

# UNIVERSITY IMPACT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES IN PERIPHERAL REGIONS:

## *Knowledge Organization and the BC Wine Industry*

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### INTRODUCTION

**W**HEN UNIVERSITIES consider their impact on societies and economies, they typically stress aspects of medicine and the STEM subjects: science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. The benefits of funding projects to solve challenges affecting millions of people – such as cures for diseases or climate change – can be readily appreciated by governments and citizens. For universities, the high cost of such projects, and their public profile, can be critical to reputation and ranking. In contrast, this article considers impact from a social science perspective. Alongside the arts and humanities, the social sciences are typically thought of less positively than medicine/STEM, perhaps because their projects are seen to affect a relatively smaller number of people in particular territories in certain parts of the world, and require comparatively less funding. Smaller territory, and fewer people and dollars, is interpreted as low impact. This interpretation is especially pronounced for projects concerned with peripheries.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Peripheral means “relating to or situated on the edge or periphery of something”; periphery refers to “the outer limits or edge of an area or object” and “a marginal or secondary position in, or aspect of, a group, subject, or sphere of activity” (Oxford Dictionary online, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com>, viewed 25 January 2018). Peripheral is a relative term, and frequently the periphery is contrasted with the core. Consider, for example, literature on the impact of higher education in peripheral regions. Karlsen et al. (2017, 464) stress “location, demographics or economics”; Čábelková et al. (2017, 484) emphasize overreliance of the periphery on primary sectors and having relatively few knowledge and technological capabilities, limited access to capital, and poor infrastructure, making “the region physically or technologically difficult to access.” They suggest that peripheral can imply “regional insularity and lock in with limited access to new benchmark practices, innovations, and markets.” Consider also the economic geography literature, such as Glückler’s (2014) analysis of innovation in Argentina; and for a discussion of the concept of peripheral region in the Canadian context, see Nelson and MacKinnon (2004).

Consider also Benneworth and Jongbloed (2010, 568): in contrast to so-called “hard” sciences, in the social sciences and humanities “social benefits and services are more diffuse and less easily enumerated and capitalized.” Those benefiting from the social sciences and humanities tend to be public, community, or non-profit organizations “with lower purchasing power.”

Specifically, this article addresses the following question: How can social science overcome barriers to producing an impact on the development of industries in peripheral regions? Our response considers a particular possibility, based on the importance of knowledge and voice in economic development, and focusing on the distinctive role of public universities in organizing knowledge.<sup>2</sup>

In their consideration of economic development under globalization, Sugden and Wilson (2002, 2003) stress the strategic importance of knowledge in enabling people to participate in the governance and development of their locality. We follow their emphasis on voice in relation to knowledge. To identify and attain self-determined development objectives, people need to exercise their voice in the pursuit and use of knowledge. We stress the significance of people expressing and sharing diverse perspectives, and the integration of those perspectives into a process of collective learning and action. Our focus on the distinctive role of universities is consistent with the requirements identified by Gumport (2005), who questions the changing environment of public universities and its consequences for their knowledge-related activities, indicating the need for a deeper discussion of such issues; and Karlsen (2005, 501), who argues that understanding the potential of universities to affect regional development requires study of the “concept of knowledge” and the role of universities in “knowledge construction.” Consider also Allison and Eversole (2008, 103), who see “an essential disjuncture” between approaches to knowledge by scholars and approaches by industry practitioners. Yet they “posit that universities have enormous potential to take a leading role in regional development processes” because they “are well placed to ‘join up’ and mobilize complex knowledge in specific geographical settings (regions) to achieve desired outcomes.” This article considers the role of public universities in joining up and mobilizing complex knowledge.

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<sup>2</sup> Although we concentrate on social science and industries in the periphery, our analysis is relevant to development more generally and, indeed, to university impact beyond both the economy and the social sciences.

Section 1 introduces our suggested approach. Then, to illustrate and deepen the analysis, Section 2 reflects on an international partnership between the Okanagan campus of the University of British Columbia (UBC) and KEDGE Business School (Bordeaux, France) to support British Columbia to emerge as a globally recognized wine region. The context for this partnership is UBC's deliberate attempts to influence the supply-side of British Columbia's economic periphery. UBC established its Okanagan campus a little over ten years ago with such ends in mind. We are part of the group responsible for developing the UBC-KEDGE wine industry project.<sup>3</sup> Our objective in the project is to support the strategic development of the industry through the organization of knowledge.

Perhaps unusually for initiatives intended to have an impact on economic development, we include a role for creative forms of expression, such as visual images, literary works, installations, and the like. This stems from the notion that "art" in its diverse forms is pertinent to economic development in various ways.<sup>4</sup> It can deepen people's understanding of ideas and concepts, and nurture imagination and creativity, leading to the appreciation of pluralistic views, openness to new situations and ways of doing things, and identification of common interests. In turn, these effects may trigger critical reflections concerning what people in a particular context may do or aspire to do to have an impact on the development of their region. Our approach is in line with notions of art explored by Dewey (1934), especially regarding the connections between art, experience, and inquiry; and it accords with Sacchetti's (2009, 38) suggestion that "concerns over the economic emancipation of regions and localities ... call for promoting a wider reflection, for instance, on the role of universities but also of different artistic expression within the society."

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<sup>3</sup> Since its beginnings in the Okanagan in fall 2012, the UBC-KEDGE wine industry project has been led by Jacques-Olivier Pesme (KEDGE) and Roger Sugden (UBC). Malida Mooken is a postdoctorate fellow who has been working on the project since fall 2015. Marcela Valania is an honorary research associate working on the project since spring 2015. The three authors are based at UBC's Okanagan campus. Alongside Kim Buschert (also from the Okanagan campus) and Jacques-Olivier Pesme, they make up the project coordination group.

<sup>4</sup> See also Hirschman (1970, 43): "voice is essentially an *art* constantly evolving in new directions."

## PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES AND THE ORGANIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE

As Western universities have embraced the marketization of their own activities, and the role demanded of them in market economies by governments and some citizens,<sup>5</sup> they have offered “products” to “customers” (Collini 2017; Docherty 2013; Wilson 2009). For example, they have contracted to sell the predetermined learning outcomes of executive education demanded by managers or the research outputs required by industry. In doing so, they have typically adopted the “mechanized *management* of experience, which is achieved by the reduction of relations to discrete and atomized things” (Docherty 2013, 62). This is seen, for example, in the way that universities prize “the student experience.” They have also made assumptions – for instance, that markets exist and that market actors have particular knowledge: in the extreme, this results in the notion that the customer knows what it wants and that the customer knows best. In practice, these assumptions are problematic for public universities because, even if valid, they need not yield outcomes in the public interest.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the assumptions might not hold. As observed by Isaksen and Karlsen (2010, 1996, quoting Malecki 2009, 176): “Universities should not be regarded as supermarkets, where knowledge can be selected and purchased. Rather, both the regional industry and universities ‘must invest time and effort to identify needs and to learn the benefits of interaction.’”

The requirement for time and effort is perhaps especially acute when considering the development of industries in peripheral regions. Characteristically, those regions have an exceptionally high proportion of small enterprises, extremely few large firms, and an absence of corporate headquarters. This matters because small enterprises tend to lack the human capacity and financial resource to work with universities. Moreover, little or no experience with universities can imply lack of understanding about what they can do to support the development of an industry. More generally, peripheries are at a different stage of development compared to the core, and economic actors in the periphery, including universities,

<sup>5</sup> Despite fundamental changes to the nature of universities since the later twentieth century, for Collini (2017, 136) the idea that a university is “a partly-protected space in which the search for deeper and wider understanding takes precedence over all more immediate goals” remains “very much alive.” He suspects such ideas may “continue to underlie the intuitive convictions held by a great many ‘ordinary’ citizens about what universities are for.”

<sup>6</sup> The failure of market economies to yield outcomes in the public interests is suggested by, for example, analysis of corporations (Branston et al. 2006). See also Sugden (2004), critiquing the organization of universities as corporations.

often do not know what to do, how, when, or where, to have an effective impact on development. This has to be learned by all parties, which requires the building of trust and the nurturing of relationships.

What are the strategic imperatives facing an industry, in the view of industry participants? What do they know, and not know, about those imperatives? How might a university support the industry to identify and address its concerns? How might strategy be developed to shape the industry now and in the long run? To answer these and related questions – indeed, to determine the set of questions that needs to be answered – education is necessary, not to deliver already known outputs but, rather, to find out, and perhaps to realize, the currently unimaginable.

Consistent with such requirements, our approach centres on providing people with the space to gain knowledge and understanding through open-ended inquiry and what Docherty (2013, 62) calls “experience as learning.” This approach focuses on the organization of knowledge – the creation, acquisition, maintenance, dissemination, assimilation, application, and *inter alia* mobilization of knowledge. Public universities distinguish themselves from other institutions when, as a prime reference point for organizing knowledge, they pursue the spirit of the truth through reason and evidence (Mooken and Sugden 2014).<sup>7</sup> This sets them apart from, say, private profit-seeking enterprises that consult; or research institutions that provide knowledge tailored to particular, private interests; or trade associations that lobby for specific lines of activity.

Universities can provide educational spaces that stimulate interactions and learning among actors from university, industry, government, and the wider community. This learning may be open-ended, yielding outcomes that are neither predetermined nor necessarily imaginable at the outset. Learning is what Docherty (2013, 59) calls “the negotiation of an experiment: teacher and student may have an idea of what we would like to achieve, but we cannot guarantee the outcome; and we will also potentially be surprised and even changed as we both work our way through the experimental process.” Each participant in the process might envisage quite different outcomes when the process begins, and along the way each may alter her or his perceptions and understanding. Indeed, participants may come to shape and share together.

University-created educational spaces can enable linkages between various forms of knowledge, including codified, explicit, tacit, practical,

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<sup>7</sup> Graham (2005, 163) refers to the “spirit of the truth” by which he means “the belief that intellectual inquiry should be allowed to go where it will at the instigation of those gifted at intellectual research and teaching.” This allows for truth as a contestable notion.

theoretical, local, regional, and global. By organizing both access to existing knowledge and opportunities that might lead to the creation of new knowledge, it is possible to lay the basis for groups in an industry to identify common interests and, if they so choose, to act around those interests on specific issues. In other words, knowledge becomes a focal point around which groups can self-organize; individuals can reach a consensus on an issue and coalesce around that consensus to form what Deweyan analysis terms a “public” with a shared “interest” in consequences.<sup>8</sup> A public university might be expected to be concerned with education that furthers public interests.

By providing opportunities for people to create – and draw from – their own experiences in order to learn, infer, develop tacit knowing, and shape action, universities can enable publics to discover and identify themselves and their shared interests. In practice, people making up such publics might be empowered to become what Ralston (2005, 20) calls “dynamic inquirers” and co-inquirers. Rather than “spectators” to what is happening in an industry, they may become “problem solvers.”

The spaces that universities create can be used to cultivate a culture of rigorous inquiry, the significance of which is suggested by Culver et al. (2015). They point to the possibility of universities supporting citizens to develop a regional economic strategy through inquiry. Using, among other things, dialogue and multilogue, citizens can deliberate and determine possibilities for future development based on observation, reason, and evidence, informed by sensitivity and guided by pursuit of the spirit of the truth. Such a process increases the scope for knowledge to act as a catalyst for regional economic development. We argue that such a process will also be valuable to participants in an industry, who are seeking ways to enable that industry to develop.

Drawing on Dewey’s theory of knowledge, we address the organization of knowledge through an inquiry approach rooted in action and experience. Inquiries are an integral part of life and often influence why and how people do things. In “everyday living, men examine; they turn things over intellectually; they infer and judge as ‘naturally’ as they reap and sow, produce and exchange commodities” (Hickman and Alexander 2009, 170). As a method, inquiry has both intellectual and practical significance when it comes to shaping our knowledge and our actions.

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<sup>8</sup> See Sacchetti et al. (2009, 658), drawing on Dewey’s seminal work on the interests of publics: “an action ... might have significant consequences for two categories of people: private interests, those who are directly engaged in the action; public interests, those not directly engaged ... An action might be associated with multiple private interests and multiple publics. Each public is seen to have shared concerns.”

The need for inquiry tends to arise when people find themselves faced by uncertainty and ambiguity, and in those situations a good starting point is to formulate the problem in a well-thought-out manner.

Understanding a problematic situation<sup>9</sup> requires that it be considered in terms of its context and any available a priori knowledge, both practical and theoretical.<sup>10</sup> Following Dewey, individuals and/or groups encounter problems as part of experience, and this provides the impetus for inquiry. In turn, inquiry yields further experience. An experience may be understood in terms of the content or process of interactions between people and their environment. Content refers to what one does, undergoes, or aspires to, and process refers to how one engages in these interactions. Interactions do not occur in isolation; there is temporal continuity (Hickman and Alexander 2009). Therefore, no act can be comprehensively understood apart from other, related actions, and time is an essential ingredient of this process.

In his analysis of Dewey (1916), Docherty (2013, 62) describes “experience as learning” as less predictable and measurable than mechanized processes. In particular, he stresses that it entails “the body in sensation”:

What of Beethoven, say? The great percussionist, Evelyn Glennie, who is deaf, can feel and sense her music through the vibrations of the instruments around her: music is experienced neither just as notation nor as a discrete activity of the ear, but is instead an entire physical experience. That experience is itself at the root of Beethoven’s own “imagining” of his own music: the emancipation of the imagination itself has a profound and fundamental relation to experience. And if it is thus for a composer or performer as she or he learns the music that they will “teach” us, then it is equally thus for the audience or the learner.

We argue that this holds for other fields, including learning about the development of an industry in a peripheral region.

Inherently linked to experience is the notion of transaction, referring not to the market sense of the term but, rather, to the recurring interactions that take place between an organism and its environment. Knowledge is typically constructed through this transactional process

<sup>9</sup> A problematic situation is defined as one that is indeterminate and unsettled, and where there is confusion and uncertainty (Dewey 1938).

<sup>10</sup> According to Biesta and Burbules (2003, 9), Dewey offers a distinctive perspective that situates “questions of knowledge and the acquisition of knowledge within the framework of a philosophy of action,” and this connection between knowledge and action is most relevant for those who approach such questions from a practical perspective.

(Biesta and Burbules 2003). As there is a two- or multi-way relationship in the transaction between organism and environment, the actions and consequences thereof are not unidirectional. Indeed, “both the knower and what is to be known are changed by the transaction between them” (12). The human organism in part develops understanding and knowing through experienced reality and the inferences made as a consequence of the transactional process. Moreover, while the doings of people may have an impact on their environment and therefore on others, people also undergo the consequences of their own doings. This transactional process leads to continuous interaction, adaptation, and adjustment over time, generating, in turn, new learning experiences.<sup>11</sup>

### *Art*

We argue that universities are well positioned to have an impact on the development of industries by stimulating a culture of open-ended inquiry and experiential learning, focused on the organization of knowledge and guided by the pursuit of the spirit of the truth. However, again echoing Culver et al. (2015) on the initiation of a regional economic strategy, this process is not spontaneous: it needs to be facilitated by deliberate action. The form of this action may vary according to circumstances. This proposition makes us curious about the role of art.

Previous literature in various fields suggests that art can stimulate discussion and new perceptions. See, for instance, Sacchetti et al. (2009) on economic development and artistic activities, Wight’s (2006) argument that Adam Smith found the arts “essential” to “understanding and moulding human conscience” (cited in Sacchetti and Sugden 2009, 194), and the reflection in Bochner and Ellis (2003, 506) on art as a basis for inquiry – “a means of producing knowledge and contributing to human understanding.” Consider also Barone and Eisner (1997, 95-96). Their analysis of arts-based educational research maintains that approaches to inquiry that are “artistic in character” aim at the “*enhancement of perspectives*” and that researchers employ different art forms, both lin-

<sup>11</sup> Dewey notes that experience is not knowledge per se; rather, “knowing is one mode of experiencing” (as quoted in Campbell 1995, 69). The reverse may also be true; experiencing is one mode of knowing. The experience that a person undergoes in conducting an action is often the conduit for knowing as it calls for judgments based on the interplay of perception, interpretation, reason, and sensitivity. In and through an experience, the form of knowing that may emerge in the first instance is tacit – something that one knows but cannot tell or articulate (Polanyi 1967). Tacit knowing takes place in action (Karlsen 2005), and through an experience people may be able to gain access to or display tacit knowing that they may not otherwise be able to develop or share. By referring explicitly to knowing, we draw attention to the human experience of the process of acquiring, assimilating, or applying knowledge.

guistic and non-linguistic, to stimulate “the percipient to see educational phenomena in new ways, and to entertain questions about them that might have otherwise been left unasked.”<sup>12</sup>

Art can be a method of inquiry that helps people to discover and construct new associations, perspectives, meanings, and realities (Schmidt et al. 2015).<sup>13</sup> This new understanding is often created through an appreciation and assimilation of underlying thoughts, ideas, and concepts in narratives, pictures, and images (Bast et al. 2015). Art might provide “qualitative cues that are difficult to articulate, and shape interactions based on understanding and the sharing of both tacit and explicit knowledge” (Eisner and Powell 2002, 134). Which is to suggest that art might bring about new knowing: what is unknown to oneself and to others becomes known (Goldblatt 2006). In this sense, art is a transformative experience (Dewey 1934, 302): “in both production and enjoyed perception of works of art, knowledge is transformed; it becomes something more than knowledge because it is merged with non-intellectual elements to form an experience worthwhile as an experience.”

Based on these considerations, and on the analysis connecting knowledge to action, we suggest that art may empower people to exercise their voice in economic development processes (Sacchetti 2009; Sacchetti et al. 2009; Goldblatt 2006). By bringing about new knowing, art may encourage people to voice novel perspectives and aims, thereby catalyzing collective learning and action and effecting change.

Drawing on Hirschman (1970, 30), we also recognize that voice includes any attempt (individual or collective) to bring about change in social, economic, and political spheres, “rather than to escape from an objectionable state of affairs.” To exercise voice may mean to inquire, contest, critically defend, and deliberate on things that matter to an individual or a collective. In line with Sacchetti et al. (2009, 664), voice thrives in a “creative atmosphere” that empowers people to exercise their imagination and to pursue ideas in order to “realise the full potential of their creativity in the economic sphere.”<sup>14</sup> However, such an atmosphere needs to be nurtured, and artistic activities could well be important in

<sup>12</sup> Consider also literature on visual methodology, suggesting that visuals may help inquiry into matters of society. Harper (2002, 13) argues that visual images have the potential to “evoke deeper elements of human consciousness tha[n] do words,” even when the images are not representative of the participants’ own situation or experiences. See also Stanczak (2007).

<sup>13</sup> While we recognize the potential of art as a method of inquiry, we do not think of it as a tool. Our aim is not to reduce art to a functional or instrumental purpose (Sacchetti et al. 2009).

<sup>14</sup> They root the concept of creative atmosphere in Marshall’s (1920) analysis of “industrial atmosphere,” a characteristic of successful groupings of small enterprises involved in processes of regional economic development.

this respect. Echoing Waks (2014, 41, citing Dewey 1927), art can contribute to people overcoming obstacles to communication, bringing them together through shared experience: “In what might be taken as the crux of his argument for the necessity of art in community formation, Dewey asserts that works of art ‘are the only media of complete and unhindered communication between man and man that can occur in a world full of gulfs and walls that limit community of experience.’”

#### THE UBC-KEDGE WINE LEADERS FORUM

The partnership between UBC and KEDGE to support the BC wine industry is founded on the expertise of the Okanagan campus with regard to socio-economic development in peripheral regions, and the expertise of KEDGE with regard to regional development in general and the global wine industry in particular. Its context is UBC’s deliberate focus on affecting the supply side of British Columbia’s periphery, in particular the Interior. This focus is reflected in both the location of the Okanagan campus and its aspirations.

Following Culver et al. (2015), the Okanagan is peripheral in relation to British Columbia’s Lower Mainland and as a latecomer to regional economic development under globalization.<sup>15</sup> Part of the southern Interior, the Okanagan is a valley running north-south and bordered by mountains to the east and west. The nearest major metropolitan centres are Vancouver (in the Lower Mainland) and Calgary (in the neighbouring province of Alberta). By road these centres are approximately four hundred and six hundred kilometres distant, respectively. The Okanagan has been part of the Okanagan (Syilx) First Nation territory for millennia.<sup>16</sup> Only since the late nineteenth century has there been an influx of immigrants and the development of a Western market economy. The principal city is Kelowna, incorporated as recently as 1905 and now having a population exceeding 125,000.<sup>17</sup> Between 2011 and 2016, it was the fastest-growing city in British Columbia.<sup>18</sup> When the Okanagan campus was established in Kelowna in 2004, UBC’s provost stressed the university’s vision of being “responsive to the needs and opportunities of

<sup>15</sup> On core-periphery in British Columbia, see also Hutton (1997) and Nelson and MacKinnon (2004), who use migration data to suggest significant variation across the periphery.

<sup>16</sup> See the self-description of the Syilx people at <http://www.syilx.org/who-we-are/the-syilx-people/>.

<sup>17</sup> BC government data, downloaded from <http://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/data/statistics/people-population-community/population/population-estimates>.

<sup>18</sup> Kelowna was also the sixth fastest-growing city in Canada between 2011 and 2016. See Statistics Canada at <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/170208/too3a-eng.htm>.

the region” and its commitment to being “an economic driver in Southern Interior communities.”<sup>19</sup> More recently, campus strategic planning has re-emphasized these aspirations.<sup>20</sup>

While wine in one form or another has been produced in British Columbia for well over a hundred years, the prospect of the province having a globally recognized wine region only began to emerge in the last quarter century (Mooken et al. 2017; Cartier 2014). British Columbia has three large and a few medium-sized wineries, but the overwhelming majority are small. The total number of wineries grew from about 65 in 2000, to 229 in 2010, to nearly 300 in 2016. In 2010, the three large producers accounted for 83 percent of total sales of British Columbia-produced wine, and the bulk of their output consisted of blends from imported wine. Nineteen of the then 229 wineries accounted for 93 percent of total sales (Cartier 2014). Production in British Columbia is very low relative to world levels, and local producers have relied heavily on domestic sales (although this might become problematic as international competition increases).<sup>21</sup> According to a study commissioned by the Canadian Vintners Association, the Winery and Grower Alliance of Ontario, the British Columbia Wine Institute, and the Winery Association of Nova Scotia, in 2011 the BC wine industry generated over \$2 billion in economic impact and directly and indirectly accounted for over ten thousand jobs (Rimerman and Co. LLP Report 2013). Although wine is produced in various parts of the province – including the Similkameen Valley, Vancouver Island, and the Fraser Valley – the Okanagan currently has over 50 percent of the wineries, including the three largest.<sup>22</sup> It also has over 80 percent of the province’s total vineyard acreage,<sup>23</sup> and Kelowna is home to the industry’s main trade association, the British Columbia Wine Institute.

<sup>19</sup> “Memo to UBC Vancouver Deans, directors and department heads from Barry McBride, Vice President and Provost,” available at <https://news.ok.ubc.ca/2004/05/10/memo-to-ubc-vancouver-deans-directors-and-department-heads-from-barry-mcbride-vice-president-and-provost/>.

<sup>20</sup> UBC Okanagan, *Aspire: Envisioning Our Future* (Kelowna: Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor and Principal, August 2014). Downloaded from [http://universityrelations.ok.ubc.ca/adminnews/files/2014-08-19\\_Aspire\\_Final\\_Report.pdf](http://universityrelations.ok.ubc.ca/adminnews/files/2014-08-19_Aspire_Final_Report.pdf).

<sup>21</sup> Consider the US trade complaint to the World Trade Organization (WTO) regarding the sale of British Columbia wines in grocery stores across the province. Argentina, Australia, the European Union, and New Zealand, all of whom export to Canada, have declared their substantial interest in the matter and have joined the ongoing WTO consultations. See, for example, the media report at <http://www.cbc.ca/news/business/australia-canada-wto-wine-1.4489383>.

<sup>22</sup> Based on data collected as part of the UBC-KEDGE project to create an up-to-date mailing list of BC wineries.

<sup>23</sup> Available at <http://www.winebc.com/discover-bc/okanagan-valley>.

Given the prominence of the wine industry in British Columbia in general and the Okanagan in particular, supporting its development is high on UBC's agenda, especially for its Okanagan campus. When the UBC-KEDGE partnership began, it was presumed within UBC that the focus would be executive education traded on the market, business-school style. This presumption was associated with the view that business practitioners often demand executive education "to make a connection between ... research and their own managerial challenges. Further, in these settings there is an opportunity to forge collaborative research-practice relations" (Tushman et al. 2007, 348).

To determine the relevance of such a program, between 2012 and 2014 faculty and administrative staff from UBC-KEDGE invested time and resources to visit winery owners in their workplaces, to listen to their points of view, and to understand their expectations. This interaction suggested that the industry had little or no interest in executive education. At best, there was an extremely thin market; informal estimates given to UBC-KEDGE from within the industry consistently suggested that, at most, twenty to twenty-five wineries might be willing and able to invest in work with universities. In addition, given previous experiences in which UBC had been seen as not keeping its promises of relevance and accessibility, there was doubt that a university-industry collaboration would actually benefit wineries.

The industry perceived itself and UBC-KEDGE as what Garlick and Langworthy (2004) refer to as "two divergent and potentially incongruous forces" (as cited in Allison and Eversole 2008, 11). This perception accords with Karlsen's (2005) view that it is usual for an industry not to know what it really needs from a university, especially at the beginning of a relationship. Moreover, UBC-KEDGE recognized that it did not know how it could best support the industry's development. Time and space were needed for the industry and the university to get to know each other and to build an understanding of roles and contributions.

The discussions with winery owners also revealed fragmentation and lack of collaboration within the industry – a finding in line with the observations in Hira and Bwenge (2011) and Cartier (2014). For example, Cartier (2014, 23) concludes that "the industry is highly fragmented, with limited industry goal alignment ... the data suggests that there is little sharing of knowledge and innovation between small and medium wineries, and independent grape growers." One implication was the need for patient and sensitive relationship building on the part of UBC-KEDGE so that fragmentation and its consequences might be better

understood by all concerned. Progress would require taking care to avoid over-simplifying and thus failing to reflect varied interests and needs. This is in line with Allison and Eversole (2008, 102), who warn about “the temptation to engage with a simplified regional reality.” In summary, there were clear indicators that supporting industry development required time and space.

Such considerations prompted an idea: the industry might benefit from UBC-KEDGE’s providing an independent and safe, yet challenging, retreat-style educational space within which winery owners could identify and address their strategic concerns. This space would require the sensibility to allow industry interests and relationships to evolve, enabling winery owners, faculty, and administrative staff at UBC-KEDGE to develop ways of respectfully working and learning together. Accordingly, in spring 2014 the UBC-KEDGE Wine Leaders Forum (henceforth, the Forum) was piloted. It has since been held annually.

The Forum challenges industry participants to identify and address self-determined development objectives. It focuses on the strategic imperatives facing the industry and on people with an interest in the industry’s development. The Forum draws on experiences in wine-producing regions elsewhere in the world and offers opportunities for winery owners and principals to engage with each other, with international expertise (from academia and practice), and with government representatives.<sup>24</sup> It does so by engaging in ongoing inquiry into the development of regional wine sectors to establish comparisons, challenge perspectives, consider benchmarks, and stimulate deliberation. It features discussion of the current state and future trends of the global industry so that BC wineries might better understand the industry’s international context and prospects. The Forum offers concrete opportunities for the industry to learn about and participate in international networks and other initiatives by providing up-to-date information, discussing the potential competitive advantages of linkages, and supporting industry actors to develop key contacts and strategies.<sup>25</sup> Doing this accords with the argument in Bennenworth et al. (2017, 444) that universities affect socio-economic development by acting as “global pipelines connecting

<sup>24</sup> A winery principal is someone in a position to reflect a winery’s perspective and approach.

<sup>25</sup> For example, at the 2017 forum, UBC-KEDGE introduced the opportunity for British Columbia to join Wine Origins, a global alliance of twenty-three wine-producing regions – including Bordeaux, Champagne, and the Napa Valley – that stresses the importance of location to winemaking and of honest labelling regarding origin. UBC-KEDGE facilitated early communications with Wine Origins and, in June 2017, British Columbia joined the alliance (British Columbia Wine Institute media release, at <http://www.winebc.org/news/view/164>).

regions to extended knowledge networks, [and] creating positive ‘local buzz.’”<sup>26</sup>

The Forum offers independent space in the sense that it is not controlled by any particular interests or groups (e.g., trade associations, subsets of wineries, or private-sector consultants). Our concern is to enable all participants to form and voice their own analysis. More specifically, it is to organize knowledge so that the industry participants can make strategic choices about the industry’s development, aware that a rigorous appreciation of knowledge and its implications requires time, effort, and the space to enable understanding to emerge. We have been explicit within the Forum that universities are not supermarkets where winery owners can select and purchase knowledge.

As work progressed, questions arose within the industry about the activities of UBC-KEDGE: What does the partnership really do, how, and why? The questioning was no surprise; as mentioned earlier, at the outset the industry doubted the relevance and contribution of UBC-KEDGE to its practice. We realized that direct answers were necessary and that we had to spell out the distinguishing feature of the partnership, namely, its particular focus on the organization of knowledge – the creation, acquisition, maintenance, dissemination, assimilation, application, and *inter alia* the mobilization of knowledge by universities whose prime reference point is the pursuit of truth through reason and evidence.

In the four Forums from 2014 to 2017, there have been, respectively, 6, 12, 11, and 14 industry participants (some of whom were at more than one Forum). The growth in numbers aligns with the need for time and space for everyone to learn about each other and the possibilities for interaction. The absolute numbers are low compared to the number of BC wineries, but not low in the context of industry estimates that, at most, twenty to twenty-five wineries might invest in work with UBC-KEDGE. Nor are they low when one considers that, wherever the Forum is hosted in the province, accessibility will be hampered by geographical distances.<sup>27</sup> Consider also that nearly all BC wineries are small enterprises, lacking the human capacity and financial resources to work with universities. The Forum has always charged for participation in order to offset marginal

<sup>26</sup> To illustrate the relevance of our approach beyond social science, consider that, in the 2017 Forum, there was a presentation about the chemistry of smoke taint in wine. Colleagues from the Department of Chemistry at UBC’s Okanagan campus discussed the problems of detecting smoke taint and how the issue might be addressed. The Forum, as an educational arena, enabled physical scientists to engage with industry in support of the latter’s development.

<sup>27</sup> All except the first Forum have been hosted in the Okanagan, where most wineries are located. It is approximately four hundred kilometres from wineries in the Fraser Valley, and even further from those on Vancouver Island.

costs, and this charge has been scaled according to winery size. We are aware that charging is a barrier, notably for small and especially very small wineries. We have experimented with different pricing structures, but, despite high subsidies for some categories of participant, charging has never completely been done away with, hence barriers have remained. The Forums in 2014 and 2015 were funded primarily by UBC, and subsequently they have received support from the Canadian federal government,<sup>28</sup> but this still assumes significant university and industry contributions. The Forums have never yielded financial surpluses for UBC-KEDGE, another signal to universities regarding market failures in such cases.

With one exception, participants in the Forum have been representatives of small or medium-sized wineries who typically lack access to knowledge and have been routinely concerned about being ignored or overrun in the industry. A common analysis is that the three large wineries have had particular influence, marginalizing other voices. The self-determined absence of large wineries from the Forums is perhaps linked to their greater resources, which enable them to gain access to knowledge for themselves in ways that smaller enterprises cannot. They might therefore think that the Forum has no value to them, that they already have the knowledge that they believe they need. Their absence may also be explained by our deliberate attempt to establish educational spaces in which voices are equal – spaces that are conducive to open-ended inquiry and experiential learning, focused on the organization of knowledge and guided by pursuit of the spirit of truth.<sup>29</sup> Such spaces have no room for influence based upon dominance premised upon size.

Many Forum participants are very active in the industry. They have seen the Forum as a space in which to discuss, organize their thoughts, develop further knowledge, and then reach out to governments and to others in the industry for action. For example, at the culmination of the 2015 Forum, participating wineries wrote a joint communiqué that was sent to government representatives:

As many of you are aware, the BC Wine Industry, though a very important sector, has become fragmented over recent times. With the encouragement and facilitation of UBC/KEDGE[,] leaders from the industry have met over the last three days to engage in a Wine Leaders

<sup>28</sup> From Western Economic Diversification Canada, as part of a wider project known as *Position the British Columbia Wine Industry for International Growth*, we would like to acknowledge that support.

<sup>29</sup> The absence of large wineries from these Forums is self-determined, bearing in mind the consistent and dedicated attempts of UBC-KEDGE and federal government representatives to encourage large wineries to participate.

Forum to develop a number of initiatives to set the industry on a strong and unified footing. We are pleased to report that we have agreement on the most important factors and will be continuing to work cooperatively together and with UBC/KEDGE to develop and implement long-term solutions.

Consider also, for instance, the outcomes from 2017. With an eye to taking collective action, all Forum participants agreed to engage board representatives of the British Columbia Wine Institute regarding its structure and mandate.

Industry participants have been enabled to identify what Dewey (1938) refers to as problematic situations. They have learned to draw on a priori knowledge, both practical and theoretical, and to inquire about various situations, including how to formulate problems in careful and precise terms. For instance, participants at the 2014 Forum identified and concentrated on “collaboration,” “quality,” and “identity” as strategically critical to developing the BC wine region. Despite the fragmentation of the industry, participants have reached consensus regarding understanding and development paths. For example, the 2015 Forum identified wine labelling as a strategic imperative. Industry participants agreed that the topic was too controversial within the industry for it to be addressed without the support of UBC-KEDGE. This led to UBC-KEDGE establishing an industry task force and to preliminary findings being deliberated at the 2016 Forum. As a consequence, the representatives of wineries participating in the Forum requested the board of the British Columbia Wine Institute to seek changes in federal government regulations regarding “Cellared in Canada” wines.<sup>30</sup> All of the participants were from small or medium-sized wineries. The Forum enabled them to consider themselves as part of a wider public with common interests in the consequences of regulatory requirements. The inclusive discussion empowered them to feel less marginalized within the industry, and they were able to voice their interest as a public.

The self-organization of publics and their voicing of interests is also supported by the dissemination of Forum outcomes, through e-mails (although wineries have pointed out that e-mail overload can be a problem) and other means. We continue to place a high value on face-to-face dissemination as this can aid communication; provide opportunities for questioning, explanation, and discussion; and help to develop

<sup>30</sup> See the UBC-KEDGE *Final Report and Recommendations of the Task Force on Labelling and Presentation*. Downloaded from [http://ubckedgewine.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/labellingtaskforce\\_report\\_final.pdf](http://ubckedgewine.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/labellingtaskforce_report_final.pdf).

relationships. The Forum has entry barriers and can appear elitist, not least because of the charge for participation and the time involved (it takes place over four days). However face-to-face dissemination of the outputs of the Forum in the various regions of the wine industry can help to counterbalance these barriers. To that end, the Forum has been complemented by one-to-one and small group discussions, as well as “town halls,” but thus far this has not been done systematically. We have become increasingly aware that dissemination would benefit from UBC-KEDGE presenting outcomes at workshops organized with the input of regional winery associations throughout British Columbia. This would widen access to education, but so far budget and other resource constraints have prevented it from happening.

Nonetheless, as part of a public university, we attempt to disseminate knowledge as widely as possible, sharing among everyone who might be concerned about the industry’s development, including wineries, governments, and industry associations. One of the distinctive features of public universities is that they take knowledge derived from reasoned argument and evidence and share it freely and openly across the industry. It is then up to industry participants to use that knowledge if and when they deem appropriate. UBC-KEDGE does not represent any private concerns nor does it act as a lobbyist. Dissemination includes a form of knowledge mobilization in the interests of publics: the multidirectional movement of knowledge between academic researchers, industry actors, policy-makers, and others so that groups of people can actively use that knowledge to, over time, identify and collaborate on their common interests.<sup>31</sup>

### *Visual Exhibition*

In our attempts to support the development of the BC wine industry through the UBC-KEDGE Wine Leaders Forum, and through our approach to open-ended inquiry, experiential learning, organization of knowledge, and the pursuit of the spirit of truth, we have also experimented with the influence of art.

For the 2016 Forum, we decided to trial a display of images. The Forum was held in the village of Naramata in the Okanagan. As usual,

<sup>31</sup> Compare the approach of Phipps (2012, 2): “One of the more compelling definitions of knowledge mobilization ... is from Bennet and Bennet (2008) who describe [it] as ‘collaborative entanglement.’ ‘Collaborative entanglement consistently develops and supports approaches and processes that combine the sources of knowledge and the beneficiaries of that knowledge to interactively move toward a common direction such as meeting an identified community need’ (p. 48).”

the four days of activity featured informal interaction at shared dinners, deliberately recognizing the impact of the social in shaping economic activity (Cowling and Sugden 1999). Wine tasting sessions with a sommelier and wine-food pairings, both focused on educating, were also part of the experience. In addition, there were formal sessions (presentations, questions, and discussions) held, for the first time, at the Naramata Heritage Inn. The inn was built in 1908 at the outset of Okanagan settlement, and it provided our activities with a historical backdrop. Explicit recognition that a creative atmosphere would stimulate reflection, and that particular visuals might complement verbal presentations and so foster critical thinking and facilitate understanding, prompted us to experiment with a display of images in the inn's main working room. This approach echoes Eisner's (2002, 13) work on the relationship between content and form. By form he means how and where content is expressed: for example, "how history is written matters ... what a classroom looks like matters." A place where an activity is carried out has an impact on those who take part in that activity: for example, "the architecture of a school can look and feel like a factory or like a home. If we want children to feel like factory workers our schools should look and feel like factories."

After assessing the physical aspects of the room (e.g., colours, materials, and layout) and its context and history, we decided to use archival images of Naramata, both to convey a sense of place and to reinforce the historical perspective. The images broadly reflected the Forum's principal theme, which emphasized shaping a wine region's identity – a complex concept, especially with regard to developing a shared vision. We envisaged the images complementing the working sessions without overpowering interactions or interfering with presentations.

We soon decided to turn what was originally conceived as a photographic display into an installation-style exhibition. This decision was in line with our analysis of the links between art, knowledge, and regional economic development, and it accorded with Dewey's (1934) concern to connect art and life. Our primary objective was to enable participants to feel and understand critical concepts relevant to building territorial cohesiveness and shaping regional development in the BC wine industry. We thought that this process might stimulate participants to inquire, break down barriers, and express their voice.

All of the photographs in the exhibition were displayed non-conventionally on old barn doors and window frames, a wheelbarrow, a tool kit, a trunk, and a clothes rack. The use of such objects was not merely functional: we thought that each of them would contribute to the

exhibition in terms of both form and substance. They were not chosen simply because of their beauty and interest in their own right but, rather, because they had been involved in other environments and used for other purposes. They had been experienced, and each had its own history.

The exhibition included thirty-one black-and-white historical photographs selected from the Naramata Heritage Museum and the City of Penticton Museum and Archive;<sup>32</sup> a photograph depicting our work selecting images from the archive;<sup>33</sup> and three contemporary photographs purposely taken to echo and contrast with related archival images. In addition, we included six newly created photographs that represented concepts critical to the industry – namely, collaboration, identity, and innovation (which had been stressed since the 2014 Forum). The new images included extracts from literary works combined with drawings, sometimes deliberately mirroring one of the exhibited archival photographs. The underlying idea was to combine different forms of creative expression into a cohesive narrative but without imposing a preconceived view.<sup>34</sup>

The exhibition in the Forum main working room, with participants experiencing a formal presentation, is illustrated in Figure 1. Our use of archival material is demonstrated by Figure 2, a 1910 photograph of people in a canoe on Okanagan Lake, which includes Naramata on its shoreline. Through this image, we sought to convey the idea that time and space are critical to economic development, especially if it is to be achieved in a meaningful manner: the development of an industry may be seen as essentially a journey that people undertake together, as a continuous and collective process moving towards a common goal rather than as a race to see who crosses the (winning) line first. We were curious as to whether this would stimulate similar sentiments in Forum participants. Since selecting the image we have realized that canoes have special significance for First Nations and that the photograph could be associated

<sup>32</sup> Penticton is a municipality near Naramata village. The reasons for choosing black-and-white photographs, and for mounting them non-conventionally, were explained in an introduction displayed in the exhibition. The introduction described the spirit in which the exhibition was conceived and created, and how we approached its various elements, both in terms of the exhibits and of our thinking process at the time.

<sup>33</sup> When we searched the archives for photographs that would resonate with the topics of the Forum, we found little material on First Nations and their interaction with settlers. This is an aspect of analysis and understanding that would be interesting to pursue in future research.

<sup>34</sup> “A poem and picture present material passed through the alembic of personal experience. They have no precedents in existence or in universal being. But, nonetheless, their material came from the public world and so has qualities in common with other experiences, while the product awakens in other persons new perceptions of the meanings of the common world” (Dewey 1934, 86).

with colonialism. Figure 2 is a reminder of the risk of causing offence out of ignorance of particular communities, and it makes us wonder if Forum participants were stimulated to think about their impact on First Nations.

Other aspects of the exhibition are illustrated by Figure 3, a photograph of a Naramata vineyard, and Figure 4, a schematization of the same vineyard incorporating an excerpt from a poem by Donne (1959). The intention was to inspire industry participants to reflect on relationships, and on their connection with the land, and to stimulate consideration of how doers and the environment are influenced by their interactions with each other.

At no point did we convey to participants our reasons for choosing particular images. We thought it crucial that they interpret the exhibition in their own ways and that they have the space and time to engage. We were following Dewey (1909, as cited in Waks 2014, 41) on the appreciation of art: “the appeal is direct and hence unconscious ... The process is one of silent adjustment, of absorption, of assimilation, involving a gradual making over of personal fibre. Conscious effort to secure the desired moral result may arrest the process of assimilation; it cannot hasten it.” Towards the close of the Forum one of the participants asked that they be given time to concentrate on the exhibition, as their intense work over the previous days had offered little opportunity for conscious appreciation. We had deliberately chosen not to seek formal feedback, opting for the exhibition to remain in the background. We knew that this placed severe limits on the conclusions that could be drawn from the case, but we were concerned not to risk industry participants seeing themselves as our research objects, which might harm the development of our relationships. However, the curiosity suggested by the request prompted us to ask for feedback in an open discussion involving all participants. We sought their thoughts on the exhibition, whether they had related to it, and whether they found any connections with the discussions during the Forum.<sup>35</sup>

Feedback focused primarily on community building, collaboration to create, the struggle of pioneering, and the importance of culture for human development, all of which were seen to go to the heart of winemaking. These were all topics pertinent to the Forum’s theme of sharing a wine region’s identity, although exactly what the feedback

<sup>35</sup> We were aware that some of their perceptions might have been influenced by the introduction that we had included in the exhibition, but we hoped that, by engaging with the wider set of exhibits, participants might have become aware of new thoughts and feelings.



Figure 1. Part of the exhibition, and participants experiencing a formal presentation, at the 2016 Forum. Photograph taken by the authors.



Figure 2. Exhibited archive photograph at the 2016 Forum – “Canoeing, 1910”. *Source:* City of Penticton Museum and Archive, photographer unknown.



Figure 3. Exhibited photograph taken by the authors for the 2016 Forum – “Vines in Naramata, March 2016.”



Figure 4. Exhibited photograph of a sketch created by the authors for the 2016 Forum, based on Figure 3 and incorporating excerpts from “Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions, and Several Steps in My Sickness,” by John Donne.

meant is not necessarily clear. The search for linguistic and non-linguistic forms in our work for the Forum has heightened our perception of the use of images and words in various contexts, and how they convey different meanings to different people and publics. For instance, the concept of pioneer refers to “a person who is among the first to research and develop a new area of knowledge or activity.”<sup>36</sup> This is the meaning that we intended to suggest with our use of Norman MacCaig’s poem “Pioneer” in one of the exhibited images.<sup>37</sup> However, in practice both settlers and First Nations in British Columbia have used the word “pioneer” to signify “a person who is among the first to explore or settle a new country or area.”<sup>38</sup> We wonder what participants meant when they used the word “pioneer” in their feedback: Was it used as we defined it or was it used to identify settlers, excluding First Nations?<sup>39</sup>

Participants also mentioned that the exhibition was a reminder of the importance of re-engaging with people in their region. It was noted that it had transformed the room and set an atmosphere for the daily discussions. A parallel with the wine tasting sessions at the Forum was observed, in the sense that wine and art came together. There was appreciation for the black-and-white photographs; a participant commented that they conveyed more life than would colour photographs, and looked more abstract. Another participant particularly connected with Figure 4, the drawing that incorporates the excerpt from Donne (1959). He felt that it depicts that a single bud on a vine becomes part of a cluster of grapes, which in turn is part of an entire vineyard.<sup>40</sup>

We observed an interesting change, not directly expressed in the feedback, which might be relevant to understanding the impact of the

<sup>36</sup> Oxford Dictionary online, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com>.

<sup>37</sup> “Pioneer” by Norman MacCaig was originally published in 1954. It is included in MacCaig (2005, 57).

<sup>38</sup> Oxford Dictionary online, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com>.

<sup>39</sup> How various forms of creative expression are used, and received, opens up new paths for future research on economic development.

<sup>40</sup> The feedback prompted us to continue the experiment by creating a follow-up exhibition in 2017. We widened the set of exhibits beyond photographs – for example, we included painting, collage, and sculpture – so as to challenge those 2017 Forum participants who had already experienced the 2016 exhibition. Again, we did not seek formal feedback both because of ongoing risks to the development of our relationships and because of resource constraints. The 2016 Forum feedback had also suggested that we share the exhibition more widely, and we recognized that this would be consistent with our approach to dissemination of Forum outputs. Accordingly, in spring 2017 the exhibition was at the Forum, in the summer parts were shown at various wineries across British Columbia (see <https://www.castanet.net/news/BC/202516/The-identity-of-BC-wine>), and in the fall it was brought together at Penticton Public Library. (We would like to acknowledge that this activity was supported by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada [SSHRC] Connection Grant.)

exhibition. In previous interactions with industry actors, their notion of identity equated with branding. At the end of the Forum, participants distanced themselves from this approach and acknowledged the need to develop a deeper concept of identity reflecting notions of *terroir* and territorial cohesion – that is, the sense of being a wine territory, a geographical area where local actors share a set of practices, strategies, and institutions contributing to a local identity, and where players share rules and quality standards as well as beliefs and representations. We hypothesize that the exhibition and its elements, together with discussions at the Forum, may have inspired reflections about identity in terms of the interaction of human beings with their environment over time.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

We have analyzed and described an approach to university education that is intended to have an impact on the development of industries in peripheral regions. The approach is not focused on innovating new technologies developed in university laboratories, nor on the market sale of courses with predetermined learning outcomes. The periphery has limited capacity to absorb such outputs. It is a world of relatively small enterprises, little or no experience in working with universities, and precious few resources to invest in doing so. The periphery is also where economic actors, including universities, typically do not know what to do, how, when, or where, to have an effective impact on development.

Our approach provides time and space for everyone to learn, find out, build trust, and nurture relationships. It centres on people gaining knowledge and understanding through open-ended inquiry, and experience as learning. It is guided by pursuit of the spirit of the truth, a distinctive feature of universities. Its focus is the organization of knowledge: the creation, acquisition, maintenance, dissemination, assimilation, application, and *inter alia* mobilization of knowledge. The approach stresses knowledge as key to enabling publics – a group of people that share common interests. Knowledge can empower a public to find its voice, express its interests, and influence the strategic development of an industry. The people who make up publics might thereby be empowered to become more than passive onlookers: they can be proactive doers and shapers. Our analysis also embraces the idea that “art” can be a significant determinant of economic development. Visual images, literary works, installations, and the like can provide a creative

atmosphere that enhances education. It can enable people to discover meanings, deepen their understanding, and foster their imagination.

As university researchers, we recognize that the work we are reflecting upon in this article entails a journey of inquiry not only for industry participants collaborating with a university but also for ourselves. For everyone, the journey involves exploration and discovery of new ways of doing and being. For us, this includes examination of the relationship between university and diverse publics as it currently exists as well as consideration of how this relationship might be shaped to address common interests. In this quest, we are ourselves stimulated by creative activities, which have opened new opportunities, prompted previously unasked questions, and encouraged our curiosity.

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