central administration of universities seems to be the more determinant actor in today's engagement with society, as it acts as the bridge that connects the internal and external networks that interact with the University.

## **6.2 The University as an Institution**

As mentioned before, university engagement, more than being a new phenomenon seems to be more a foundational aspect of the University as an institution, that has been adapting to the changing context in which knowledge and education have become more and more relevant for

social and economic development. In that sense, one aspect of universities that was observed in the analysis of their engagement in the Syrian refugee crisis was how their organizational nature conditioned their activities. Clark (1986) argued that universities are loosely coupled systems, which means that the lower parts in the organizational structure of universities will be rather autonomous. Historically, this characteristic is also observed, as in the times of the Humboldtian university in Germany, where the rector had a role more similar to working in public relations than to an institutional leader and the autonomy of the faculties and departments was absolute (Nybom, 2007).

The role of the central administration of both universities, UiO and KCL, played the implementation of the Academic Dugnad and the Sanctuary program was not so far from these ideas. Beyond being just in charge of public relations, the central administration of the university seemed to work as a coordinator, as the only actor inside the university capable of gathering up the work of each faculty and department into a single initiative. In addition, in both cases it was the only actor in charge of the admission to the university, at least for the case of refugee students, without a visible direct involvement of the faculties and departments, besides providing internship places as part of Academic Practice program in the case of UiO.

The central administration seems to be the part of universities that has changed more in time compared to the Humboldtian University in that it has become more complex, professionalized and managerial to respond to the growing demands that society places over higher education. In that sense, the process that took place in the 1980's and the 1990's, in which the neoliberal discourse towards "new public management" produced a shift in university management, with the inclusion of approaches such as strategic planning, performance indicators, quality assurance and academic audits (Olssen\* & Peters, 2005; Rhoades & Slaughter, 1997). This process was characterized by a utilitarian approach for higher education, as universities are seen as drivers for the economy and for globalization. Therefore, it should not surprise that both universities in this study remarked their "global" or "international" condition among their motivations to get involved in the refugee crisis. Managerialism seems to be one of the key aspects that differentiate the modern university from the late XIX century German one. However, just as in those times, the role of the central administration seems to be secondary in terms of the functioning of the faculties and departments, which are the ones that perform the main activities of the university, research

and teaching. The current role of the central administration of universities seems to be limited to be an external strategist and an internal coordinator, a way of adapting to a more complex environment compared to the one in which universities were embedded during the XIX and part of the XX century. As Bolden, Petrov, and Gosling (2009) argue, leadership in universities –at least in the UK- seems to be “distributed”, meaning that it can either have a top-down or a bottom-up approach. This idea seems to describe quite well the dynamic that is observed in these two cases. When the universities had to perform their core activities, the leadership seemed to be bottom-up, either from the faculties or from the students, while when it meant internal coordination or external interactions, the leadership was top-down. In that sense, the central administration of the university seems to take the leadership of the university when it comes to coordinate internal efforts strategically, while the other parts seem to do it when it is up to issues substantively related to teaching and research.

Universities then, in this two cases at least, seem to be acting as loosely coupled systems without the instrumental approach that VoC assumes (Hall & Soskice, 2001). Rather than achieving coordination in the political economy, universities seem to be achieving institutional positioning by providing the means to other institutions to achieve strategic or market-based coordination. While actors like NOKUT in Norway and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UK achieved coordination in their respective endeavors by interacting with the universities, they seemed rather focus on how it allowed them to fulfill their mission as globally engaged institutions. Considering that institutional positioning is based on the idea of being position in a specific niche, then “being globally engaged” can be considered as such. In terms of Value Network theory, social and relationship value are being exchanged for that purpose. As was possible to observe in this study, the central administration seems to be playing the role of a mediator between each type of capitalist political economic environment. The central administration of both universities worked as a part of the organization that allows exchanging values with different external actors and, at the same time, protecting the nature of the other parts of the loosely coupled system that characterizes universities. Institutional positioning is being obtained in exchange for strategic or market-based coordination, at the same time that universities internally are achieving strategic coordination with students, departments and faculties.

The notion of “pact” provided by Olsen (2007) provides a conceptualization of such relation as it is dynamic –the pact can be “renegotiated” in time- and because it describes very

accurately what universities are doing. The efforts of the administration at both institutions focused on improving the access to higher education, on the diffusion of existing knowledge, and on defending academic freedom, refugee academics and students. All three activities, although they may seem instrumental, constitute more a way of defending the institutional norms and values of the University than attempts to actually contribute to the coordination of other institutions, configuring a form of institutional complementarities. It is not like universities do not want to help, but rather that they will do it limited to their institutional nature to the extent that it will allow them to protect its internal scholarly communities. For that reason, the University as an institution can be said to be engaged by nature, as it has always been dependent on society in one way or another. However, it has adapted administratively in order to respond to its changing relationship with the external environment. Administrative capacity seems to be one of the most relevant aspects that characterizes the changing “pact” between higher education and society. Mass and universal higher education are other examples, as universities have adapted to trends that include more managerial approaches for curriculum design, with ideas such as online and blended learning. In many cases, this seems to happen without necessarily falling in a student-university relationship similar to the provision of a service. Students continue to be an integral part of the institutional arrangements of universities.

Another aspect that is important to consider when talking about university civic engagement is its relationship with internationalization in higher education. As mentioned before, both universities argued that one of the reasons they had to get involved in the refugee crisis had to do with engaging in “global” challenges, or even because it directly contributed to the process of internationalization through the recognition of qualifications. Such relation is rather new, and just as the trend for managerialism affected the relation between higher education and society, the idea of an internationalized university is conditioning it as well. Gacel-Ávila (2005) proposed a different approach for the process of internationalization, arguing that it should be focused on the adaptation of higher education to a new global environment. Furthermore, the author argues that the basic function of a university should change into fostering a “global consciousness among students, making them understand the relation of interdependence between peoples and societies, developing their understanding of their own cultures and respect for pluralism” (Gacel-Ávila, 2005, p. 123), creating the foundations for solidarity, peaceful coexistence and global citizenship. Such change in the conception of the process of internationalization fits with what has been observed in this study, as universities

perceive civic engagement as part of such process. In that sense, rather than considering university civic engagement as a new trend, it would appear more as a foundational characteristic of the University, which adapts its relationship with society, and with its internal structures, to fit into a new context where trends such as NPM or internationalization may condition it.

In that sense, one interesting idea to discuss is whether the institutional nature of universities becomes a barrier or facilitates university civic engagement. Jongbloed et al. (2008) argued for three types of barriers that condition university's engagement with external actors: determination of research agendas and educational offering, internal reward structures and the lack of entrepreneurial culture in universities (p. 316). In this study, one important aspect that was observed in both cases, at UiO and KCL, was that the central administration of universities acted managing the instrumental demands or expectations that are placed over universities, adapting them to the non-utilitarian functioning of their internal communities. For that reason, it becomes difficult to say that the lack of entrepreneurial culture is a barrier for university engagement. More accurately, since the central administration acts more as a bridge between the external environment and the different internal actors in the university, it may be the lack of understanding of how entrepreneurial or civic culture works what becomes a barrier. The challenge seems to be placed on how to connect the functioning of scholar communities, without altering their values and norms, to the external environment, are business or civic oriented. On the other hand, as the political economic context seems to condition UCE, the idea of becoming "entrepreneurial" as the standard for good management in the university is also questioned, as strategic coordination may favor other managerial skills.

### **6.3 Political Economic Context**

Another important aspect to discuss are the extent to which political economic differences conditioned university civic engagement in the refugee crisis at UiO and KCL. VoC offered a framework for comparing national contexts that allowed to conceptualize and analyze such differences. Characterizing Norway as a coordinated market economy and the UK as a liberal market economy settled a point of comparison from an institutional perspective. In that sense, the differences were observable in terms of the nature of the actors that interacted with the universities, and also through the means the interactions took form. In the case of the UK, the



only governmental interaction that was observed happened through a market-based mechanism, competitive funding that was obtained by KCL for the Sthier program. On the other hand, most of the interactions in the Norwegian context happened under strategic coordination, with the exception of the funding obtained from ERASMUS+ for the Academic Refuge program, although the process of applying to it did involve coordinating with actors strategically. The role of the European Commission in the case of UiO, and the partnerships KCL formed in the context of the Sthier program, highlight the “international” component of higher education. It seems to go beyond NPM, as it reveals a whole meta-institutional arrangement. Scholars at Risk, UNICA, CARA (a partner of Scholars at Risk of which KCL is part), ERASMUS+, those are examples of the complexity of the international institutional arrangements of higher education and of how it goes beyond national contexts.

Nevertheless, the differences between one system and the other were determinant in practice, especially when trying to transfer value to the refugees. In the case of King’s College of London, the interactions mostly took place with actors in civil society, NGOs or the public. While in the University of Oslo, most of the interactions, at least at the central administration level, took place through strategic coordination with government agencies such as NOKUT, or even directly with the Ministry of Education and Research. Both cases show differences that are coherent to what VoC assumes. While in Norway, the system favors strategic coordination, where actors gather together and deliberate, in the UK the coordination worked through market-based mechanisms. In addition, it is also possible to observe how the differences in the institutional functioning of both political economic contexts conditioned the support offered to refugees. In Norway, the admission of refugees in higher education is strongly dependent on NOKUT, the agency in charge of the recognition of previous qualifications. In the UK, such task is the responsibility of the universities. This meant completely different approaches when engaging with the refugees. While KCL had an innovative approach with online and blended learning to provide a foundational degree, even outside the UK, in Norway the university’s help had to respond to NOKUT regulations and, therefore, demanded cooperation based on their system. In addition, coherent with the work of Graf (2009), in many of the interactions observed in the two programs, both KCL and UiO seem to be seeking coordination in some of the spheres mentioned by the author. Although institutional positioning managed to explain several of the interactions, in many cases the forms of value responded to other motives. Obtaining research funding, talented students, or resolving coordination problems for internationalization, like in the case of UiO and NOKUT,

are examples of how this took place. In that sense, VoC provided an accurate framework when it came to understand the main differences between both contexts, as it was mainly observed in how coordination took place, be either by strategic or market-based means.

In terms of institutional complementarities, meaning that the work universities do complement other institution besides higher education “like butter complements bread” (Hall & Soskice, 2001, pp. 17-18), universities seem to improve the efficiency of other systems. One of the major goals in helping refugees entering higher education was related to a vision over economic integration, meaning labor market dynamics. Although embedded in radically different political economic contexts, both universities seem to complement such institution even in the case of forced migration, what makes sense in a context of mass and universal higher education. Besides, relevant knowledge seems to be placed at the disposition of different institutional actors. In the case of Norway, the administration declared that they tried to keep the Ministry of Education and NOKUT as informed as possible, while at KCL the knowledge at the research center was destined to all actors in society that might make use of it. The diffusion of knowledge seem to be relevant in both contexts, although in Norway the relationship with the policy making structures is closer as the context favors strategic coordination. In the European context, the Commission itself has given special attention to the role of universities in the knowledge economy or the Europe of knowledge, reinforcing the instrumental view over them, but as well emphasizing the role of research-based knowledge in policy making and implementation processes in general (Olsen & Maassen, 2007, pp. 8-12). From that perspective, it makes sense that the governments are seeking coordination for integrating refugees in the labor market, as it responds to an economic challenge of resettlement. Considering that universities follow a non-utilitarian approach in their functioning, as was discussed before for the activities of teaching and research, the existence of institutional complementarities seem to be determinant for institutional positioning. Although KCL and UiO were transferring value to different actors in society, it was always done without altering the functioning of their core activities of teaching and research. Institutional complementarities became a way of defending the values and norms of both universities, as they allow them to avoid becoming instrumental for other purposes beyond the scholarly activities.

However, the difference in how both universities decided to diffuse knowledge is also something worth discussing. In the Norwegian context, besides cooperating with the

government agencies involved, *På Flukt* was set as an activity that created a space for knowledge diffusion and public discussion. One of the arguments from the central administration was that it strengthened the democratic system, because it allowed citizens to become more aware of their tax expenditures. In the case of UK this doesn't seem to happen, although there is a closer cooperation with civil agencies and non-governmental organizations. Hall and Thelen (2009) argued that achieving coordination, in terms of building an institution, is a political problem, meaning that it takes place in the political system. In that sense, differences in UK and Norway might explain in part why universities engage differently when it comes to knowledge diffusion.

In the UK, on the other hand, the emergence of evidence based policy making (EBPM) was institutionalized in the first Blair government in 1999 (Parsons, 2002). Furthermore, "evidence" is drawn as a problem of how knowledge can be utilized and managed for policymaking, and the major official statements and documents involve the management of two forms of knowledge: academic research and professional/institutional experience. Such differentiation responds to causal or theoretical knowledge in contrast with knowledge about what works in practical policymaking (Parsons, 2002, p. 44). But EBPM sees relationships between knowledge and policy-making as a form of managerialism rather than as a democratic or political project, and in the policy from the British government it responds more to an evidence controlled, managed and legitimated policy, rather than evidence based or indeed informed policy (Parsons, 2002, pp. 57-58).

Another aspect that may reflect national differences for university civic engagement is the expression of individual civic participation in both contexts. Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas (2001) studied voluntary association membership in a comparative perspective among different political economies, concluding that being more statist has a negative effect on new social movement activities and corporativeness a positive one on old social movements. Furthermore, in that sense, in countries like the UK or the US, non-corporative nations, individual-level attitudes and capacities should have a greater effect on association membership. In addition, membership in old social movements is lower when compared to corporate countries like Norway. There, membership showed that the inclusive nature of corporate institutions might foster a less voluntaristic membership that reflects more the individuals' location in society, and where active participation is not necessarily related with membership (Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001, pp. 821-824). In that respect, these

observations made by the authors suggest that the nature of collective civic action will vary among nations depending on their institutional characteristics, which may also condition universities in terms of which actors of the civic society they engage with. In the case of the UK, it would be expected to see engagement with lobby representatives in the form of new and old movements, formal organizations like NGOs, for example. On the other hand, in Norway, the characteristics of the participation system and the collective action might determine an engagement towards the active members of the social movements, rather than towards the organizations directly, since membership is somehow disconnected from participation.

In that sense, what was observed during this study makes it at least interesting to consider the possibility that both, civic participation and the political system, can condition the way universities decide about the process of knowledge diffusion and civic engagement. Wollebæk and Selle (2003), for example, studied voluntary associations in Norway. They argued that the membership and the level of participation conditioned significantly and positively the level of social capital in the form of social trust and civic engagement. Torney-Purta (2002) compared civic knowledge, engagement and attitudes in several European countries, finding significant differences between Norway and the UK. Furthermore, while in Norway civic knowledge, trust in government and the attitude towards immigrants was significantly stronger and more positive than the international average, the UK was barely average in civic knowledge and trust in the government, and significantly below the mean in their attitude towards immigrants. In addition, both showed significantly lower rates compared to the average in traditional citizenship activities, like voting, and in other political participation. If this two aspects are taken in consideration, not only it becomes an interesting aspect to consider when comparing the way universities are sharing knowledge with society, but also regarding how participation in student organizations is relevant for university civic engagement. In the British case, the role of student organizations was considerably more important in the formal program that the university had for supporting the refugees than in Norway, where the focus was set on individual students. Nevertheless, this does not imply that different student organizations do not support refugees and asylum seekers; it just means that they are not cooperating with the central administration of the University of Oslo. There is a need for more research in terms of the role student organizations have in university civic engagement, but it also makes sense to question how the political economic context conditions such relation. In KCL, the cooperation with the government was significantly

lower than at UiO, while student engagement was higher, at the same time that civic engagement and political participation differ significantly among both countries.

## **6.4 Higher Education and Migration**

Beyond reviewing the idea of the civically engaged university, this study also proposed to explore its role in the resettlement of refugees. For that matter, the value networks showed how universities try to contribute by embedding themselves in different value networks in which several actors interact to address the challenges refugees and asylums seekers face in this context. Both, the Sanctuary and the Academic Dugnad programs, tried to help refugees enroll in higher education through different means. For that reason, a starting point in the analysis will be to understand the perceived benefits of entering higher education in both central administrations, at UiO and KCL. Several authors suggest that entering higher education has important effects on the social capital of migrants. Some argue that it is relevant for the children of newcomers, as it increases their chances of participating in higher education (Baum & Flores, 2011). Others like Wilcox, Winn, and Fyvie-Gauld (2005) explored the relevance of social integration in higher education finding that making compatible friends is essential for retention, and that students' living arrangements are central in this process, even more so than the institution itself. Socialization between diverse students groups becomes then not only a relevant factor in refugee integration to which higher education can contribute, but also an educational and institutional challenge to be addressed. In that sense, the work both universities are doing for this matter reveals how, at least through student engagement, such challenges are being addressed. While KCL students were supporting refugee children in their education and also by strengthening their bonds with the community, at UiO the Academic Network was focused on helping potential refugee students in their socialization and academic work. Two different forms of student engagement that are coherent with forms of transferring social capital to migrants.

Cultural differences in educational systems become then a relevant topic for integration policies for refugees, especially when considering the big differences that may exist between their country and the host one. Schooling around the world is central in the debate about identity, politics and culture, and it has become a relevant topic in anthropology when trying to understand religious and moral education and how they condition knowledge production and transmission in different national contexts (Adely & Starrett, 2011). Furthermore, there is

a need –the authors argued- to make a shift in the way education is studied, focusing on how it constructs new ideas, values, and beliefs about what is good and desirable. The authors argue for such need to have become something even more relevant when considering the cultural differences between Islamic and non-Islamic Middle East and Western Society, and the current refugee migrations movements. In that sense, what the leadership at the University of Oslo argues about the benefit of receiving refugee students and academics is coherent with such vision, as the alternative perspectives they brought to the university were seen as a contribution to knowledge creation. Something similar can be argued about how refugees who become students may adapt culturally different from those who do not participate in higher education. Levinson (2011) argued that the construction of values and norms goes beyond theological issues, that topics such as citizenship education may reflect a minimal consensus about values such as “participation” and “freedom”. If such values form part of the new cultural identity that refugees acquire once integrated in the higher education system, it may perfectly contribute to both, the development of science and at the same to the acculturation of migrants. As was mentioned before, another interesting perspective would be to consider a sociocultural approach to understand how identity is reshaped when entering higher education. The idea of learning identity proposed by Erstad (2012) may provide a good starting point for that matter, as it connects personal backgrounds –forced migration for example- with learning. Collective approaches such as communities of practice (Wenger, 2000), which understands universities as social learning systems, could help understand how the educational context and the personal background give shape to new identities. In addition, it takes into consideration what has been discussed before; the institutional nature of universities seems to be directly linked to the internal scholarly communities that shape them. But not only them: students are an integral part of universities and belonging to different student groups and organizations is also a matter to consider in the future.

Following this ideas, the background of being a refugee and its implications becomes especially relevant. The fact that both universities gave a lot of importance to how becoming a student could help them escape from their condition of refugee in terms of how they perceive themselves, makes the psychological effects of becoming a student in higher education an important aspect to consider for their integration. Evidence from refugees from Sudan in Australia suggests that they constituted a particularly vulnerable group in terms of mental health outcomes, and that cultural sequelae may become especially problematic for the acculturation and the social inclusion of these migrants (Schweitzer, Melville, Steel, &

Lacherez, 2006). The example of early age refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chile and Somalia in Sweden also constitutes a good example of how such a process can take place. It was found in these studies that the differences in performance in education -including higher education- and the labor market, can be explained not only by the family background, but also by the experience of migrating which constituted itself an equally important factor in their physical, psychological and social development (Behtoui & Olsson, 2014). Berry (1997) examined the issue of what happens when individuals move to a new cultural context from the perspective of cross-cultural psychology. He analyzed different acculturation strategies, meaning how public policy approaches the issue of the impact a new culture may have on another when engaging in continuous first-hand contact, differentiating between assimilation, reactive, creative and delayed acculturation. Furthermore, he argued that education appears as a consistent positive factor for adaptation to a culture; higher education is predictive of lower stress, and for many migrants it can act as a pre-acculturation process, introducing the language, history, values and norms of the new culture. Considering what both universities are doing and the vision they have about what becoming a student means for refugees, the results seem to be consistent, and entering higher education may also be of great help when it comes to acculturation and in overcoming the psychological traumas of forced migration. In both cases, although with very labor market based visions on the contribution higher education could have for refugees, there was a consensus about how becoming a student could contribute in overcoming the experience of not having stability in their lives.

Finally, the economic challenge of resettlement was at the center of both programs, as they considered integration in the labor market as determinant in the success of refugees. Considering that in Norway and Europe the participation in higher education can be considered as mass or even as universal, its relevance for economic success is more important than ever. In that sense, mass and universal higher education changed the logic towards meritocracy and to the preparation of the entire population to a society with rapid social and technological changes, as is the case of universal access (Trow, 2007). More than ever participating in higher education can be a determinant factor in the economic success of an individual, as it has become more and more a minimum standard in society. In that sense, the contribution of higher education to the integration of refugees into the labor markets will be at the center of the discussion. Although there are authors that suggest a collective effect of higher education in the labor markets (Moretti, 2004), arguing for social returns in non-college graduates, KCL and UiO had a rather individual-oriented approach. Their perception

of the benefit of entering higher education was centered on the personal future earnings of refugee students and never on them being part of a minority group.

Because of that, the approach towards economic integration of refugees seems rather focused on visions that fit more with signaling or human capital theory, as they attempt to explain the relation between educational attainment and wages. There is no consensus over whether higher education determines wages by providing a signal to the market or by providing skills and knowledge that improve productivity. Kjelland (2008), for example, studied such relationship and although he argues in favor of signaling theory, the results of his research are inconclusive. Besides, as was discussed before, social capital is also considered determinant in terms of integration in society, and literature suggest the same for the labor market (Michael Bernabé Aguilera, 2002; Michael B Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Lin, 2000). Nevertheless, the approaches chosen to support the integration of refugees in the labor market seem to have a focus on the first two theories, especially in signaling theory, as the two programs, Sanctuary and Academic Dugnad, gave special relevance to supporting refugees as individuals who require to improve their chances for entering the labor market. The University of Oslo emphasized the necessity of working on the recognition of previous qualifications, highlighting the role higher education has for the integration in the labor market. The King's College of London developed a "foundational degree" that served as a way for refugees and asylum seekers to demonstrate that they are qualified enough to apply to higher education, even if they cannot prove previous education. At the same time, the economic role of education, as a way to access better working conditions, was also emphasized. Signaling theory, in that sense, explains in part not the results but the motivations behind the idea of higher education helping in the resettlement of refugees. Human capital theory also explains their motivations as it is based on the development of skills that improve productivity, Nevertheless it would seem that both approaches are present as validating previous qualifications was related to be a bureaucratic issue and a mean for selection.

## **6.5 Final Comments**

The social role of universities is currently maybe one of the most prominent issues with respect to higher education, especially in the context of major challenges such as the refugee crisis many European countries face nowadays. Nevertheless, the discourses and discussions



surrounding such issues pay little attention to how the institutional nature of universities and the national and international context condition such relation. As was possible to observe in this study, both universities, although having similar approaches for supporting refugees, conditioned their actions their national context and to their own norms and values.

The University as an institution, at least in the strategic orientation of these two programs at KCL and UiO, appeared as a determinant aspect in how their contribution to the resettlement of refugees was oriented. Rather than having an instrumentalist approach for developing their initiatives, both universities had similar ways of managing their efforts. First, in both cases the central administration acted more as a coordinator that connected the different internal actors in the university to address the problematic through a common platform. This reflects the loosely coupled condition that characterizes universities as organizations. When taking a closer look at both programs, it becomes possible to note that the support they offer was focused on facilitating the process of application to higher education, on the diffusion of knowledge, and on defending the academic profession. Three key aspects that characterize the university as it was conceived in the times of the XIX century Germany. Much is expected of universities in terms of contributing to solving the great challenges that society face, but in practice, at least in these two programs, the activities center their efforts on connecting what they already do with the problematic rather than on putting their resources at disposition. For that matter, the central administration plays a determinant role, as it coordinates rather than determinates what its internal actors should do. It is not that universities do not have a social role, but it would seem that it is strongly embedded in their institutional nature.

The third mission of higher education seems to respond more to the evolution of the administrative capacity of universities rather than to a change in their functioning. As Clark (1986) points out, the main substance of universities is knowledge, and it is through knowledge that universities contribute to society by educating or by making it available to different actors outside their boundaries. In that sense, universities seem to be doing the same thing they have been doing since the times of the Humboldtian university of XIX century Germany, or at least the lower parts of the organization, as the central administration seems to have evolved as response to the changes in their relationship with the external environment. In other words, the central administration has been adapting to the changes in the environment, such as the irruption of NPM reforms and the processes of the massification of higher education. For that reason, it would seem that the theoretical approaches that had better

explained such process are punctuated equilibrium (Sandmann, 2008) and the idea of a pact (Gornitzka et al., 2007; Olsen, 2007), as they consider such relation to be dynamic, pro-active and/or reactive. Nevertheless, such changing relation seems to have the central administration of the university as the main organism that evolves institutionally, acting as a sort of mediator between the scholarly communities and the environment.

One thing that does seem to have changed drastically is the role of the students in UCE. Although their relevance in the university seems to have stayed at a similar level, as they are considered as much as human capital as academics could be, a part of the institutional arrangement, their role in society has changed. The process of mass and universal higher education has changed the position students have in society, passing from being part of an elite to become something closer to a politically and civically engaged citizen. The case of the UK highlights this situation, while in the case of UiO there is need for further research to understand the students' role in civil society, as student organizations do exist and are active in several social matters, but were not part of the Academic Dugnad. For that reason, UCE as part of the third mission seems to be part of the University already for a long time, although linked more directly to administrative and strategic matters, as well as to student engagement, as they assume a double role, as part of the university and as engaged citizens.

As for the role universities and higher education can have in the resettlement of refugees, their contribution is still complex and requires further research. The universities' contribution to the development of human capital seems to be at the center of university's programs, nevertheless the complex institutional nature of universities makes the analysis more complex. The role students and academics seem to play in university engagement makes limiting it to what the central administration plans an invalid matter, as they seem to operate under different logics. While students seem to focus on dealing with the social challenges of resettlement, the central administrations can be argued to focus first and foremost on the economic challenges. The role academic research may play for such matter seems rather ambiguous, as relevance of knowledge seems to be growing in the context of modern societies. The massification of higher education has changed the context over which forced migration takes place, at least in the case of western societies. Just as the education for all movement made the international efforts over providing help to refugees move from elite higher education towards primary and secondary education (Dryden-Peterson, 2016), the

context of more knowledge intensive societies may create the need for a new change in the focus of their efforts.

# 7 Conclusions

## Research Questions

Given the results of chapter five and the discussion in chapter six, now it is time to address the research questions that were stated in chapter one. The research problem was *how are the University of Oslo and the King's College of London addressing to the Syrian refugee crisis in their respective countries?* For addressing that problem, three research questions were stated:

*How can the Academic Dugnad program and the Sanctuary program be interpreted as "university civic engagement"?*

The approach over networks chose for this study also allowed to interpret the activities as university civic engagement. The main forms of UCE that were observed were pedagogical engagement, student engagement, special admission, open teaching and learning and administrative and strategic engagement. The findings suggests, first, that UCE in these two cases is institutionalized at the central administration of the university, and at the student-level, but not so much at the faculty or department level. This is coherent with what Macfarlane (2005) argued regarding the form the third mission takes in practice, as the engagement in both programs at KCL and UiO were mainly focused on administrative and student tasks. Also, the ideas of Escrigas and Lobera (2009), Harkavy (2006) and Macfarlane (2005) are reinforced, as the formation of students seems to be one of the main sources of civic engagement. In that sense, both students and central administration seem to act as a mediator between the university and wide society, as it is through them that most of the interactions take place. In terms of how the main activities of the university were adapted to provide aid for solving the refugee crisis, the focus was mainly set on eliminating the barriers for applying to higher education, but in practice, teaching at the university underwent no significant changes. The case of academic research was not so different, as the activities mainly meant different strategies for knowledge diffusion, including forms of open lectures and the coordination of research efforts, rather than the generation of new projects exclusively designed for the support of refugees. In addition, it would appear that UCE is more a foundational characteristic of the modern research university, expressed in the development of

its managerial capacities to cope with social processes like NPM reforms, internationalization and mass higher education, rather than a new trend.

The ideas proposed by Jongbloed et al. (2008) were particularly relevant for the understanding of UCE in this study, as their approach is one of the few in the literature that considers the external actors and their interconnections as one of the main variables to understand the third mission. In that sense, his observations, applied for the context of engaging with business and industry, seem to apply as well to the idea of university civic engagement. First, the idea of *mission confusion* described by the authors where the growing engagement of universities is leading them the need of improving the managerial capacities is also observed. A big part of the engagement efforts observed in this study consisted of administrative engagement, suggesting that the more engage a university is the biggest the demand for managerial capacity will be. On the other hand, Jongbloed et al. (2008) also suggested that engagement can be explained by the need of fundraising together with a change in the model of technology transfer. Even though in UCE technology-related knowledge does not play a significant role, diffusion of knowledge did play an important role at UiO and at KCL. Nevertheless, the two universities adopted different models for the diffusion of knowledge, conditioned by their political economic context. Knowledge transfer seems a complex problem for both forms of the third mission, when engaging with the industry and business and in UCE.

*How is the national context conditioning the universities behavior? What other factors conditions them in the organization and implementation of the activities?*

Regarding the second research question, the focus of this study over interactions allowed observing significant differences among national contexts over UCE. Coherent with what Hall and Soskice (2001) suggested, there were institutional differences that significantly conditioned the way university civic engagement was expressed in practice. In this study, it was observed how, although with similar goals, both cases differ significantly in how they interacted with the national institutional context. The case of Norway showed mostly strategic coordination with different organizational actors like NOKUT, within the institutional arrangements present in the country, while in the UK, the university's relation with governmental agencies or other social actors worked mostly through market-based mechanisms like competitive funds or even crowd-funding. Nevertheless, although the theory allows explaining such differences to some extent, political and civic participation among the

population seem to be also a relevant factor for UCE, something not considered in VoC. At KCL, cooperation with civic society happened mostly through NGOs, which connected to the university through students or staff; in Norway, it took place mostly through open lectures for the public. For that reason, there is a need to link UCE to national political economic differences, and not just limit it to the context of universities, as the external environment is determinant for its understanding. In that same line, another aspect that requires further research refers to the relation between knowledge diffusion and civic/political participation, as universities seem to be conditioned by national differences in that respect when engaging with society. One important aspect to consider is that the national differences were also observed in the managerial approaches. While the Sthier program had a rather entrepreneurial approach, in the University of Oslo the administration of the programs was more focus on coordinating efforts with other institutional actors. Perhaps this is the main difference with what it is proposed by Jongbloed et al. (2008), as they argue that the lack of entrepreneurial culture is a barrier for interacting with the community. This may be true for the case of KCL, but such relation is not so clear for the case of UiO. The success of UCE in this context seems to depend more on its capacity to relate with different relevant actors, meaning strategic coordination, rather than on its entrepreneurial culture. In that sense, the political economic context seems to condition UCE from a managerial perspective. As the mechanism of coordination that characterizes the comparative advantage in a country will determine as well how institutions create complementarities, it also seems to condition how universities manage their relation with society.

Another important aspect that was observed was the important role of the University as an institution in the way university civic engagement functions. As mentioned before, being engaged seems to be rather a foundational characteristic of the university rather than a new trend. Contrary to what VoC proposes, university civic engagement does not seem to follow an instrumental logic in its functioning. Instead, this study suggests that both universities seek for institutional positioning, conditioned by the specific “pact” of each national setting, rather than just solving coordination problems of the political economy. The Academic Refuge program at UiO is an example of how universities defend their values and norms, as the activity, although focused on how to better support refugee students and academics, had a strong focus over the protection of higher education values. The King’s College of London, although not as active as UiO in this matter, was part of CARA, a partner of Scholars at Risk.

Moreover, in both cases, the observations suggested a strong link between internationalization and university civic engagement. First, because engaging in the problematic of refugee resettlement involved relating with several international actors such as the European Commission or universities abroad. Also because of the “global” vision of both universities, stated in their institutional goals and related to the genesis of these programs. In that sense, engaging in global problems appeared as a strategic aspect of the behavior of universities, coherent with what institutional positioning suggests. In addition, the institutional arrangement of higher education seems to go beyond national borders, involving not only supranational actors, but also partners that work together for the defense of common values and norms. For that reason, there is a need to reinterpret university engagement, as it would appear to be as Sandmann (2008) suggests; a two way relation in which universities are also receiving some form of value, being either tangible or intangible. Research and policy making in this matter should consider this idea and its implications at the institutional level of higher education, as it may become relevant not only for civic engagement but also in the context of R&D systems.

The University seems to have become a meta-institutional arrangement in which its values and norms appear as something that crosses the borders of nations. For researchers in the VoC theory, this may appear as a contradictory aspect, also because its nature appears separated, and rather adapted for survival, to the capitalist logic. For that reason, one important aspect that could be considered in future research is the historical nature of universities, as they are probably one of the few institutions that have remained institutionally similar compared to pre-capitalist times. Scholarly communities are strong and are connected beyond national borders, and, as this study suggests, the University may be the main organization defending their core values (Olsen, 2007). The loosely-coupled condition of universities that Clark (1986) describes, not only has made universities extensive and intensive –and unique- but also it seems to have protected the academic communities’ practices and values from their national environment, at the same time that as it has created a link that connects them with society and the world.

*How are these programs supporting refugees and other actors from the perspective of the university leadership?*

Finally, the last research question referred to how and in what forms both programs at KCL and UiO provide value for refugees and the rest of the actors involved. As mentioned before,

university civic engagement seems to respond more to a two-way relationship in which internal and external actors exchange value. For that reason, one first aspect to discuss is how universities and other external actors transfer and receive value in the context of UCE, answering the first part of the last research question. In that sense, the idea of institutional complementarities proposed in the varieties of capitalism theory seems to explain the way such process takes place. What was observed in this study points to a model where universities complement other institutions without becoming instrumental of others. The non-utilitarian approach that characterizes the functioning of universities, and their capacity to respond strategically to the demands of the external environment while protecting their core values and norms, explains this type of relationship. Institutional positioning, interpreted through the idea of institutional complementarities, allows understanding how universities manage to create and receive value. Complementing other institutions, without necessarily changing their natural behavior and practices, seems to explain the process of value creation in which universities are embedded.

On the other hand, in reference to the support refugees receive from both universities, KCL and UiO, this study has identified a multidimensional relation between higher education and the resettlement of refugees. It was observed how relevant higher education was considered for the economic integration of refugees. This invites to reflect and to further study about the role higher education has in societies that reach universality in access, and how such context conditions forced migration. As Trow (2007) suggests, mass and universal higher education have changed the logic towards being seen more as an obligation rather than a path for the elite. For that reason, the relevance of higher education in a migration crisis needs to be reevaluated, as it has become more and more determinant for the success of resettlement. On the other hand, the study showed another important aspect to be considered when studying the contribution of higher education in the resettlement of refugees. The sociocultural impact of becoming a student in higher education, and how it can turn out to be relevant for refugees appeared as an potential relevant issue. In both cases, becoming a student was considered as an important factor in the construction of new identities in newcomers. While at KCL being as student had implications in terms of the acquisition of values from the university, at UiO the leader even considered it as a way of constructing a new identity for the refugees. For that reason, becoming a student in higher education might contribute to the acculturation process of refugees, as the evidence also suggests that it allows for the creation of new cultural identities that may facilitate their integration in society.



On the other hand, Social Capital theory should be considered when performing research and designing policy for refugee resettlement. Through the work of the student organizations or through the Academic Network program, both universities –either directly or indirectly– showed special attention to the need of creating networks or links with the community for the refugees arriving. The literature regarding this aspect relates it to both, the labor market and socialization, relevant in terms of overcoming the psychosocial traumas of escaping a war. Nevertheless, at the central administration level, in both the UK and in Norway, becoming part of higher education was seen mostly as a labor market driver. In addition, it was possible to observe how the political economic context of both universities also conditioned the way in which refugees were helped by the universities, in some cases even making it more complicated, showing that institutional characteristics can create both barriers and opportunities for universities to interact with society.

## **Limitations, Possible Consequences and Contribution**

This study presented several limitations. To start, although the approach chosen complemented the ideas of Jongbloed et al. (2008), it lacked of the capacity to include hierarchies. This may be determinant, as not only they are considered as important in VoC, but also, depending on the national context, they can be the main mechanism for coordination. In addition, the participants of the study were limited, as only two interviews were conducted. Although it allowed to collect important and relevant data, it left outside of the sample several relevant actors, including the refugees. For that reason, future research recommends to include hierarchies and to apply a Snow Ball sampling, as it allows to sample while identifying the different actors that are revealed as part of the network. This would allow to include the perceptions of all the actors involved and their own perceptions of value. On the other hand, this study did not consider different models for knowledge diffusion or for political participation. Both seemed as relevant for UCE, and should be addressed in future studies.

Nevertheless, regardless of the limitations, this study shed light over several important aspects of UCE. First, reinforced the idea of Jongbloed et al. (2008), as they consider that the relation among actors is one of the most important aspects to consider to study the third mission. To that respect, Value Network Theory was shown to have the potential to be a useful tool for describing university engagement, as it allows bringing together both, tangible and intangible

assets, as well to conceptualize universities as mediators of academic knowledge in society. In addition, it was able to bring together a framework for studying institutional differences in the context of UCE. This may be one of the biggest contributions of this study, as political economic differences seem to be determinant for understanding university civic engagement.

With respect to varieties of capitalism theory, this study suggests that the idea of institutional complementarities should be reconsidered when trying to understand the third mission. In contemporary society, universities are exposed to constant pressures to become entrepreneurial, to directly contribute to the economy and society. Nevertheless, the idea of institutional complementarity applied to higher education provides an interesting equilibrium in terms of what universities do and how they contribute to society, as they happen as a consequence of carrying out their own activities. There is a need for further research in that matter, as it could help in improving the efficiency of how knowledge is transferred from universities without trying to make them instrumental of other purposes.

Finally, this study contributed to the understanding of the relation between higher education and refugee integration. To that respect, the literature in that area is rather limited, and this study only focused on the perspective of the university management. Nevertheless, it allowed to observe different barriers that refugees were facing for entering higher education, as well as challenges that the manager in universities may find. In addition, by considering two different political economic contexts, it allowed to contribute to the discussion of refugee policy, as the two contexts offered radically different policies with implications for higher education and for the integration of refugees. It is important to remark the need of research in this area, as it is limited and considerably relevant in today's context. Integrating in Western societies is becoming more complex, as higher education is becoming more an obligation than just a way of improving people's lives. In that line, future research could include as well sociocultural approaches to understand how higher education conditions refugees, as their identity, and not just the networks they form, seems to be reshaped, according to the perception of the leaders of the programs.

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# Appendix

## Appendix A – Interview Guide

### INTERVIEW GUIDE

The interviews will be held in English and the focus of the study will be set over the activities identified in the websites of the institutions, in which special sections were dedicated to cover their involvement with the Syrian refugees through blogs, introductory and descriptive pages. I attach here the tentative questionnaire. Tentative because since it is a semi-structured interview, there is room for change in the questions depending on how the participant develops her/his answer and on findings not considered until this point in the documents mentioned.

- 
- University: name of the university and country
  - Activity: name or description of the activity
    - o Ask about the objective of the activity
    - o Explore over the different forms of university civic engagement
      - Only through curriculum and education?
      - Participation of the internal and/or external community?
      - Concepts: citizenship and/or institutional identity?
      - Collaborative research with other actors?
      - Other
  - Actors involved: confirmation of the actors identified in the website
    - o If the respondent confirms, ask about the role of the actor in the activity
    - o Ask about the how the university is collaborating with them and/or how is the university helping them –identify value. Explore over how the context is conditioning such value at the institutional level. In a Liberal economy (UK) it would be expected that the value would involve market based mechanisms, and in a Coordinated economy (Norway) more strategic coordination through institutional arrangements.

- Identify deliverables: physical or non-physical (knowledge or benefits) assets involved.
- Motivation of the institution: explore on the reason the university is organizing the activity
  - Important: explore first over the specific objective of the activity and how it is offering support. If the activity involves helping refugees enter the university, then it is important to explore the motivation: is it to not let good students get lost or because is in the “values” of the institution?
  - Identify internal actors involved: students, faculties, departments, staff.
  - Identify deliverables: physical or non-physical (knowledge or benefits) assets involved.

As stated before this is a semi-structured interview that, besides, considers to first examine a series of documents that may conditions this tentative form, although the focus will remain over the activities and will guarantee that no personal name to be mentioned, the actors will be considered symbolically and not personally (eg. “Students” and not any specific one). Also it is considered to leave flexibility for the respondent; this form intends to be a guide towards the interview and not a structure.



# **Appendix B – Information Letter**

## **Request for participation in research project**

### **" Refugee Crisis University Engagement: a Comparative Case Study of Value Exchanges"**

#### **Background and Purpose**

This master thesis project will explore the institutional involvement of two universities in different political-economic contexts in the Syrian refugee crisis, one in Norway and the other in the UK. The main objectives of the research is set on understanding how university civic engagement (UCE) takes place in such initiatives by studying how value is exchanged in different forms with different actors, and how differences in the political and economic environment condition such engagement, with a scope limited to the perception of the university.

The sample is a non-random sample, with the criterion of being part of the strategic management of the institutions, meaning the two interviews will be performed on people in the higher parts leadership of the university. The reason behind this is that the approach of this study proposes to limit the scope to the perceptions of the universities; because the strategy of the institutions is set on that level of the management, and, it is considered for this study, that the different decisions and activities reflect the global strategy of the universities; and finally because this study is explorative, and its intention is to open new research questions for future research.

#### **What does participation in the project imply?**

The project considers the analysis of public information available on the websites and one in-depth semi structured interview, of maximum one hour, for each one of the institutions. The personal information of the participants will be kept confidential and will only be of knowledge of the researcher and his supervisor. Questions on the interviews will explore and identify different types of value exchanges between the universities and the different actors involved in the activities identified in the websites. Types of value may include tangible (money, products or contractual services, etc) and intangible (knowledge, benefits, etc) assets.

### **What will happen to the information about you?**

All personal data will be of knowledge only of the researcher and the supervisor, and will be used only for contact purpose. All the rest of the data, recordings and transcriptions, will be stored in the server of the university. All personal data will be kept anonymous in the final thesis document as well, and will be referred as university leadership or management. The names of the participants won't appear either on the recordings, as only the name of the institutions and country will be mentioned. The project is scheduled for completion by mid-2017. No personal data will be kept in the servers.

### **Voluntary participation**

It is voluntary to participate in the project, and you can at any time choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason. If you decide to withdraw, all your personal data will be made anonymous.

If you would like to participate or if you have any questions concerning the project, please contact.

The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

Andrés Arturo Araos Moya

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+4740481668

### **Consent for participation in the study**

I have received information about the project and am willing to participate

-----  
(Signed by participant, date)

# Appendix C – Value Network Diagrams

## King’s College of London

### Sthier Program

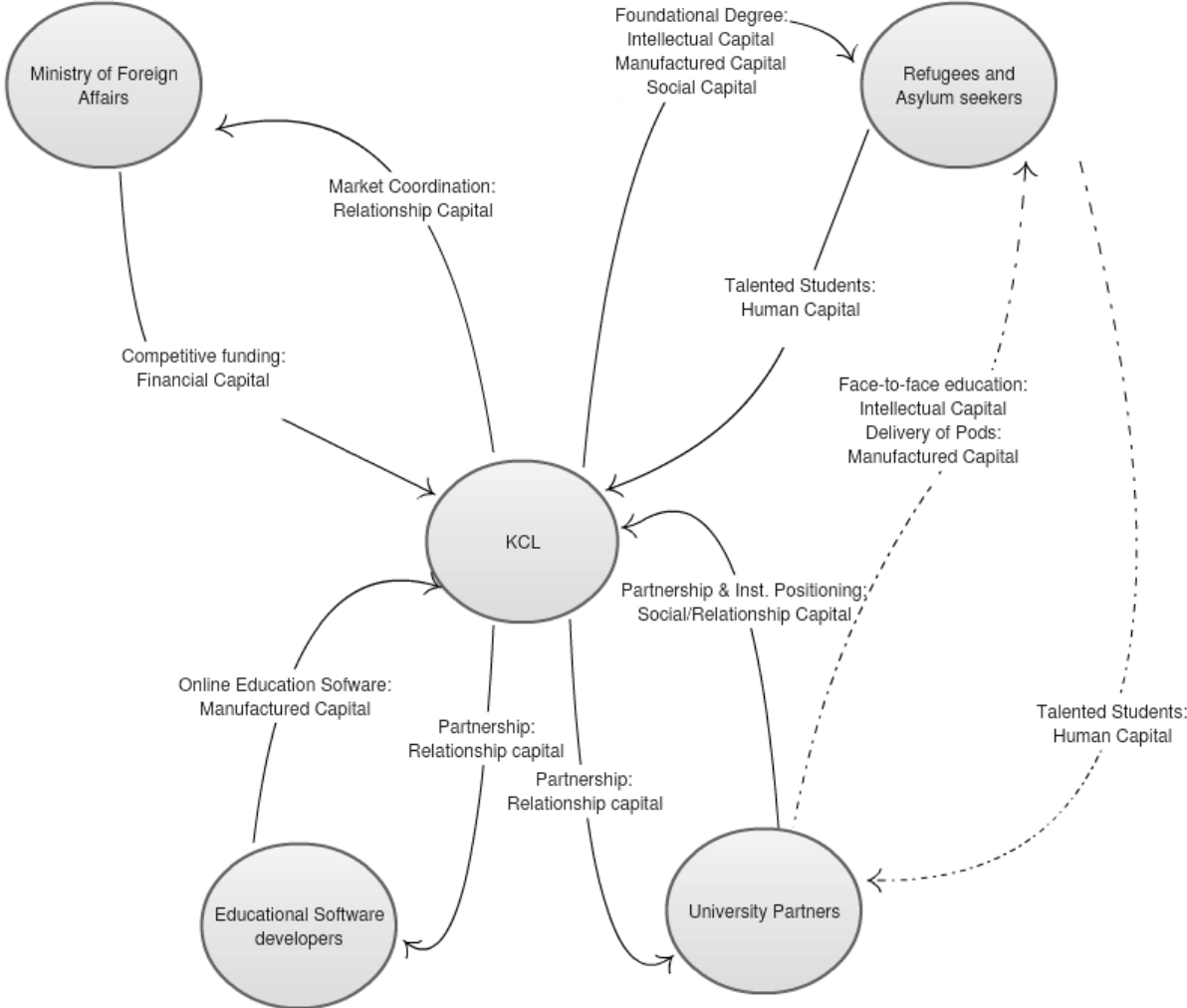


Figure 1: Sthier program value network: graphic representation. Source: Author

# Sanctuary Scholarships

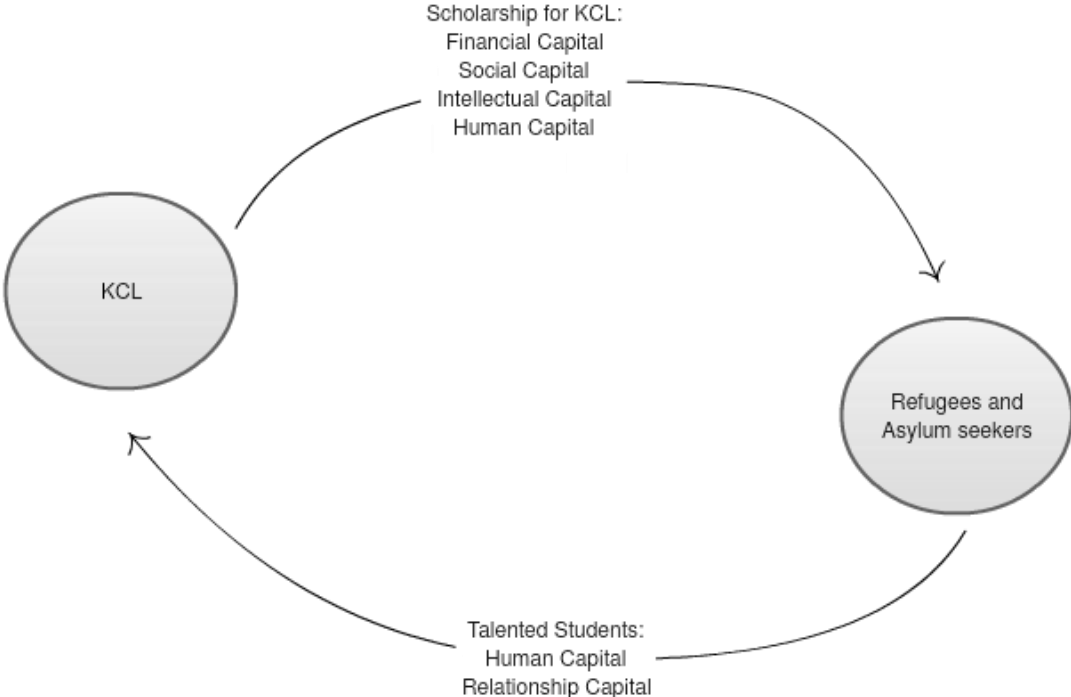


Figure 2: Sanctuary scholarships value network: graphic representation. Source: Author

**Student Initiatives**

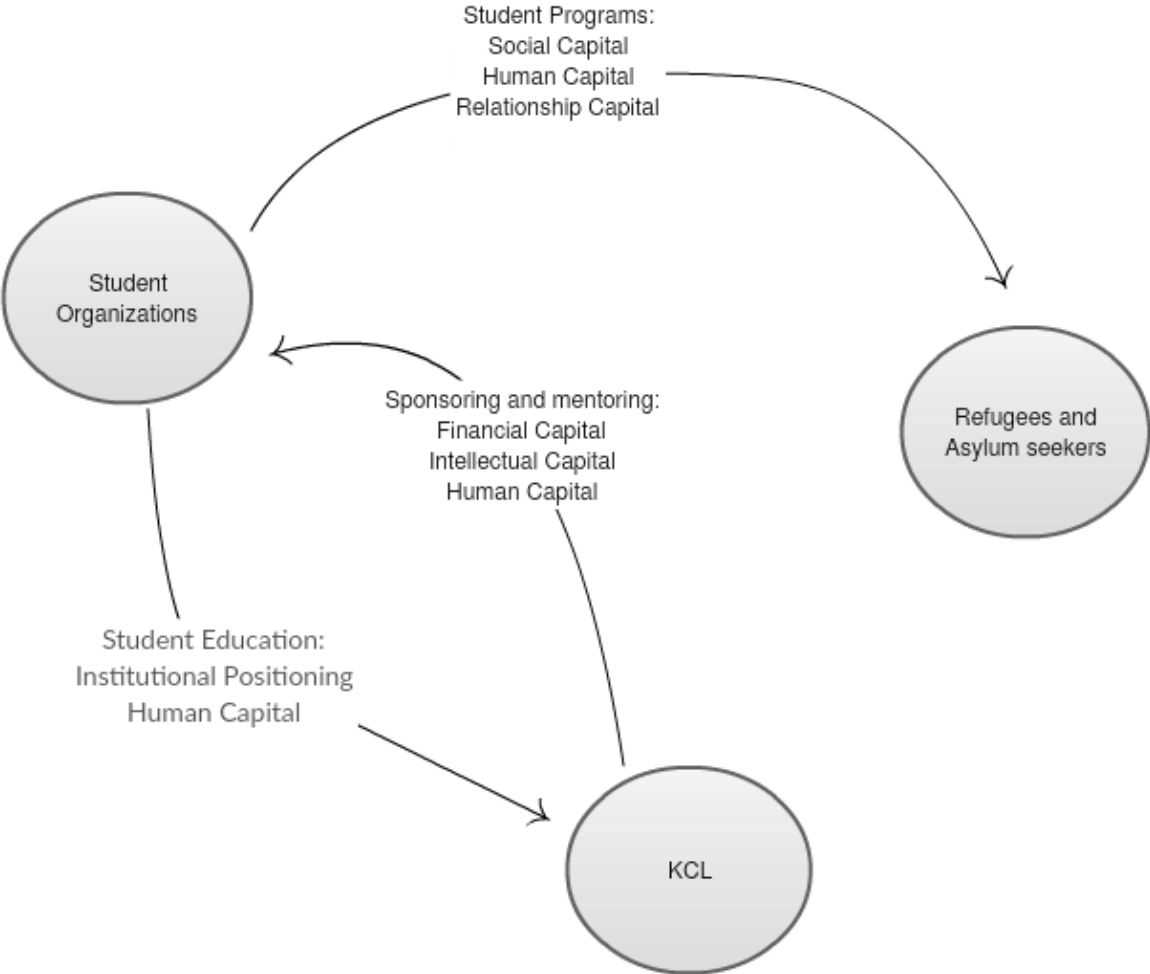


Figure 3: Student initiatives value network: graphic representation. Source: Author

# Research Center in Forced Migration

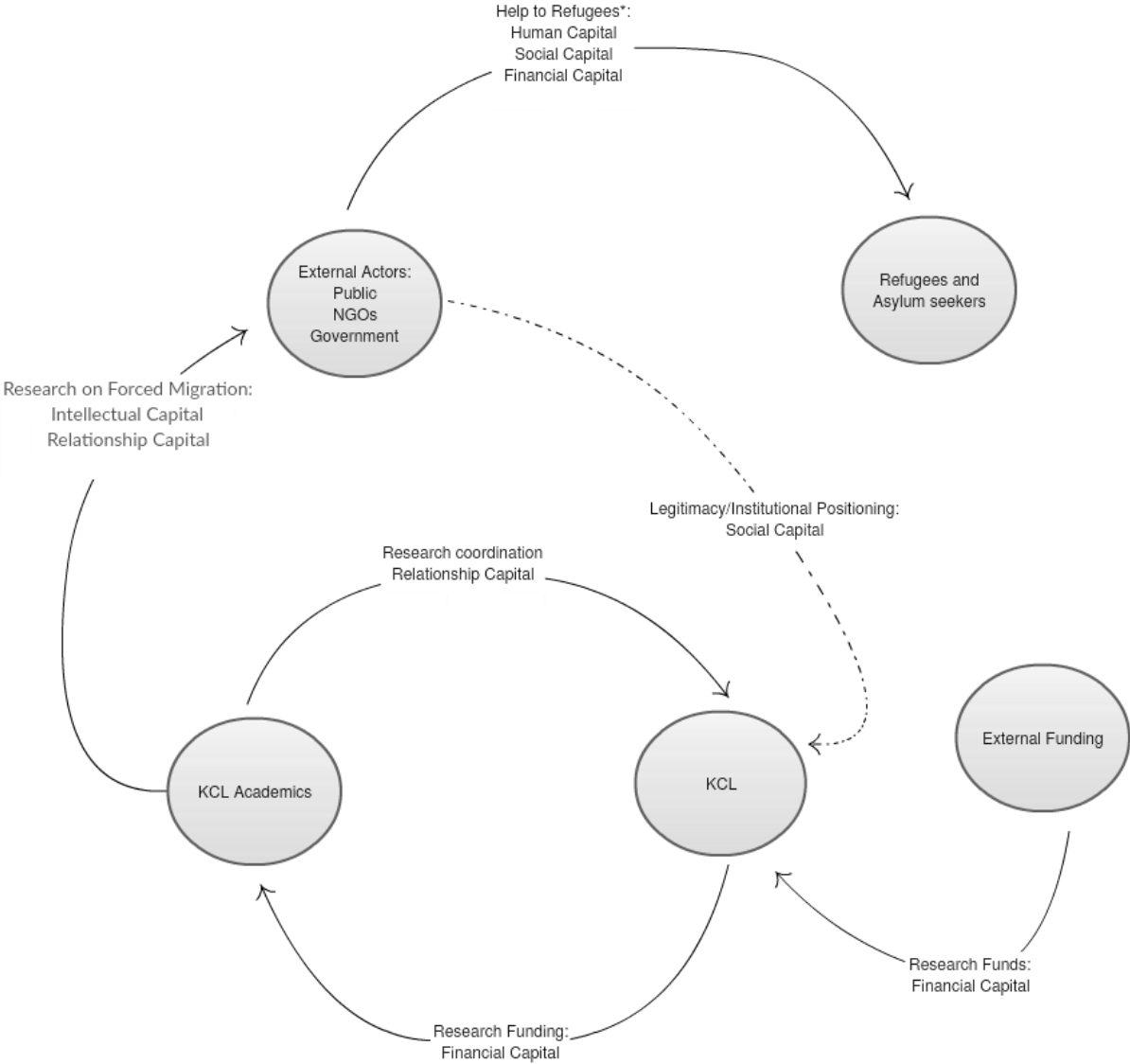


Figure 4: Research center for migration and displacement value network: graphic representation. Source: Author

# Legal Support Program

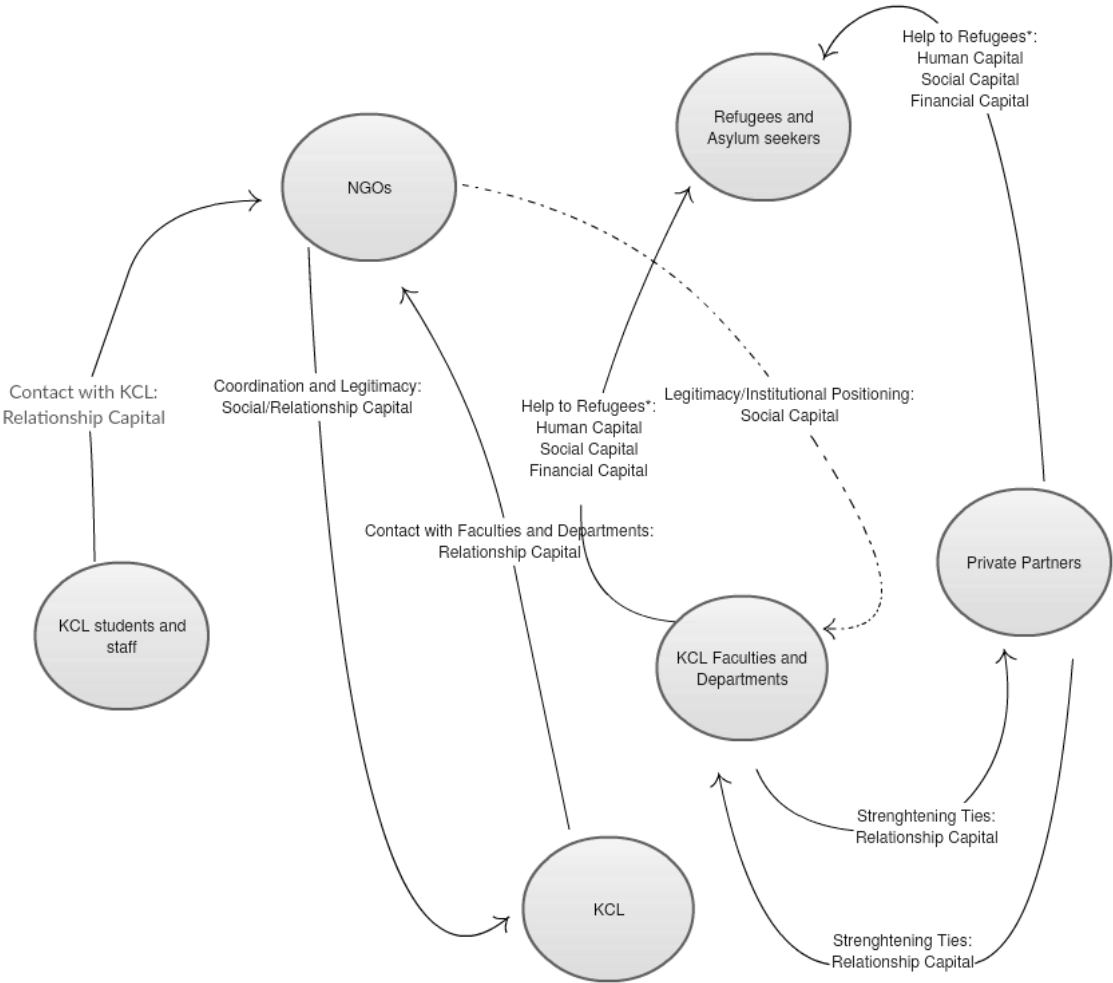


Figure 5: NGO/University refugee support value network: graphic representation. Source: Author

# University of Oslo

## Information Meeting

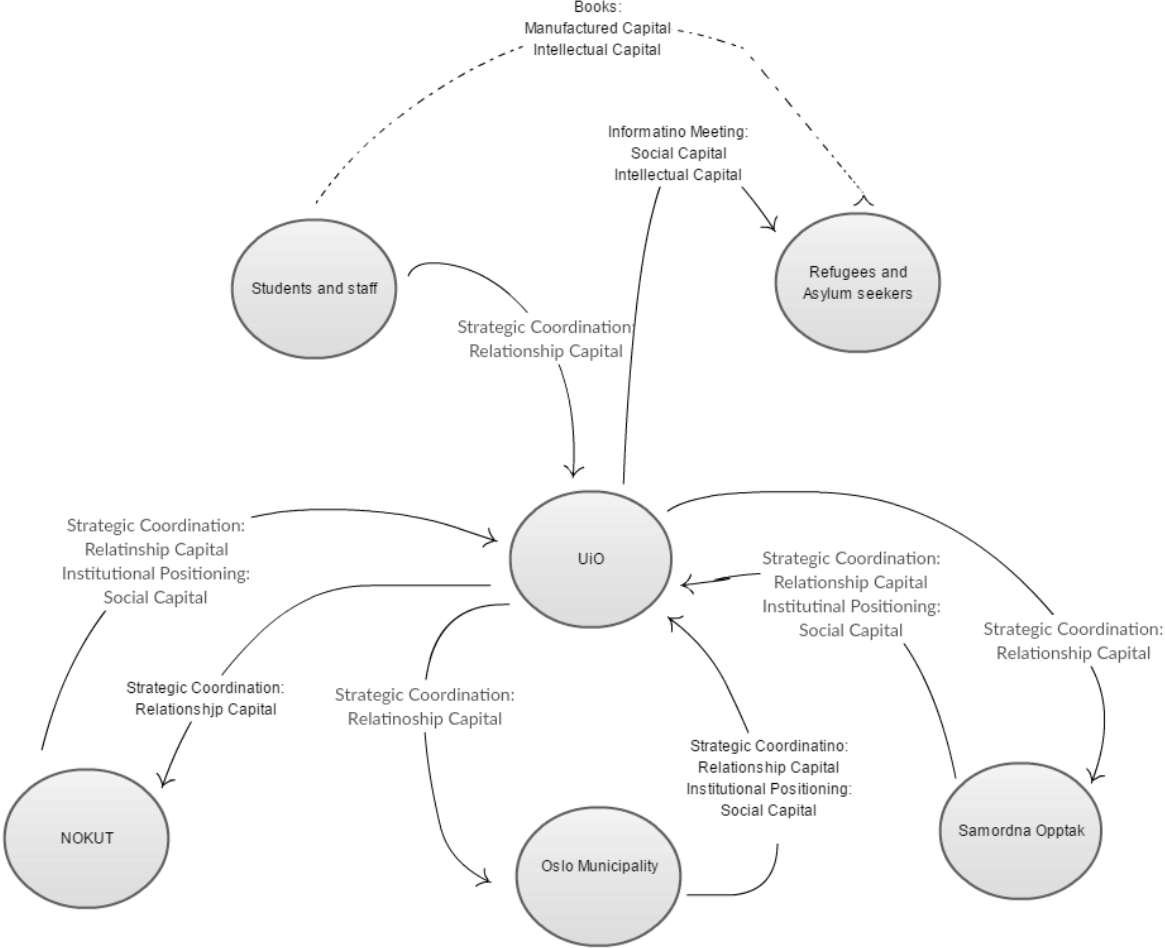


Figure 5: Information meeting at the Academic Dugnad: graphic representation. Source: Author



**Academic Practice**

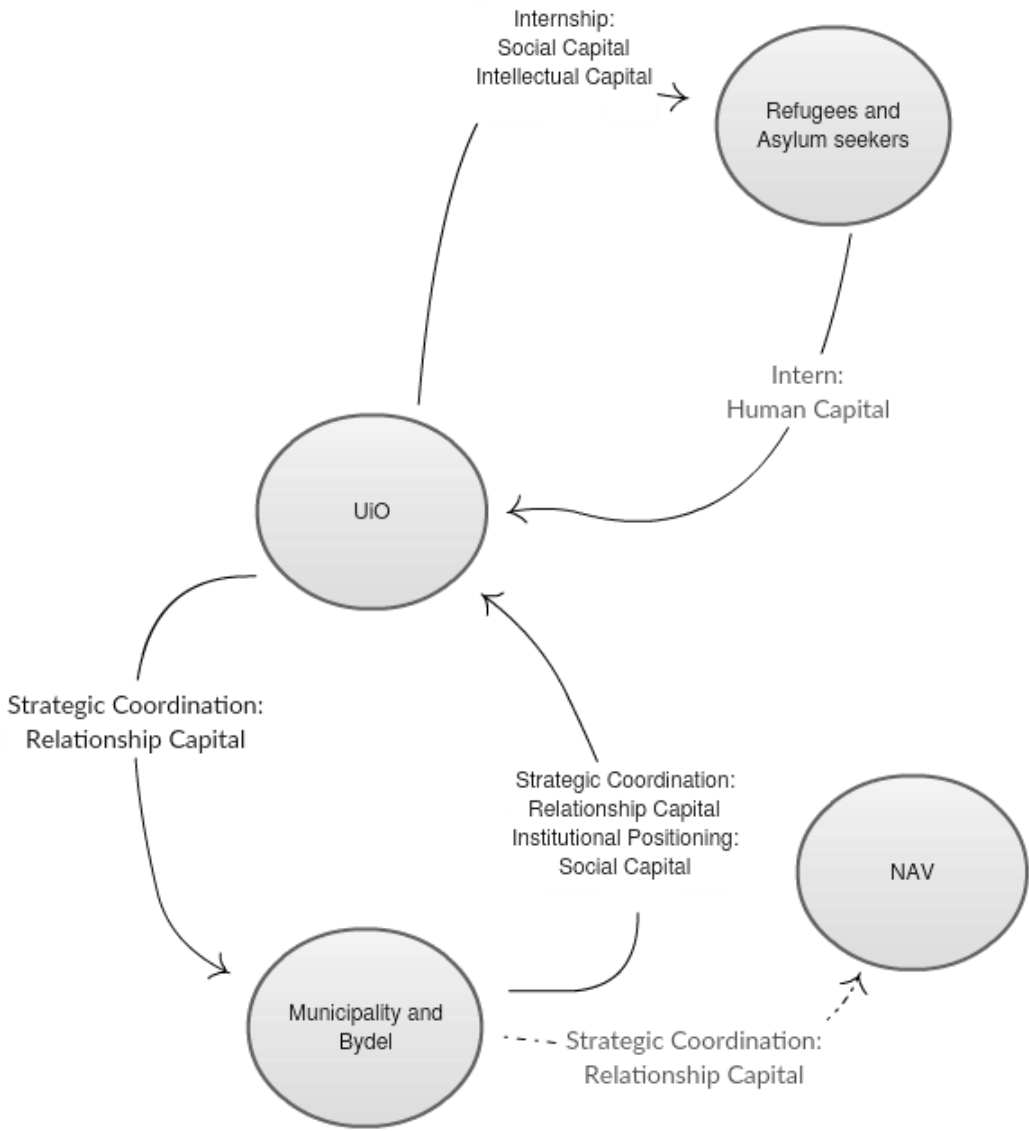


Figure 6: Academic Practice at the Academic Dugnad: graphic representation. Source: Author