Collective Impact - The Imperative of Shifting the Balance of Power and How It Can Be Achieved

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Abstract

The main propositions put forward in this paper are: first, that shifts in the balance of power are needed in relationships at key levels of a community for collective impact initiatives to be successful due to the fact that they operate in human systems which are highly complex. And second, that in order to facilitate these kinds of shift it is necessary to promote critical reflection by those engaged in social service and community work related to the initiative upon: (a) the dispositions or habitus they have in respect to the management of power in their relationships; (b) how they are inculcated into them via their life experiences; and, (c) the implications they have for the way everyday interactions with others are managed.

The rationale for these propositions are based upon an examination of the collective impact approach to enhancing wellbeing through the lens of a theoretical framework, grounded in complexity science and systems theory assembled by the author as part of wider research towards a doctoral thesis which is put forward in the first half of the paper.

The final part of the article is devoted to a description of an example of the pedagogy and content of a popular education approach to enable the sort of critical self-reflection deemed to be necessary.

Key words: Collective Impact; Complexity; Power; Habitus/Disposition; Critical Reflection.

Introduction

The Collective Impact approach to social change is a relatively recent phenomenon. It had its origins in three seminal papers published between 2011 and 2013 in the *Stanford Social Innovation Review* (Hanleybrown, Kania, & Kramer, 2012; Kania & Kramer, 2011, 2013). Drawing upon empirical evidence from collaborative projects that achieved population level change, Kania and Kramer (2011) theorised that the prospect of achieving such changes will be enhanced by meeting five conditions, later expanded to six (see figure 1).

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The core proposition of collective impact is that “large-scale social change comes from better cross-sector coordination rather than from the isolated intervention of individual organizations” (Kania & Kramer, 2011, p. 38). The rationale for this argument is not just intuitive and empirical. Both it and the conditions put forward as necessary to achieve positive changes are grounded in the realisation that human society and the communities that it comprises of are complex and the insights that complexity science and systems theory bring (Kania & Kramer, 2013; Smart, 2017). Human systems are open dynamic complex systems, whether they are the extended brain of an individual or the social settings in which people live their lives. A dynamical system is a set of elements that undergoes change over time by virtue of interactions between the elements of it (Vallacher, Read, & Nowak, 2002). They are open to forces beyond themselves and capable of chaotic behaviour (Siegel, 2012a). Dynamical systems have three major features: (a) they are nonlinear; (b) they have emergent patterns with recursive characteristics; (c) they self-organise (Globus & Arpaia, 1993). Much of our frustration at achieving desired population level change comes from failure to recognise that we are working with a genuinely complex system (Snowden, 2010). Collective impact can be seen as a problem-solving process that enables solutions to emerge in complex human systems by creating the conditions outlined in Figure 1 above.

The first part of this paper is devoted to examining collective impact through the lens of a theoretical framework, grounded in complexity science and systems theory. This will be used
to provide a platform for the two key proposals made in relation to collective impact: That it is an implication of the complexity of the human systems in which they operate that for collective impact initiatives to be successful, shifts in the balance of power in relationships at key levels in the community in which they are set are needed; That in order to facilitate these kinds of shift it is necessary to promote critical reflection by those engaged in social service and community work related to the initiative upon: (a) the dispositions or habitus they have in respect to the management of power in their relationships; (b) how they are inculcated into them via their life experiences; and, (c) the implications they have for the way everyday interactions with others are managed.

The framework was assembled by the author as part of wider research towards a doctoral thesis (Marshall, 2019). It was developed through a process of theoretical bricolage (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Kincheloe, 2001) involving a critically reflective literature review of previously verified theory that is brought together in the framework carried out over a number of years. It consists of 4 main strands: ecological theory of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979); interpersonal neurobiology (Siegel, 2012a, 2012b); the theory of power and practices (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1986, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and the theories of knowledge constitutive interests and communicative action (Habermas, 1978, 1987, 1988).

Conditions conducive to wellbeing in complex systems

In proposing the theory of Interpersonal Neurobiology, Siegel (2012a, 2012b) draws upon complexity science to highlight that the patterns in the flow of energy and information through and between extended human brains are non-linear, emergent, recursive and self-organise. Over time they can fluctuate between being chaotic and being rigid. The purpose of the brain is survival. To achieve this it must determine whether to respond to situations it is faced with in the same way it has dealt with similar circumstances in the past (continuity) or to do something different (flexibility). Rigidity in the patterns of the flow of energy and information through the system indicates an excess of continuity, chaos excessive flexibility. The first basic tenet of the theory that Siegel proposes is that wellbeing is associated with achieving harmony in the patterns of the flow which is characterised by a balance between continuity and flexibility. The key insight that Siegel goes on to draw from complexity science is that complex systems move towards states of harmony through processes of integration. That is, through the linking together of differentiated parts of the system. In the human brain, extended as it is throughout the whole body via our nervous system, integration involves the focus of attention upon our own cognitive, emotional and behavioural processes in processes of mindful, self-reflection. In the social settings in which people live their lives it entails attuned, compassionate and empathic communication between all members of the group or community.

The implications for initiatives aimed at enhancing wellbeing are that they need to involve analysing and where necessary challenging and changing the pattern of the flow of energy and information, or patterns of power in the human system(s) concerned. They need to focus upon the participation of and contributions from, as many as possible of the elements of the human system involved; with individuals, groups and organisations: being mindfully aware of their own processes; engaging through attuned, compassionate and empathic communication; and, exerting agency in communal decision making.

Viewed through the lens of this theory it is certainly possible to see adopting collective impact processes as a means of fostering integration. The qualities described in the previous paragraph are clearly implied in each of the initial conditions outlined by Kania and Kramer (2011). While the addition of Equity (Kania & Kramer, 2015) only served to strengthen the alignment (See Figure 1). The relationship becomes even more apparent when additional guidelines put forward by practitioners around the world to supplement to original framework
are considered. A good example can be seen in just the heading of the Collective Impact Principles of Practice published by The Collective Impact Forum (2018a) as shown in Figure 2. While in Australia, the first of the principles to guide practice Changefest Statement (2018) is: “Shifting the balance of power and responsibility to communities”.

1. Design and implement the initiative with a priority placed on equity
2. Include community members in the
3. Recruit and co-create with cross-sector partners.
4. Use data to continuously learn, adapt, and
5. Cultivate leaders with unique system leadership skills.
6. Focus on program and system strategies
7. Build a culture that fosters relationships, trust, and respect across participants.
8. Customize for local context.

Figure 2: Collective impact principles of practice (Collective-Impact-Forum, 2018b)

Factors that enable and inhibit integration

So if collective impact is about fostering integration in human systems as a means of fostering harmony and nurturing wellbeing, what are the factors that enable or impede integration and are thus likely to influence progress in collective impact initiatives?

In articulating the theory of interpersonal neurobiology Siegel (2010, 2012a, 2012b) argues that integration is a function of the individual and collective minds of people. Like all human activities this process is a function of the brain. The majority of the brain's operations occur reactively, they are non-conscious (Kahneman, 2011). In humans the brain does have the capacity to bring things to consciousness and thus to purposefully exert a measure of agency over the flow of energy and information through itself and thus the emotions and behaviours that manifest the patterns in it, however, the majority of the brain’s operations are non-conscious and reactive (Kahneman, 2011). Like in all complex systems the emergent patterns in the emotional and behavioural responses that people have to situations they face in life are recursive. Human beings find themselves being disposed to always reactively respond to certain kinds of situation in similar ways. Sometimes, in ways that they would not choose if they were to consciously think things through in a problem-solving way. Insights into the phenomenon of disposition and the impact it has upon integration in human systems can be gained through the theories of Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1986, 1990); (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Habitus, field and capital together with the associated ideas of doxa, misrecognition and contestation are the concepts around which Bourdieu’s theory of power and practice is built. A starting point is the concept of habitus. Habitus is “a structuring structure, which organises practices and perceptions of practices” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 170). It can be thought of as the habits our brain has of responding to situations cognitively, emotionally and behaviourally. It is
influenced by both past and present as it is gradually acquired as we learn from our experiences of life through a process of inculcation. Operating non-consciously, it shapes practice at a level below calculation; giving people a ‘feel for the game’ that orients them to act in certain ways in certain situations (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Bourdieu is writing about habitus and other aspects of his theory of power and practice in the context of a standard narrative of sociological accounts for the perpetuation of relative differentials in class access to society’s assets by a structure (S) – disposition (D) – practice (P) scheme (Nash, 2003). Via various socialisation processes, social structures are internalised and become dispositions which lead to practices and, in turn, re-produce social structures. Habitus is both a product of and a re-producer of social structures via practices (Mouzelis, 2007).

The complex nature of habitus makes it far from mechanistic and deterministic. As Reay (2004) points out, allowing for agency, habitus predisposes people towards certain ways of behaving, but the resulting behaviours are far from pre-determined.

Notwithstanding this, habitus has the potential to significantly impede integration in the flow of energy and information through the individual human brain. When people’s responses to situations are non-conscious, grounded in their habitus, they will be determined by the neuronal areas of the brain stem and limbic region with little input from the cortex, in particular the pre-frontal cortex, which enables conscious problem solving. They are not being determined using the full range of the differentiated elements of the complex system that is the brain (Siegel, 2012a, 2012b). As a result, there will be a tendency for there to be excesses of continuity (rigidity) rather than harmony in the patterns of the flow of energy/power through the system.

The systems of the social settings in which humans live their lives are referred to by Bourdieu as fields. The immediate family, the extended family, the workplace, the social or sporting club, the community group, the neighbourhood, the suburb, town/city, state/nation community forums are inter-related fields on which the game of life is contested. People develop particular ways of thinking and practicing (habitus) as players on the playing field of the game of life; they are players who adhere unconsciously to the rules of the game in the field as discursively organised (Macfarlane, 2006). The rules are referred to by Bourdieu as the doxa. They prescribe what orthodox and heterodox behaviour look, sound and feel like, and can be thought of as the shared habitus of the participants in the field. The nature of the doxa and the extent to which there is continuity or flexibility in it, is contested by the participants in in the field (Reay, 2004).

Bourdieu sees contestation as a key feature of the processes by which the doxa of a field is determined. He writes that, “constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field” (Bourdieu, 1998, pp. 40-41). All participants in the field are agents and have the potential to exert agency to influence the way the game of life is played out. However, their levels of influence vary, depending upon the capital they have in that field. Capital refers to resources that are valued in that context and thus are aligned to the power to exert influence or agency. (Bourdieu, 1986; Navarro, 2006). Bourdieu (1986) articulates four species of capital: material, cultural, social, or symbolic. A person’s capital is influenced in part by their own habitus and in part by the doxa, the shared habitus of the field (Cronin, 1996; Reay, 2004). A person’s habitus, their disposition, towards such things as: the capital they have in comparison to others in the field; and importantly the way that power should be exercised between the different players in the field in order to get the best result, is of great importance. It can have the effect of perpetuating and over time deepening the inhibition of processes of integration in human systems. Whether there is reproduction and/or change is
determined in the interaction between the habitus of the individual and the doxa, the shared habitus of the field.

The possibility of things staying the same can be strengthened by misrecognition. In the concept of misrecognition Bourdieu is referring to the tendency of people to see the doxa as the natural and only way of doing things, because they fail to recognise its arbitrariness and the possibility that it can be changed (Brooker, 1999; English, 2012). Consequently, individuals do not see the need for change and when they do they often see themselves as powerless to do anything. As a result, social structures appear to be fixed and impervious to change. On the other hand, when people encounter a field where their habitus does not sit comfortably with the doxa, then disruption, change and transformation are more likely as the participants in the field are inclined to contest the nature of the doxa and the extent to which there is continuity of flexibility in it, (Reay, 2004).

Fostering factors that enable and mitigating factors that inhibit integration

Bourdieu’s theories are grounded in a paradigm that “sees power as culturally and symbolically created, and constantly re-legitimised through an interplay of agency and structure” (Gaventa & Pettit, 2015, p. 1). The possibilities of means for effecting change and improvement in practice are offered through greater reflexivity. Significantly, Bourdieu himself argued for a reflexive sociology (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Navarro (2006) sums up his rationale:

a reflexive sociology under these lines,…while uncovering sources of power and illuminating reasons that explain social asymmetries and hierarchies, offers a good chance of producing real knowledge about a given context and, as a result, is a powerful tool to enhance social emancipation (pp. 15-16).

Thus, critically reflective practice, in which people become consciously aware of both the different doxa of the fields in which they live their lives and the non-conscious dispositions to feeling and behaving in certain ways in response to situations are brought to consciousness, can be seen as a key tool in reviewing and, where appropriate, working towards modifying those dispositions.

The critical social theories of Habermas (1971, 1975, 1981, 1988) can be drawn upon in providing a rationale for and articulation of the kind of reflexive practice that will foster integration in human systems. What is advocated here, is reflexive learning practices grounded in an emancipatory orientation to knowledge (Habermas, 1971, 1975), at the heart of which are the practices of critical self-reflection and communicative action (Habermas, 1971, 1981). The aim is to assist people to build their capital in order to realise their capacity to assert agency in shaping the doxa of the fields they live their lives in. The means suggested for fostering the development of these practices are educative initiatives which adopt emancipatory pedagogical processes (Habermas, 1988). In such processes theories that relate to the issues people are facing, which have previously been authenticated through empirical and/or hermeneutic scientific processes, are presented. People are asked to reflect upon these theories and to consider re-authenticating them in the light of their own life experiences, that is, to determine whether the theories resonate with them and hold true for them; and if they find they can and do, they are invited to use them in problem solving ways to address the issues faced.

Implications for collective impact processes

The proposition made above is that collective impact processes are in fact aimed at fostering integration and through it patterns of harmony in the flow of energy or power through the human
systems of the individuals and communities they are set in. If it is accepted; then, challenging and changing the dispositions or habitus of key individuals and the doxa of groups, organisations and communities, is of prime importance. The conditions for collective impact (Kania & Kramer, 2011, 2015) and the guiding principles for putting them in place that have been added to them such as those proposed by the Collective Impact Forum (Collective-Impact-Forum, 2018a) and the leading Australian practitioners (“Changefest statement,” 2018). Both are the product of the consciously thought through, evidence based, problem solving processes which human beings are uniquely capable of. However, reflection upon the concepts of disposition, habitus and doxa, and the way they are formed, opens up the possibility, indeed the likelihood, that much human behaviour is not determined in that way (Kahneman, 2011). Modern scholars in the field of human services frequently write of disposition as being equally, if not more important, than knowledge and skills in informing the practice of practitioners across the range of service fields (e.g. Adams, 2009 (social workers); Brewer, Lindquist, & Altemueller, 2011; Mills, 2013 (teachers); Naber & Wyatt, 2014 (nurses)). There is also considerable interest, for example, in the impact dispositions have in influencing practices responding to difference and diversity in socially just ways (e.g. Brewer et al., 2011; McDiarmid, 1992; Mills, 2013; Mills & Ballantyne, 2010). The paradox of individuals, organisations and agencies consciously intending to act in one way while at the same time finding themselves displaying contrary behaviours is highly problematic.

The solution suggested by the theoretical analysis above is the adoption of critically reflective practice. The real challenge then becomes translating the theoretical ideas of fostering reflexivity into practice which can be readily adopted in order to mitigate the effect of disposition and challenge and change the habitus of individuals and the prevailing doxa in our society so they are more likely to foster integration.

Thus, the two key propositions that can be built on the platform of the theoretical framework outlined above are: (a) that in order for collective impact initiatives to be successful, shifts in the balance of power in relationships at all levels of the complex human systems that comprise a community are needed; (b) that institutions involved in collective impact initiatives should avail themselves of professional learning opportunities for their personnel which focus upon fostering critical inquiry into, and critical self-reflection (Larrivee, 2000) upon dispositions and the impact they have upon practice, with a particular emphasis upon dispositions to power.

**Professional Learning Focused Upon Critical Self-Reflect and Critical Inquiry into Dispositions to Power in Relationships**

The kind of professional learning opportunities that are envisaged and recommended by the author are drawn from a community education program developed by David Rolls (2016) which helps people to understand and manage the emotional, behavioural and relational processes of their lives. They would adopt andragogy that is grounded in an emancipatory orientation to knowledge (Habermas, 1978) and use the kind of emancipatory process advocated by Habermas (1988). Perhaps the most significant example of Habermas’s theories being put into practice can be found in the field of popular education, often described as ‘education for critical consciousness (Popular-Education-Now, 2009)). Examples include the work of by Paulo Freire (1972a, 1972b) and other notable radical educators such as Myles Horton(Horton & Freire, 1990) and bell hooks (1994). An overarching understanding of this radical approach to teaching can be found in the spiral method (Arnold, Burke, James, Martin, & Thomas, 1991) – see Figure 3.
A key element of the andragogical process is that the leader or teacher in popular education has something special to add at stage 3 of the spiral. Friere calls this “codification”. Adding a code is about “students seeing again what they already know about reality” (Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 87); and in doing so creating the possibility of changing their perception of it. Productive critical reflective practice requires not only looking objectively at oneself and the world one lives in, it also requires criteria against which to compare one’s self and others. In the approach being suggested, these are the “codes” which will help people to see reality differently and explore ways of changing both their perception of it and their ways of responding. The particular realities that the author has in mind for people to reflect upon are (a) the dispositions or habitus they have in respect to the management of power in their relationships; (b) how they are inculcated into them via their life experiences; and, (c) the implications they have for the way everyday interactions with others are managed.

The approach being suggested is not about training in, or advice giving on, how to behave. It is instead an emancipatory approach (Habermas, 1988) focused upon sharing information in the form of previously scientifically verified theories with people which they can first of all re-verify for themselves as resonating and making sense to them in the context of their own life experiences, and then use in a problem solving way to determine different ways of doing things.

The first set of information that needs to be shared is concerned with helping people to understand the emergent brain processes by which the emotional and behavioural responses they are disposed to having are shaped. It is grounded in the fields of cognitive behavioural theory (e.g. Edelman, 2006; Schwartz & Begley, 2002) and neuroplasticity (e.g. Doidge, 2008). It involves four key ideas. First, all of the author’s responses to the situations it faces are grounded in its prime purpose of survival and wellbeing. Second, it is well equipped to do this by its phenomenal capacity to draw upon what it has learned from previous experience in responding to each new situation. Third, the brain is able to respond to situations in two ways. Its primary response is always reactive, non-conscious and based on what has been learned from past experiences of similar situations. However, it is also capable of responding in a problem solving rather than reactive way. This requires bringing things to consciousness and becoming aware of its own cognitions. Fourth, the brain’s reactive response to any situation it finds to be significant is twofold: (a) We experience the first as emotions and feeling as

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**Figure 3: The spiral method (Arnold et al., 1991)**

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chemicals are released into the body via the blood stream and limbic system; (b) The second we experience as behaviours for which the chemicals have prepared us to take in order to enhance the prospect of survival or wellbeing. Thus, the way that one is disposed to respond to situations is always grounded in how one has learned to react to situations of this kind. Every situation is seen through the filter of one’s previous experience. These key ideas are captured in the mind map shown in Figure 4.

![Figure 4: Cognitive – emotional – behavioural processes underpinning human behaviour (Marshall, 2019, after Rolls, 2016b)](image)

The second set of information that needs to be shared with people in order to get them to critically reflect on the matter which is most relevant to enhancing the efficacy of collective impact gets right to the heart of the matter. It is concerned with the way people are disposed towards managing power in their relationships with each other and the impact this has on them engaging productively.

The Ways of Loving model (see Figure 5) provides a framework for understanding how people are disposed to relating to others and in particular towards the deployment of power in those relationships. This is very often a key aspect of the relationships between professionals working for organisations involved in collective impact initiatives and clients they are working with.
All relationships comprise an ever changing mix of two ways of relating: dependent love and acceptant love. The habitus of a disposition towards dependent love is learned during infancy and childhood. Our relationships then are driven by our dependency on adults to help us meet our needs. A feature of the relationship is that the orientation to responsibility is very much other oriented; the adult sees the child as the other they are responsible for and the child sees the adult as the other who will take responsibility for meeting their needs. Both parties in a dependent love relationship decide how to conduct themselves in a subjective way and view the situation from their own perspective. As an infant we look at how we should behave in order to get an adult carer to meet our needs. Parents look to how they should behave in order to ensure that the needs of the infant are met in the ways that they themselves see as appropriate. The typical language pattern in infancy and childhood is, “You should do or think about it like this!” or “What should I do?” The power relationship is one of dominance-compliance or “power over”.

Relating in Acceptant Love is different. It is driven by sharing rather than need. Both parties are focused upon “me” as an autonomous person, choosing to share with “you” whom I recognise as also being autonomous. Responsibility is self-orientated, I am responsible for “me” and you are responsible for “you”. Thus, participants need to be able to stand back and look at both themselves and their partners objectively, from a perspective outside of themselves. The key message in the communication pattern is, “This is the way it is for me. How is it for you?” The power relationship one of “power with”, characterised by respect from each partner for the other.

In reality relationships between adults are a mix of dependent and acceptant love. However, because we spent all of our early years in relationships that were predominantly dependent a default position in relationships, particularly when under stress, is likely to tend towards patterns of dependent. This particularly occurs in difference of opinion or conflict situations. A model derived from the work of Kindler (1988) provides options for managing conflict, see
Figure 6, which can be used as a “code” to extend people’s reflection upon the way they communicate in their relationships.

Options for dealing with conflict situations are placed on a Cartesian plane. The axes are the degrees of flexibility and closeness of engagement. In a power-with approach the approach used is collaboration. Communication is characterised by respect, empathy, assertiveness and avoidance of falling into the trap of telling the other person how they should be behaving, thinking and feeling. However, habits of thinking (habitus) learned from previous experiences, particularly in their early years, lead to conflicts being dealt with primarily in a dominance-compliance way. If one of the parties is prepared to freely give the decision making power to the other, and the other is prepared to accept the responsibility of taking charge, this approach will work well. However, where both parties want to be in charge the outcome is likely to result in some sort of fighting over what to do. Most people have a negative view of conflict because they experience this outcome so often. An outcome is the tendency towards disengagement in the relationship with one or all of the parties deciding to move towards either a Maintenance position, in which their compliance is tokenistic at best as they go off and do their own thing separate from the other party or No Contact with engagement broken off completely.

The theory put forward the first part of this paper showed that collective impact is essentially about challenging and where necessary changing patterns of power in the human system of a community to foster integration and thus nurture harmony and wellbeing. To play a part in achieving this, practitioners in collective impact initiatives need to critically reflect upon the
ways they are disposed to relating to people in the community. In particular they need to reflect upon ways managing differences of opinion in an endeavour to find and adopt behaviours which avoid the disengagement of maintenance or no contact. The three sets of ideas shared in this section of the paper provide stimulus material to provoke and guide such reflective practice. In the parlance of popular education, they are presented as “codes” (Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 87) which can help practitioners change their perceptions of how the relate to others and find ways to make changes if they need to.

Conclusion

Kania and Kramer (2013) assert that “to be successful in collective impact efforts we must live with the paradox of combining intentionality (that comes with the development of a common agenda) and emergence (that unfolds through collective seeing, learning, doing)” (p. 7). Success using the approach requires us to be both intentionally strategic and appreciative of the way complex systems evolve. This paper is focused upon exploring the latter. Looked at through the lens of the aspects of complexity science shared in this paper, collective impact can be seen as a strategy to foster integration, the linking together of differentiated parts of the human systems that make up a community through empathic, compassionate communication in order to nurture harmony in the patterns of the flow of energy and information or power through them and thus wellbeing in them. Nurturing greater harmony and wellbeing requires challenging the existing patterns and shifting the balance in the flow of power.

If collective impact is to be successful in achieving this and foster processes of integration in the human systems of a community, ways must be found to impact upon the habits of thinking (habitus) of individuals in respect to power and through them and the doxa of the human systems they live their lives in. The theory shared above tells us that the habitus of individuals and the doxa that is contested and negotiated between them. The result is frequently characterised by rigidity and/or chaos rather than harmony. The key proposition made by this paper is that to mitigate against this and achieve success in collective impact requires the personnel of the institutions involved in any initiative understanding, and critically reflecting upon, the emergent processes through which the habitus and doxa of themselves and fellow practitioners are shaped, the effect they have on their practice and the options available to them for modifying them.
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Biographical Notes

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