Public space governing as the management of meaning-making

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Declaration of authorship

I confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signed

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Contents

List of Appendices

Presented in Volume 2 of this thesis.

- Appendix 3.1: The MCTs studied in detail

  Appendix 6.1: From raw data to Solution Networks, Solutions, Analytical Steps, Key Stories

- Appendix 6.2: Descriptions and Summary Tables for Key Stories, with associated sub-steps

- Appendix 6.3 Narrative of How MCTs work: Analytical Steps for all Solutions, sub-steps described and the induction of 'conditions'

Abstract

The governing of urban public space involves the management of knowledge about them and about the practices that produce them. This research examines how a type of policy tool in public space production, nominally labelled 'multicriteria tools' (MCTs), are deployed to manage the construction of knowledge by diverse stakeholders in the interest of achieving a desired public space outcome.

Mainstream governing practices characterised by the very words 'measuring' and 'value', refract preferences through a narrow and usually positivist frame, often leading to unauthentic communication and perverse outcomes. In this research, an interpretivist paradigm is applied, which assumes that people are rationalising rather than rational. Thus the MCT's role is conceptualised as attenuating people's beliefs and actions.

The research seeks to articulate and theorise an alternative conceptualisation of governing as 'the management of meaning construction', where 'value' is a subset of 'meaning'. In so doing, the research aims to increase the intelligibility of multi-stakeholdered governing situations in ways that would be directly relevant for the stakeholders themselves since familiarity with the substantive issues and dynamics of meaning making would help those actors become more effective.

The research fleshes out a heuristic in the form of a 'field' model of meaning-making. This deploys an interpretivist paradigm in explaining how governing happens; governing, is thus seen in terms of the management of meaning to address societal problems. This research adds to those voices challenging the grip of orthodox 'evidence-based' policy-making and positivist 'scientistic' social science. Its original contribution is to explore this debate in the philosophy of social science within the area of built environment production. Ultimately, the aim is to increase the potential of such an alternative in addressing some practical, real and well-documented problems in public space governing.

VOLUME 1 MAIN TEXT & BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chapter 1 Introduction

"An old building which, occupied by members of the middle class, forms part of our glorious heritage, is, if occupied by members of the working class, a rat-infested slum" (Thompson 1979, p35).

1.1. The research problem, aims and setting

Many of the meanings associated with the built environment are actively constructed by those who give it meaning; it is not a 'given'. The construction of meaning is itself 'world-making' (Elcheroth et al 2011, Weick 1995); it is inextricable from, and involves people *visiting actions upon* the world that shape the world, for example, designing, making policy, taking decisions, negotiating, governing. Munn (1986 in Graeber 2001) argues that value "can only happen through that importance *being recognized by someone else.*" So, control over that construction process, over its expression and reception, its assimilation and re-expression, controls the value of value.

The successes / failures of governing currently tend to be dominated by assessment through 'measurement of performance', at least 'officially' and 'on paper'. In the governing of the built environment, much energy has been devoted to **measuring value accurately,** both of the built environment **outcomes** themselves, for example, buildings and public spaces, and of **processes** of making the built environment. Examples of the former tend to be based in property valuation (for example, CABE 2007) but also on the broad approaches of 'post occupancy evaluation'. Examples of measuring built environment processes, for example, urban design processes, community consultation, or negotiations over planning policy come under the broad umbrella of public performance measurement and the work associated with the Audit Commission and National Audit Office.

However, every practitioner knows that alongside, or behind the numbers finally recorded, much activity, negotiation and 'politics' goes on to ensure that 'the right numbers' are finally recorded. These have been much discussed in the literature on public management performance measures

and are described as for example, 'gaming' or 'managerialist' behaviour (for example, Likierman 1993, Carter et al 1992). However, while these are described, they are seen simply to be outside the confines of the governance literature on performance indicators, and thus treated as 'beyond the scope of investigation'.

This thesis seeks to articulate the critique that the mainstream practices characterised by the very words 'measuring' and 'value' is a narrow way of expressing what governing actors really want and mean, leading to unauthentic communication and sometimes perverse outcomes. The research seeks to theorise an alternative focus on 'the management of meaning' (of which value is a subset). In so doing, it breaks the confines of previous research on performance assessment in the built environment which commented upon governing situations through the narrow 'positivist' frame of performance *measurement*. In articulating a theoretical model based on an alternative interpretivist knowledge paradigm altogether, this research aims to increase the intelligibility of governing situations by taking into account via what is a unitary model, both the measures themselves, and the 'politics' around the measures. This addresses the ingrained split between 'subject and object' of the public governing enterprise, which may be traced to a Weberian model of bureaucracy. The research would be directly relevant for governing actors, but its key contribution is to bring '*phronesis*' – Aristotle's 'practical wisdom' (for example, Oakeshott 1962, Flyvberg 1998) that is abundant amongst experience practitioners - to bear upon an academic and theoretical understanding of the role mf MCTs. In short, the research aims to develop a unitary theoretical and theoretically-founded model that can describe both the technical and political aspects of public space governing.

The thesis begins by arguing that 'value' is simply one way of expressing meaning, usually numerical, sometimes monetary, that has been made popular and dominant by the success of science, engineering, business, economics and the management sciences, whose concerns have all been well-served by this means of expression. The **public value** of public space,

whose achievement is the aim of governing, is also subject to being **expressed as monetary or numerical value**, but these sorts of interests have been rather less well-served by it. Since the expression of meanings shapes substantive content, and yet many types of meaning, and even, value, are not easily expressed monetarily, it would make sense to seek a form of expressing, understanding and therefore measure value that is NOT monetary nor numerical. In this thesis, the broader term 'meaning' is used in place of 'value', as it is less connotative of numbers and measurement.

However, if meaning is indeed as malleable as the opening quotation suggests – and we know that meaning or value constructed by one party can be influenced by other parties, or by circumstances (think of how rumours can affect share prices, or how one can bargain prices down) - then more attention should be paid to **managing how value is constructed,** not just measuring it. In fact, 'governing' the built environment involves managing that construction of our own and others' meanings about public space to deliver acceptable meanings to multiple stakeholders. So a study of the processes of value construction provides a more nuanced picture of how the built environment is governed by multiple governing actors.

Sensemaking is an explanatory approach that can articulate the relationships between belief acquisition, world-making actions and the construction of meaning. Sensemaking has roots in social psychology and couches explanations in terms of actors' cognitive motivations, including in relation to interactions with other actors. It is potentially a good frame for understanding governing in a diverse and complex context, where the influence of structures may be inconsistent as it can take into account the 'weighing up' of meaning regarding substantive content, secondary content and the very process of meaning construction itself.

This project looks at the use of what I label multicriteria tools (MCTs) in the governing of public space, which delineate the scope for empirical observation. MCTs deal with what can be seen as non-monetary expression of value. They are tools that have been a feature of built environment

governing in the past two decades (for example ODPM 2004). They can be thought about in two main ways. First, as tools of inquiry, for capturing multiple aspects of public space and service performance, or for consultation with stakeholders; they are seen as being able to ask the question of "What is going on?" Second, they can be thought about as means for advocacy, that is, seeking to persuade recipients of a particular position: "It is (good / bad). Please find this state of things (acceptable / unacceptable)".

In unpacking how and why MCTs work beyond those two headlines, we gain insight into the plausibility and fruitfulness of thinking about "governing as managing the construction of our own and other's meanings." This is based on the assumption that value is extrinsic and 'constructed' in the first place, a 'constructivist' epistemology (see discussion in Chapter 2). The aim of this research is to develop a theory-based model to describe and explain the very construction of value or meaning in a multi-actor interactive governing situation, an understanding of which should suggest to us how value construction can be managed. Apart from theory-building, and bridging the gap between theory and practice, insights generated resulted in a heuristical model that can enable practitioners to work in a more self-aware manner, taking into account both political and technical issues. It would increase the awareness of actors of theirs and others' motives, potential and power, thus potentially In this it builds upon a long tradition of 'reflective practice' (for example, Schon 1983, Kolb and Fry 1975). This research thus, has relevance for both theory and practice.

The research problem and aims can be stated in a number of ways but all of them relate to the three elements shown in this diagram.

FIGURE 1.1 THE SHAPE OF THIS RESEARCH

Element 3

Abstract paradigm:
Constructivist epistemology

Element 2

Operationalised
explanation of concrete
observation

Element 1

Concrete observation:
MCTs in public space governing

*Resonant
instrumental
theoretical
frameworks*

*Resonant
instrumental
theoretical
frameworks*

e.g. Authenticity
criteria
Lincoln and Guba
1989, Innes and
Booher 2003)

e.g. Institutional
capacity
(Healey et a 2003)

e.g. Rhetoric
analysis
(Finlayson 2007)

e.g. investor
expectation
management
(Phelan n.d.)

e.g. social
representation in
political
psychology
(Eichecom et. al.
2011)

e.g. property
valuation bias
(Diaz 1999)

e.g. Service
quality
measurement
(Zeithaml et al
1990)

e.g. Leadership
(Sminth and
Morgan 1982)

Sensemaking

To the bottom, Element 3 is 'the practice of public space management', described at the concrete operational level. To the top, Element 1 are the high level paradigmatic ideas about the nature of knowledge in the social sciences and their deployment, a debate about which has been rumbling on for decades. This is happening at an abstract level and may be characterised as a debate about the paradigm deployed when thinking about the social world. Element 2 is an intermediate and instrumental explanation that is coherent both with the observations of Element 1 and the very general theories about the nature of the world at Element 3.

The research problem, as it first occurred to me, only had Element 3 and 2. It arose from a need **to provide an explanation that was 'instrumental' (Element 2) for the observed public space governing actions (Element 3).** I speculated that **managing value could be a plausible way of thinking about and explaining public space governing,** in way that would make governing better. That is, Element 2 would take the general form of 'managing value'. This seemed sensible in an era of governing so reliant on the measured communication of accountability, and yet one in which governing actors know that other actors know that they are all 'playing the game'. Eventually, the literature suggested that a number of other instrumental frameworks could inform the development of ours. In particular, sensemaking held particular promise.

Moreover, the use of knowledge in public space management (specifically the way that its particular form of monetary or numerical value) could also be explained at a high level by the ongoing philosophical arguments about the nature of social science knowledge and how it is deployed (Element 3).

In other words, the research problem is how to plausibly relate discussions ongoing at a paradigmatic level, of 'how we know' within the social sciences, and the observations of what I hypothesise are the manifestations of this debate at an operational level in the specific context of public space governing practice. It is the need to develop and test an explanation that would work both with the paradigmatic and operational levels of public space governing that makes sense of both in a coherent way, and it is the aim of this thesis to define and elaborate on the nature of that link, and to test its plausibility as an explanation of Element 1.

1.2. Research question

The research question is **"How is meaning managed in public space governing?"**

The first objective of the research is to **understand how public space governing happens.** In order to do so, we look at the case of MCTs, a type of policy tool that delineates a research setting for us, and gives us convenient ways into observing the management of meaning in public space governing. By observing, theorising and explaining how MCTs attenuate meaning construction in a public space governing context, we also come to understand how governing happens, and how that can plausibly be conceptualised as the management of meaning.

The articulation of this conceptualisation of how MCTs work into a description of how meaning is managed, is thus, a second objective of the research. This articulation is achieved by using 'sensemaking' as a template for basing our explanations of MCT functioning on. The result of this activity - to understand what we observe empirically via theorisation, and building that theory at the same time - leads to the development of a 'field' model of managing meaning-making. This model can make public space governing intelligible by allowing us to think about governing in a multi-actor negotiation situation as the management of meanings constructed. This model is potentially applicable to other multi-lateral governing situations, in the built environment and beyond.

1.3. Methodological approach

As suggested by Figure 1.1, this research was approached from two simultaneous starting points. First, in practice, the preliminary observation of how 'value' is officially dealt with in public space governing, the overwhelming focus on its measurement and lack of attention on its construction, and 'and the proliferation of multi-dimensional policy tools loosely labelled multi-criteria tools (MCTs).The second is that a hunch that

the deployment of a 'constructivist' explanation might be a good basis for a theorisation of 'how MCTs work'.

Given the simultaneous theory-building and empirical exploration aspects of the research, I adopted the documentary method first described by Garfinkel (1967) and reported by Weick (1995).

"A specific observation becomes linked with a more general form or idea in the interest of (a clearer understanding of the observation), which then clarifies the meaning of the particular which then alters slightly the general, and so on. The abstract and the concrete inform and construct one another. Actions create the conditions for further action (Shotter, 1993, p. 156), the course of which remains vague prospectively, but clearer in retrospect" (Weick 1995 p51).

The research approach involved two sets of simultaneous actions related to the two starting points mentioned. The first was to observe a broad range of what MCTs do in public space governance to try and understand what they do. This was the 'specific observation'. This first action is equivalent to the 'operationalisation' (or instrumentalisation) action in conventional research-speak, as it applies ways of thinking to grabbing signals from 'the ground' being observed. The second was to seek out and bring together theories that are resonant with sensemaking, my preferred theoretical basis for explaining MCTs. This is equivalent to the 'conceptualisation' action in conventional research, as it is about mentally mapping the observations. This is Garfinkel's (1967) 'more general form or idea', to develop a way for describing how MCTs work. The primary data is then 'confronted' with this the speculative theoretical framework and model, which would 'clarify the meaning of the particular observation', while itself being confirmed, disconfirmed, modified or rejected, in the tradition of theory-building (Eisenhardt 1989). Indeed, this mutually modifying approach to research itself follows the sensemaking model, and this should not be surprising since research itself is only disciplined inquiry (Lincoln and Guba 1989) or the disciplined making of sense.

FIGURE 1.2: MUTUALLY MODIFYING AND ITERATIVE APPROACH

This mutually modifying approach deploys abductive reasoning and sees the researcher moving between the realm of data / observation and the realm of theory, and this happens during the analysis for this research. See blue square arrows.
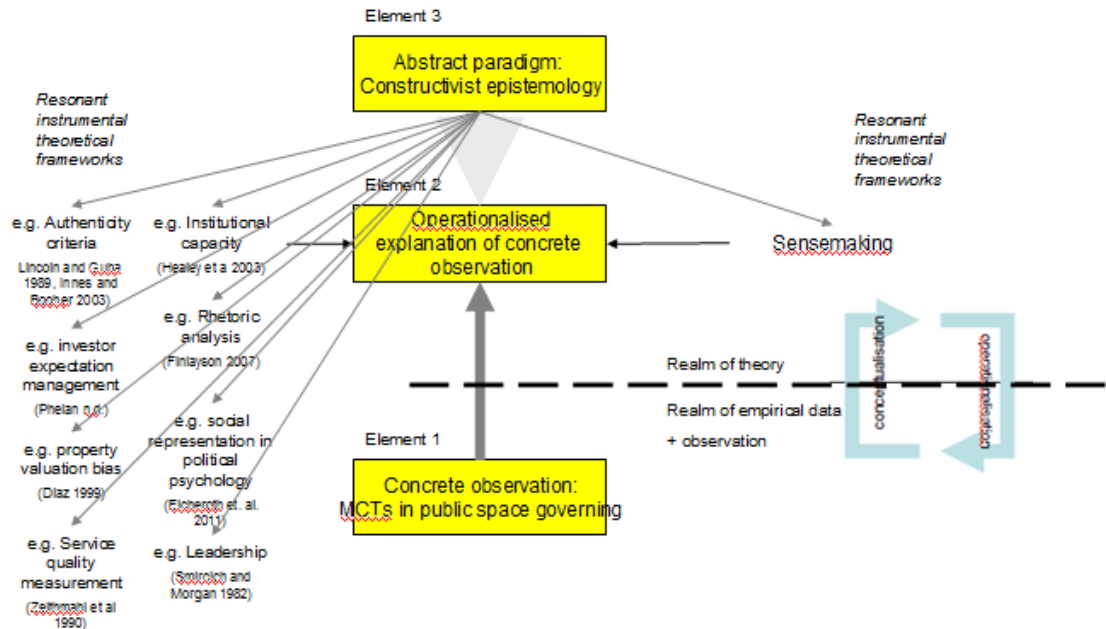
The theoretical basis in found in a range of sources, although they are all 'knitted around' an essentially constructivist and social psychological approach set out by Weick's (1995) sensemaking. Among other things, the knitting process involved deriving the concept of public space governing in terms of sensemaking, as the context in which MCTs operate, and a general conceptualisation of MCT roles. This is set out in Chapters 2 and 3, and then in Chapters 7.

The primary data and its confrontation with the theoretical framework is presented in two chapters towards the end of the thesis (6 and 7).

1.4. *Justification for research and the research contexts*

Public space and its management have been ill-served by mainstream conceptualisations of what public space is and how it should be managed. These conceptualisations tend to be analytical in direction, producing highly fragmented pictures of public space and its management. This has impacted on how those who govern it see and act on public space problems. Practice

has offered up ideas such as 'better coordination' and 'joined-up thinking' (for example, Rowe 1999), but theoretical and philosophical work in public space has rarely address issues of its practical management. At the same time, discourse in public administration / public management barely registers 'public space' as a target for scholarly endeavour.

This research attacks these problems at their root – how practitioners know about public space. This research is relevant to problems of 'how practitioners know' in three areas of scholarly investigation. First, it is relevant to public space management itself, which sits within 'urban planning' or 'urban management' as its broad subject area. Secondly, the study of technologies of public administration as means of knowing, of which MCTs are arguably a category. This constitutes a 'narrowing down' of the research scope and its boundaries arose fortuitously through my experience in practice. Thirdly, the area of knowing in social sciences itself: the ongoing debate regarding the paradigms through which social scientists and people generally, understand the social world.

Why this research is important for public space management and the area of urban management

'Public space' in this research refers to physical public space, "the streets and squares and spaces between buildings in a town or city, which is accessible by the public", as opposed to a virtual public sphere of Habermas (1962 in Carmona et al 2003) or Arendt (1958 in Carmona et al 2003) the arena for political and public life. It is the very publicness of physical public space that means that it cannot be defined by physical characteristics only. It requires designation and in fact, continual social and collective agreement that it is 'public'. Its very designation as public involves continual contestation by governing actors themselves, and not just theorists.

So, a defining feature of public space is that it is inescapably political. However political in practice, on paper and certainly within certain professional disciplines, public space is dealt with merely technically, usually at the level of operational (i.e. non-strategic) management; the literature on

public space management does not often deal overtly with the political, with some exceptions (e.g. Low and Smith 2006), and does not offer a framework for understanding the whole of what happens in public space governing. The term 'governing' is used instead of 'management' because it acknowledges the central place of 'the political' within the strategic management of public sector activities and highlights the boundary between the political and the technical (Frederickson 2004). This argument for the need to incorporate political calculation into the rationalisation of actors has been rehearsed elsewhere, for example Flyvbjerg (1998).

In this research, both the terms 'governance' and 'governing' are used to mean "the processes and institutions, both formal and informal, that guide and restrain the collective activities of a group (and is not necessarily) conducted exclusively by governments" (Keohane and Nye 2000 in Hughes 2003 p77). The use of 'governance' here does acknowledge, but does not focus on the shifts in the relationship between state and society away from authority-based styles of governing by the government (Pierre and Peters 2005) towards the so-called new governance (Bevir 2010). While state actors remain important, this research would provide insights into the discourses of multi-stakeholdered governing in weakly hierarchical situations involving public spaces. In such situations, actors are closely matched in terms of their power to impose their will on the others. It is this sort of public space governing that has been little explored.

When students of government discuss high level roles of government[1], they usually speak of either the political, that is, focused on dealing with rights, or the economic, that is, focused on distribution of resources (Sandler 2001, Hughes 2003). Since the rise of the 'new governance', a third type of role has arisen, which is that of regulation and audit (Hughes 2003), which has to do with ensuring accountability; I refer to it as the communicative role of government, as it is about how governments have to now communicate how they are fulfilling their political and economic roles. Although significant, this

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[1] (i.e. approach to knowing about what governments do)

is an area that, as Bevir (2010) notes, has been surprisingly ill-covered by empirical research. Since this study focuses on multi-criteria tools (MCTs), the study of the roles of government here *begins* with the communicative. As might be imagined, even less has been about the performance measurement in public space governing, than governance more generally. This is another reason to have embarked on this research.

While there has significant public space scholarship in a wide range of disciplinary areas, some of which have been categorised by Neal (2010) and Sennett (2008), there has been limited theory-based work on public space governing. So for example, although there is plenty of evidence of the 'fragmentation' of public space management responsibilities and actions (for example, de Magalhaes and Carmona 2006) this issue that has not been theorised. There has been some work done in the area of public space politics (for example, Low and Smith 2006), but the studies that come closest to my definition of 'public space governing' either focus on operational *management* of public space BIDs (for example, de Magalhaes and Carmona 2006), or they are *descriptive* studies of public space politics (for example, Blomley 2004, Low and Smith 2006, Sorkin 1992), or even a crossover (for example, Minton 2006).

Although Bevir (2010) might and Finlayson (2007) did argue, that description itself is an action, yet 'governing' may also be differentiated from 'politics', because the study of governing connotes a prescriptive rather than pure descriptive view; how do we translate a high level principle into practical actions. In the sphere of practice, public space policy actually increased in importance during the first half of the noughties and the government, namely better quality public space. Yet, despite much funding and generalised aims (e.g. Cleaner, Greener, Safer; Doorstep Greens), local authorities struggled to find normative policy direction for 'public space' guided by a holistic vision of the specific 'place', that effectively marshals the range of disciplines, departments and stakeholders towards a shared goal. Many practitioners dealing with public space management do not have a coherent or proactive normative position on to underpin actions, and more often reactive and

fragmentary. No clearly defined discipline of 'public space management' exists. This research puts forward some theory-based approaches to achieving some coherence in the discourse of public space norms for actions, aims and processes. It effectively proposes and tests a particular conceptualisation of public space governing, if only by labelling it, in view of better enabling practitioner grasp of the issues they need to deal with. This may alternatively be seen as a gap between theory and practice.

MCTs provided an opportunity to focus on how this gap between general policy ambition and specific delivery was successfully bridged or otherwise. Deploying a sensemaking approach enabled every stakeholder to be conceptualised, not only as an actor, but specifically as a 'sensemaker', thus possibly throwing light on the reasons for his motivations and actions and how this enabled or disabled the achievement of his and / or shared objectives. The research will provide insights that increase practitioner reflexivity in achieving public space/place-making goals, ultimately by transforming fundamental epistemological assumptions and creating a different way of 'seeing the world'. Actors gain knowledge *about* their public space knowledge. In addition to the usual knowing about public space or design per se, they gain knowledge about how people know about public space. Such meta-knowledge of other people's preferences will create effective *political* operators in shaping public space. Strategic decision-makers e.g. senior planners, landowners with long term interests may be aided in strategising to achieve resilient places, places where the physical forms and spaces continue to be matched with an appropriate positive meaning or value, over time. For street-level public space managers/councillors, research findings that focus on managing, not measuring value of spaces and places, both of place-making process and outputs can help identify ways of managing meaning resources, to manage co-production of public services to produce 'good place', and to handle policy-based evidence. Finally, other public space actors or community leaders may be helped to effectively communicate visions of better places, and to help them help the community realise them, via more authentic debate, cooperation and negotiation, ultimately building civil society.

In conclusion, public space is inescapably political, but this has often been ignored in the study of its management. The term 'governing' used in this research alludes to the bringing back of the political, but also the need to look at high level strategic issues, not just day to day operational issues. From this perspective, this research is a study of the high level 'communicative' role of government (Hughes 2003) in public space. There has also been limited theory-based work on public space management, and a gap between theory and practice, so this research helps link public space management into broader social science discourses. Finally, there is an underlying assumption or aim that the impact of this research should inform the prescription of public space management, and not just its description.

Why this research is important for the technologies of public administration

MCTs were chosen as a research setting because they are a non-monetary governing technology that captures, communicates and constructs value or meaning. MCTs attenuate the process that actors deploy to construct meaning from their experiences. They can be considered a type of accountability / governing tool, and so presents itself as a research setting.

MCTs are popular practical policy tools in the governing of public space, and justify further academic research. While their relatives, composite indicators have gained much public attention in healthcare management (for example, Jacobs and Goddard 2007, Jacobs, Goddard and Smith 2005) and in international development (for example, Freudenberg 2003), there is little research on multicriteria tools in the built environment, despite being widely used and being the basis decision-making. Much has been written about a number of areas that impinge onto that of MCTs. Among them, public performance measurement and management (for example, Pollitt et al 1999, Noordegraaf and Abma 2003, Neely 1998, Carter et al 1992), public accountability (for example, Bovens et al 2008, Goetz and Jenkins 2001, Schillemans 2008) and architectural and design primers and the typologies they contain (for example, Gehl 1987, Llewellyn-Davies 2000). Other literature on performance measures run in parallel to MCTs in public space,

but do not directly deal with it, for example, in the fields of urban sustainability measures (for example, Moffatt 2008).

Against the lack of academic research is set the popularity of MCTs in public space governing. There are many possible reasons for this, for example, they may be popular because of their ability to fulfil the needs of those who seek 'measurable evidence' that fits the mainstream measurement-focused approach to accountability (for example Pollitt et al 1999, Carter, Klein and Day 1992, Carmona and Sieh 2004). A broader view is that they actually provide a means of capturing and expressing aspects of complex entities such as public space in the mainstream language of 'numbers' (for example, Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment 2007). However, preliminary knowledge of MCTs suggest that they also capture and express aspects of public space in alternative languages to that of numbers or price, and they do a lot more than just 'capturing', having impacts that are diffuse.

MCTs are clearly an important part of the policy landscape. MCTs articulate the business of meaning construction and enactment, of resulting decisions and action. They make visible and formal the elements and actions for meaning making, through their dimensions, their benchmarks and their scoring systems, so that actors may have better purchase on the process of meaning making. MCTs are also ubiquitous and are varied in design. They make visible and accessible to the researcher sensemaking that can be quite hidden, not just laying bare the realpolitik of a situation but because they deal with the disjunction between technical and political / relational knowledge, their features allow the probing of some, if not all, key aspects of how governing really happens.

The lack of a clear picture of what MCTs do, despite their wide use, suggests that an exploratory approach might be helpful to theorise what MCTs actually do. This research sought to understand the range of MCT functions in all of these ways, deliberate moving away from MCTs as performance measures. The research results can broaden and deepen knowledge of practitioners, potentially contributing to more effective practice.

The research's particular contribution is to bring together knowledge areas of the practical use of multi-criteria tools with those of public space management, theorising them under an approach that can be described as 'sensemaking', which draws on Weick (1995) in organizational behaviour. The approach seeks to explain the apparently disparate functions of MCTs in terms of social psychological motivation (for example, De Dreu 2010, Hogg 2010).

Why this research is important for the debate regarding social scientific paradigms

<u>A different paradigm</u>

The mainstream paradigm of 'how governing actors should know and therefore act' may be called 'positivist' (see Marsh and Furlong 2002). Such a paradigm takes its lead from the natural sciences, which leaves no room for the role that meanings held by actors, play in accounting for actions. For a discussion, see for example, Rosenberg (1995), Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (2006, introduction), Bevir and Rhodes (2003). This positivist paradigm and its associated standard practices, such as the requirement for validity and generalisability, precipitates, in everyday policy practice, the culture of 'measuring, measuring, measuring' to produce admissible types of knowledge upon which basis the policy process can proceed. This offers a very narrow and 'artificial' focus and may not help governing actors to take into account what really matters in public space governing, especially when what really matters does not fit into whatever the positivist model can capture. So only 'what is easily measurable gets paid attention to, and done'; it is the case of the 'tail' of the mechanism of management wagging the 'dog', which is the aim of management, on which more later. In the face of this, actors really do still deal with meanings, of course, but this lies outside the knowledge framework provided by a positivist approach. The extra-framework dealings often end up in the 'politics' or 'gaming' box (see for example, Likierman 1993).

However, alternatives to the positivist paradigm for understanding and working with social knowledge is being put forward in the philosophy of social science as being different from the mainstream positivist one, which could provide means of taking a wider view, and bringing the politics and gaming into view. These are 'interpretivist' approaches. I avoid calling it a paradigm, because these approaches are quite diverse. What unites them and sets them apart from the positivist paradigm is that interpretive approaches are "concerned with problems of meaning, conceived or analyzed hermeneutically, or otherwise, that bear on action as well as understanding…" (Yanow and Schwartz-Shea 2006 p xii). The assumption that meaning mediates social actions is actually already a widely accepted principle in the social sciences today (Bevir 2006); in other words, social sciences are moving towards broader acceptance of interpretivist approaches at a paradigmatic level, although this is not always explicit.

However, in practice, the safety and familiarity of a positivist approach, and the wide acceptance of positivist-style 'evidence', still holds sway. This research obliquely explores the question of whether non-positivist approaches have any chance at all, in explicitly informing the actions of governing actors. Assuming one such interpretivist approach, this research examines how a focus on the construction of meaning can help provide insights into how governing happens. These insights would help practitioners be more effective because they would see a deeper picture of what is going on. Of particular concern here, however, is that this research adds its voice to the field of scholarship from looking at the case of the use of MCTs as meaning attenuators in public space management. The research gains its credibility by grounding its claims in empirical observations.

An interpretivist paradigmatic approach and a constructivist epistemology allow the study of built environment practice as a knowledge practice. Public space design and management, architectural design, and planning are no longer about the manipulation of space and physical stuff like buildings, trees, roads, land use locations, but about the manipulation of knowledge about buildings, trees, roads and land use locations.

This research thus contributes to the study of **'the epistemology of public space governing'** itself, and more generally, to **built environment production**; it studies how people know about public space and therefore act upon that knowledge to improve public space governing. The research is of interest to multiple audiences. The research sees the application of a constructivist epistemology to the study of the built environment. Such an epistemology is founded on the assumption that **people are rationalising, not rational**: not rational preference-forming machines, *'homo economicus',* seeking maximisation of benefit, but rationalising 'sensemakers' seeking stability of the meaning-making cycle, rather than objective truth. This approach is appropriate because public space governing is heavily grounded in multi-lateral political communication and negotiation, about which the positivist model of knowing provides less useful and likely less 'truthful' knowledge that its advocates admit, even to themselves.

The research **challenges ingrained tendencies to privilege 'generalised' and 'objective' answers**, which has sidelined specific and subjective experience central to authentic and unique 'places', a key aim of urban design and public space management. Sensemaking can be seen as **providing a new way of thinking about the built environment**. The research **enables exploration of public 'place' as a civic resource**. Research recommendations could help strengthen an urban civic culture (Amin 2008), create and maintain relevant 'publics' (Hauser 1998), and enable effective practice of public space governing. Finally, it **will put matters of public space management into common terms with wider social science discourses**, such as governance, leadership and accountability, redefining public space governing as: "the continual marshalling of social, political, cultural, economic and physical preferences of stakeholders, to make a coherent and publicly acceptable case for acts that achieve better meaning about public spaces."

Sensemaking

Drawing on the insight of Lewin (1951 p169) "There is nothing so practical as a good theory", I argue here that sensemaking is that good theory, or at

least, a theoretical frame, in the constructivist mould that is appropriate here. Applying sensemaking to analysing public space management or governing tools and technologies, is novel. By theorising MCTs using sensemaking, this research sheds light on the wider area of 'governing technologies' bringing insight and manageability to the task of influencing the meaning-making of others. In other words, using MCTs to govern will become better understood. Theorising MCTs using sensemaking may help users use them more effectively.

Returning to the tail and dog; it will be seen later that the insights of sensemaking demonstrate that the wagging of dogs by tails is an unavoidable pattern in the way that people make sense of situations and act upon them. The difference between a positivist and an interpretivist approach that deploys sensemaking, is simply that the latter admits that tails can wag dogs and works with this tendency, rather than pretending that it does not happen.

<u>Note on terminology</u>

In this thesis, the term 'value' is used interchangeably with 'meaning' and 'sense', but strictly, there are differences between them. I use 'value' and 'sense' to slant the meaning of 'meaning' in two different directions; they are two different flavours of meaning. 'Value' is a type of 'meaning' which is usually measurable in some way, and so the term 'value' is associated with a positivist view of the social world. This view assumes that there can be clear uni-directional and universally true causal relationships between people's preferences and what action they then take. 'Sense' on the other hand, is drawn from Weick's sensemaking (1995). I use 'sense' to point to the 'constructed' nature of meaning. A constructivist approach to the social world assumes that any causal, or more accurately, conditional relationships between people's preferences and actions can be mutual and multi rather than uni-directional; that is, preferences can cause actions, but actions can construct preferences. This means, preferences are not eternally fixed to particular actors, and can be changed.

So the discussion of value here provides inspiration for how we might think about sense and meaning, and all three describe the result of sensemaking and is that which explains why a particular governing action took place.

1.5. Structure of thesis

The nine chapters of this thesis are as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter introduces the research aims, key concepts and briefly discusses why the research was embarked upon. The research aim is to theorise and explain how MCTs work in public space governing. The mode of inquiry is both verification and exploration. This research is contextualised in debates about MCTs, the governing of public space and debates about the purpose of and therefore methods in social science.

Chapter 2: Locating this research in practice and theory

This chapter describes the research as being imbedded practically in public space governing and theoretically in the broader debates of the philosophy of social science. It discusses implications of these roots on the process and results of governing. The chapter describes the development of a hunch based on an observation in practice, that there was too much focus on measuring value, when a focus on managing its construction might be more fruitful. The chapter sets out foundational ideas around value, its construction and expression, as 'sense made' and more broadly, as meaning. The argument is made that the mainstream focus on measuring is allied with a positivist epistemological paradigm of social science purpose, method and explanation, whereas to study the construction of meaning, and to be an effective influence on the construction of meaning in practice, a different paradigm, an interpretivist one, needs to be adopted.

Chapter 3: Research setting: multi-criteria tools in public space governing in England

This chapter contextualises this research in the discourses of public space and its governing. It also introduces MCTs as arising out of an attempt to

formalise communication about 'what governments do', and seeks to locate precedents for them in a number of discourses and practices including: engineering and quality control, accounting and financial, project or programme evaluation, the design primer and performance management in organisations. The chapter sets out an analysis of MCTs for their basic component parts and considers how those parts enable the analysis of how MCTs work.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This is the methodology chapter. This includes a discussion of research approach which is based on Garfinkel's (1967) documentary method and supplemented by Eisenhardt's (1989) description of theory-building from empirical data. This discusses the theory behind the methodology for this thesis, as well as the methodological actions themselves. The methodology is broadly interpretivist, and deploys the same basic cyclical mechanism as the thing being studied: public space governing. To avoid confusion, diagrams describing the methodology for the thesis depicts this cycle with square rather than rounded arrows. For example, in Figure 1.2.

Effectively, the research is seen as just another sensemaking process.

Chapter 5: Sensemaking: Building from theory: Searching the literature for a basis for a model of how MCTs work

This introduces sensemaking and the skeleton model and framework that essentially describes how meaning is managed and how governing proceeds. A robust case is made for the use of sensemaking as the template of this model and framework, off which to hang auxiliary theories. A particular conceptualisation of what MCTs do emerges: MCTs attenuates sensemaking about public space in the quest to solve collective problems. An extended version of sensemaking is derived from theory which makes it better explain sensemaking for others as well as self - necessary for considering multi-lateral governing. These provide the terms with which to confront empirical data with.

Chapter 6: Findings: Reporting on the Key Stories

Chapter 6 presents the empirical data according to a 'within-case' logic; in other words, in a narrative way that presents their sense as told to me, the researcher. It sets out narratives of 'what happens' at three levels: first, at the level of the governing Solution Networks (SNs). This provides readers with the context for understanding what MCTs do. Second, at the level of the governing 'Solutions' within each of the SN. This draws on the conceptualisation of governing as 'solving societal problems' (Kooiman 2003). Within each of these, the narrative is further re-constructed under 'analytical steps', the third level. These begin explaining the stories in sensemaking terms, and constitute a move towards recasting the data according to the logic of a sensemaking-type explanation. Finally, a selection of eight solutions or groups of solutions, called 'Key Stories' are identified as being the richest in empirical detail to be further illustrate, in sensemaking terms, how MCTs can be said to work.

Chapter 7a: Findings: re-shaping the sensemaking model through induction from data and enfolding theory: belief construction, private actions *and*
Chapter 7b: Findings: re-shaping the sensemaking model through induction from data and enfolding theory: public action

The two chapters, 7a and 7b, set out the implications for both the sensemaking-based model of governing and for deepening an understanding of how MCTs work. Effectively, they present the results of the confrontation of theory with data, and demonstrate how MCTs mediate the making of meaning. They present the findings according to a 'cross-case' logic, with the logic being dictated by the conditions for sensemaking to operate. These chapters discuss how MCTs work to put in place the conditions which enable the shift in the governance path towards a desirable meaning position, by modifying the construction of belief and the enactment of action on the world. Actors' rationales, and their capacity, interests and opportunity are called upon to explain why MCTs work. At the same time, the confrontation of data and theory enable the sharpening and modification of the sensemaking-based model for explaining how MCTs work. In Chapter 7b, the model is

extended to take into account the making of shared sense, and making sense FOR others.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Implications

This chapter concludes the research, answering the research question by addressing the two research objectives. The first part of the conclusion articulates a meaning-construction-focused, or 'constructivist' model of how MCTs work. This takes the shape of a series of inscription in a field of meaning: cycles, spiral trajectories, and governing paths that emerge from the interaction of actors, which are the artefacts of meaning-making and multi-actor negotiations. An accompanying framework sets out the mechanics and conditions for these inscriptions to happen. The second part of the conclusion sets out the substantive content of explanation. Ultimately, explanation takes the form of rationales and tendencies of sensemakers. These account for the particular shapes of the inscriptions, and hence the 'resultant' meaning positions in the field, in any given situation. Patterns of MCT operation, through compulsion, reasoned agreement, institutional constraints, and relationship-based reasoning found in the data reflect the 'packaging up' of rationales, tendencies, mechanics and conditions. Finally, implications of these findings for the theory and practice of public space governance are considered as are the possible implications on a wider set of concerns such as the debate on paradigms of knowledge.

Chapter 2 Locating this research in practice and theory

The previous chapter set out how many of the meanings associated with the built environment are actively constructed by those who give it meaning; it is not a 'given'. However, much energy has been devoted to measuring value accurately, as if meaning is permanently attached to the thing being valued; that is, 'intrinsic' or inherently attached to the thing. In the western tradition of public space, from the ancient Greeks to the case as argued by the likes of Sorkin (1992) and Minton (2006), and in which this research is contextualised, the aim of public space governing might be thought of as the 'public value of public space'. That public value has been sidelined as a result of the focus on monetary or numerical forms of value that characterise our dominant way of knowing, at least for explicit and public decision-making, is the starting point of this research.

This thesis is based on a critique of this practice and seeks to articulate and theorise an alternative focus of inquiry on 'the management of value', or even meaning, which explicitly recognises that value is the result of active mental processes by the valuer, which can be influenced, by context, mood, external information, and so on. In other words, if meaning or value is indeed non-intrinsic and its construction therefore influence-able, then more attention should be paid to managing how value is constructed, not just measuring it. 'Governing' the built environment therefore involves managing the construction of our own and others' meanings about public space to deliver acceptable value to multiple stakeholders.

Understanding how value is constructed is not simply about acquiring insight about a different aspect of public space management – say, processes rather than outputs – using the old way of knowing. It requires radically different assumptions about the how people come to know anything at all, and how what they know relates to how they act in the public actions of managing public spaces. This different way of knowing admits sources of influence or knowledge that would have otherwise been 'framed-out' of a conventional way of knowing only what is measurable. This is not really a new way of knowing anymore and is quite established (Bevir 2006), and this chapter therefore explores some of the literature that discusses the

application of this 'interpretivist', and more precisely, a 'constructivist' view of social knowledge in the areas of evaluation (Lincoln and Guba 1989), politics and public administration (e.g. Bevir and Rhodes 2003, Bevir 2010) and the social sciences very broadly (e.g. Flyvbjerg 2002, Yanow and Schwartz-Shea 2006).

Why is an esoteric discussion of 'ways of knowing' in the social sciences important for studying public space practice? While social scientists are moving towards admittance of interpretive approaches and the need to take meaning into account in an acknowledged way, in mainstream policy practice, actors are mainly still deploying a 'conventional' frame of knowing, which leads to the non-acknowledgement that most actors act, not only on what they know, but how they know what they know.

FIGURE 2.1 REFRAME, FROM 'HOW WE KNOW' TO 'HOW WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW'
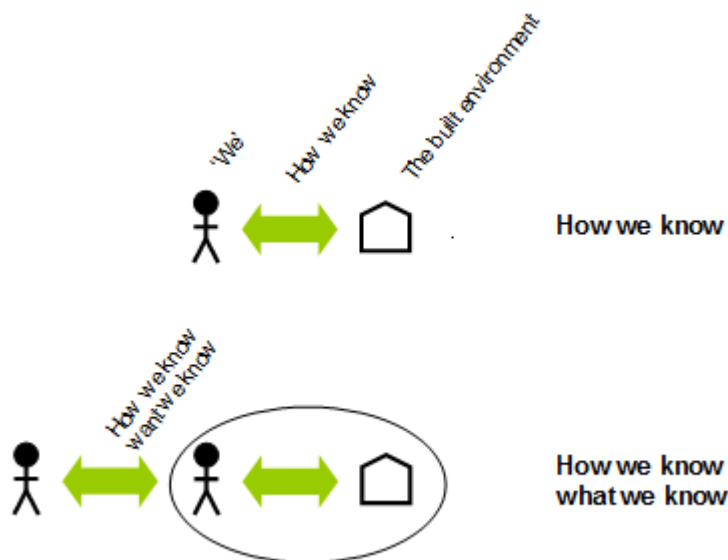
Describing this research in yet another way, then: it seeks to construct an intermediate conceptualisation to allow the application of the (abstract) assumptions of a constructivist epistemology to the (concrete) management of public space, and perhaps, of the built environment production (see also Figure 1.1). As will be argued later in Chapter 5, the idea of sensemaking (Weick 1995) provides a very useful starting point from which to build this intermediate conceptualisation.

This research will provide insight into the plausibility and fruitfulness of thinking about "governing as managing the construction of our own and other's meanings." So one aim of this research is to seek or develop a theory-based conceptualisation to describe and explain value construction. The relevance of this research is, at a prosaic level, its contribution to an understanding of how a popular type of governing tool, multi-criteria tools (MCTs), work. MCTs can be seen as a single case, which can illustrate how public space governing proceeds more generally. So more broadly, this research is relevant to the debate about the need for an alternative to the positivist paradigm for explaining multi-actor governing situations.

This chapter locates the research in a gap between the ongoing paradigmatic debates about the nature of knowledge in the social sciences, and the practice of public space management. It intends to fill that gap with an explanation based on the way meaning is constructed.

2.1. Structure of the chapter

- The first part of the chapter **elaborates the practical experiences** that laid the foundation of this thesis.

- The second part elaborates the **theoretical foundations** for the hypothesis – that governing public space is plausibly and usefully described as the management of value - by exploring some of the literature around **concepts of value and meaning**, drawn from a range of disciplinary traditions. This underpins the research problem and also research approach that focuses on possible ways of understanding managing public space as managing value.

- The third part explores **the paradigmatic assumptions** upon which we think 'value' and its management can become the preferred explanatory approach for the observations. Such an explanatory approach would be based on theories within a **constructivist epistemology** (e.g. Lincoln and Guba 1989).

The next Chapter (Chapter 3) discusses the empirical setting with which we develop and test the explanatory approach. This setting is the use of MCTs in public space governing in England.

2.2. Part 1: Practical problems observed: Experiences in the governing of public space

From practice to theory

In 2002, I was involved in a project that aimed to examine how local authorities measured the *quality* of design coming through their planning departments: "Measuring quality in planning" (Carmona and Sieh 2004). As the research progressed, an underlying question kept surfacing: "quality *for whom*?" One man's dream home could be another man's monstrosity next door. Quality, I realised, is not a given. There was a need to make case for what constituted quality. Not only that, except at the broadest and most abstract levels, such as 'the roof must not leak' and 'the streets must be free of rubbish', there was no clear consensus as to what 'quality' is in the built environment.

This suggested that it may be important, for the sake of better understanding of the phenomena of 'measuring quality' for built environment design anyway, to start a bit 'further back', at the subjective 'value' each stakeholder placed on the built environment, rather than at a point of objective 'quality'. This is because the holistic and yet specific nature of many aspects of built environment design means that any standards of objective quality is necessarily articulated only in general terms, whereas, as anyone who is even a little aware of their surroundings, or urban designers or planners know, 'good built environments' need much more than the platitudes of design quality checklists.

Indeed, those championing objective design quality standards are in effect, putting forward their particular valuation of what characteristics an ideal design should have, and most are intuitively aware that what is seen as objective is also convincing, both to others, but also to themselves. If

objective and subjective are seen as ends in a spectrum of value, rather than a dichotomy, and quality as a value that is held by more people, then 'quality' can be seen as a particular subset of value which refer to more widely held values. And so, the idea of 'value' underpins, or comes before, the idea of quality.

In 2004, on the back of the work on measuring quality, I was involved as an advisor on a piece of work by the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment called 'Paved with Gold: the Real Value of Street Design' (Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment 2007). It was not the content of the study that was relevant to the present discussion, but how its results ended up being reported as a piece of political communication. This was a piece of advocacy research which deployed a hedonic pricing method to estimate the value added to property on a street for every unit improvement of the pedestrian environment / street design. With limited resources, the sample for constructing the pricing model was limited to ten high streets. This meant that the findings of the study, which indeed 'found' that that the rise of every percentage point in street design quality (measured using Pedestrian Environment Review Survey tool, PERS) was associated with a rise of 4.9 percent in retail property values, and 5.2 percent in residential property values were open to challenge. While the research findings were indeed caveated as 'a pilot study for a method for estimating value uplift in property', the headline from the report was what made the press release. Indeed, it was at an expert seminar to discuss this research in which I made the point that it was important to keep in mind what the ultimate purpose of the study was: advocacy, not inquiry. This was to make the case to developers, property owners and local authorities that to invest in 'high quality' street improvements had positive value implications; to influence their evaluation and ultimately, their actions. In other words, to manage value. So any investment decision-maker recalling the headline was likely to note only the 4.9 or 5.2 percent rise, and not the caveats related to the details of the study methodology.

While this project sought, technically, to continue in the vein of 'measuring ever more accurately, its impact on society (and the reason it was commissioned) was one of influencing the value construction and therefore the actions of developers and designers, through making a case that appeals to them to change their design and decision-making behaviour.

If advocacy was indeed the focus, then what this entailed was to manage others' values successfully, not simply the measure value accurately, if at all. Such a focus would benefit from **insights into the valuation process** that each person undergoes regarding any given decision, object or action, rather than simply being able to say what the value actually is. Measuring value WAS important, but only inasmuch as to communicate and shape the opinions and actions of built environment decision-makers.

In 2006 I was involved in another piece of work for CABE, this time under the leadership of Geoff Mulgan at the Young Foundation, "Developing Value Mapping for the Built Environment." This piece of work sought to review and consolidate methods for measuring value of the built environment. The ambition was to develop a toolkit that could effectively summarise the overall public value of any given piece of built environment. The approach was not built on a workable understanding of the nature of value in general and 'societal value' in particular. The most important question about value is **'whose value'** or **'to whom does this value accrue'** (as without the 'who' there is, with extrinsic value, not value at all), and two notable features about societal value is 'whose value is realised', and 'how it is constructed'. None of these questions were dealt with.

This resonated with a common critique in the public management literature about performance measurement. It became clear that the notion of value and decisions based on it were being deployed only in a very narrow sense, being defined as 'price', when attention to how values come to be may have informed practice better: the explicit focus was still very much on 'measuring' value even though the reason to do so in the first place - to make a political

point that 'good design adds monetary value' – was no longer present. It occurred to me that high level strategic governing aims might actually be better, or additionally served by considering how and why those 'values' are constructed by stakeholders. This focus on the 'wrong', or at least, less directly useful aspect, is just one instance of the logic of social science method being given precedence over the need social science practice.

This research can be seen as **a critical response to the fact that disproportionate resources were being expended in pursuing an accurate measure of value.** This practice constituted a straightjacket which was distracting practitioners from dealing with the ultimate aim of advocacy: to win the political argument to 'invest more in design'. Whilst the notion of value is associated with numbers or money and therefore invites measuring, I began to argue in practice and in public forums that focus in practice should turn instead to managing values constructed by investment decision-makers.

'Managing values' is not a new idea, as politicians and marketers have been doing it since time immemorial through clever communication, from rhetoric in the classical era (for example, Finlayson 2007), to marketing and service quality management in the late twentieth century (for example, Vargo and Lusch 2004, Zeithmahl et al 1990). As Bevir (2006) argued, 'naïve positivism' (also known as 'naïve realism', Ross et al 2010), or the assumption that actors or researchers can obtain a picture of the world purely, without the mediation and distortion of the lens through which that picture is seen, is completely discredited intellectually.

However, while planners and planning policy-makers actually manage values and operate without this naivety, and actually take into account 'the political' and how they know, many were not ready to acknowledge what they did intuitively, which is to influence others politically. Without acknowledgement, these strategies and tactics remain in the realm of 'oh its politics, stupid', while 'technical' measurement gains more purchase on the way governing

work, and the way actors think about the governing problems and thus, act on them.

It is precisely this non-recognition that is causes the problem which this research seeks to address by increasing understanding of it, and its profile. This is the key justification for doing this research. The research elaborates a non-positivist way of knowing and seeing the world in pursuit of increasing this 'way of knowing's' instrumentality. This requires an understanding of how value, or meaning is constructed.

2.3. Part 2: Concepts of value and meaning

Reflections on the experiences in practice led to a number of insights about 'value' upon which the research problem was formulated.

First, that **value conceptually precedes quality**; as a concept, it is more fundamental and unmediated reflection of 'what stakeholders want'. In performance management-speak, it is closer to the idea of 'outcome' than is quality. Therefore it was important to deal with *'value'* or its equivalent, not just quality.

Second, value, or strictly speaking, its construction, **can be managed**, but in practice, little explicit attention is paid to this, with a lot of focus on measuring value, which reflects the mainstream approach which focuses on numbers without self-aware reflecting on how those number *'come to be'*. This 'coming to be' could be a focus in the search for more effective governing actions, as demonstrated by work in fields such as marketing, service quality management, and only latterly, the application of behavioural sciences to public policy making. Therefore, the term 'managing value *construction*', or 'managing meaning *making*', or 'managing sense*making*' are deployed, reflecting this assumption.

Third, that the 'public value' that accrues to people as they benefit from the built environment is **not always expressed in monetary or even numerical terms**. If the 'making real' or precipitation of value requires expression (Munn

1986 in Graeber 2001) and if the mode or manner of expression affects the substantive content of precipitated value (as suggested by Elcheroth et al 2011 and Weick 1995), then there is a need to seek different ways of expressing different and perhaps previously unexpressed values in a non-monetary way. In the other methodological direction, since value is constructed in the built environment that may never be expressed monetarily or numerically, the field of observation, and consequently the scope of investigation had to be broadened to look at pre-numerical and pre-monetised forms of value. To this end, I focused on the broader concept of *'meaning'* (of which value is an articulated form) as that which is managed.

The problem with working with the notion of 'value' is that it is everywhere. Not only because it has entered the mainstream through management-speak (for example, 'value-for-money', 'value engineered', 'good value') but because it is a high level central concept that can account for how humans operate, it underpins how we explain intention, decisions and actions, particularly those that are supposed to be rational and sensible. It is a common concept, or at least a common term. A brief exploration of some of concepts of value in wide range of social sciences and humanities - philosophy, anthropology, economics, management, engineering and public policy provide an overview.

An overarching and widely accepted definition of value is that it is 'worth'. Thompson (1979) argues that "just as, to understand poverty, we must study the very rich, so, to understand value, we must study rubbish" (Thompson 1979, inside front cover). Thus 'value' is a quality that rubbish does not possess. A more operational definition might be that a valuable thing is **something from which benefit may be derived**; rubbish is of no benefit. This chimes with the classic economic conception, that value is "the **degree** to which objects are **desired**, particularly, as measured by how much others are **willing to give up** to get them…" (Graeber 2001 p1).

Intrinsic / extrinsic value

An important question to ask is whether value is intrinsic or extrinsic to the thing that has value. The is central to the very definition of value in, for example, philosophy (Zimmerman 2004, Thompson 1979, O' Neill 1992 in Lockwood 1997), anthropology (Graeber 2001), political economy (Simmel 1907, 1978 in Graeber 2001), and environmental economics (Graham 2002 in Lockwood 1997), among others.

Lockwood (1997 quoting O'Neill, 1992) notes that the term intrinsic value has been used in three senses: "(i) end value, such that an entity is an end in itself; (ii) value as an intrinsic property; and (iii) objective value." In the present discussion, 'intrinsic' is used in the second sense, meaning the sort of value which is an intrinsic property; it relies on no other referents in order to exist.

Munn (1986 in Graeber 2001) discusses the emergence of value through action through which "people represent the importance of their own actions to themselves". Notably, she argues that "it can only happen through that importance *being recognized by someone else.*" Munn is describing extrinsic value here, the sort of value that needs to be ascribed by someone who **recognises** that value, whether by that person themselves or by others

Value is constructed in public administration and politics

The present research presupposes that the 'value' of public space and of the actions that shape that space, is extrinsic, so at least partially constructed. In the present study, which examines the public administration of public space, it makes sense that the focus is on the extrinsic because, as Graeber (2001) suggests, the very object of valuation is determined by contestation, and thus value itself arises and is shaped within that very process, rather than being 'received from above' as it were: "the ultimate stakes of politics, according to Turner… is the struggle (between individuals or groups in a society) to establish what value is" (Turner 1978, 1979c in Graeber 2001 p88); that is, is this even worth arguing about?

Reflecting the non-intrinsic nature of meaning, James (1890/1950 in Weick 1995 p26) noted that "this whole function of conceiving, of fixing, and holding fast to meanings, has no significance apart from the fact that the conceiver is a creature with particular purposes and private ends." "…the perceived value of any particular phenomenon is the 'ecosocially' constructed desirability of that phenomenon (cf. Langworthy Taylor, 1895; Lasswell, 1927; Lemke, 1998, Graham, in press b)…. perceived desirability of anything is socially, linguistically, ecologically and technologically mediated (Graham, in press b)" (Graham 2002 p230). Put simply, value is the meaning or importance society ascribes to an object (Graeber 2001).

Furthermore, because decision-making based on value judgments are mediated entirely by people, if no-one recognizes inherent value of an object, then the decisions taken with regard to that object will be as if there is no value. Since this study concerns value as driver of intention, decision and action, we need to be concerned with the **perceivability of value**, whether intrinsic (2nd definition) or not.

All of this sets the scene for all thinking about value and meaning hereafter.

Public value in public administration

In the past decade, there has been a lot of policy interest in 'public value' (for example, Kelly and Muers 2002, Stoker 2006, Moore 1995), and indeed, the use of the notion of 'value' in practice (e.g. best value, value for money, public value). 'Value' here is a way of expressing meaning within the language of the dominant epistemological template (Hajer 2003) or lens of numbers, and deploying such a template has its political uses, not least because its paradigmatic foundations in the dominant paradigm means that people have little resource to see beyond this way of expressing that is 'of worth'.

Concepts of societal value

However, in order to understand more broadly and deeply what value is in public space, it is worth looking at what value in society might be, quite apart

from monetary value. Graeber (2001) offers three possible conceptualisations: value as "net benefit"; value as "meaningful difference" and value as "moral principle". **Value as 'net benefit'**, or benefit minus cost is a classic economic conception and is closest to the instrumental value deployed in public administration above. Value is "the **degree** to which objects are **desired**, particularly, as measured by how much others are **willing to give up** to get them…" (Graeber 2001 p1). 'Value' can also be thought of as **a psychological construct (Wallace 1994) of something that is meaningful**. Value is a characteristic of a thing or an event that is meaningful, or important. Meaning arises from making conceptual distinctions (Graeber 2001). The idea that value needs to be relational has roots in the structural linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure (1966 in Graeber 2001) and is characterised as **value being a "meaningful difference"** (Graeber 2001). Nothing can be analysed in isolation. Meaning is ascribed to an object / action when it is placed within some larger system of categories (Graeber 2001). It can be contrasted to 'value as net benefit' because meaning may be good or bad. "Values" are also "**conceptions of what is ultimately good, proper**, or desirable in human life" (Graeber 2001 p1).The Concise Oxford Dictionary states that 'values' means "one's **principles or standards**", which is then manifested in "one's judgment of what is valuable or important in life." So while Wallace (1984) attributes value to the desire of individuals for either of a 'psychologically ideal state' or a 'physiological ideal state', Kluckhohn (1951 in Graeber 2001) in addition recognizes a 'morally ideal state'; "'conceptions of the desirable'" are not simply what people want, but also what people *ought* to want. Thus, 'value' is meaning, whether psychological, physiological or moral. Values manifest themselves as **"criteria by which people judge which desires they consider legitimate and worthwhile and which they do not"** (Graeber 2001 p3).

While Graeber (2001) is an anthropologist, his three ways of conceptualising societal value are general enough to describe value in all the ways require in the present research, as the following summary of a wide range of literatures on value suggests.

The conceptualisation and operationalisation of value in each discipline reflects what the particular discipline requires of the notion of value: in classical and Marxian political economy, 'value' is the result of productive activity and there is a focus on the question of distribution of or access to value between different groups in society, especially the question of who has rights to benefit from use or exchange value (for example Graeber 2001). More generally in economics, value is **instrumental**, because it allows **the articulation** of what someone is willing to give up to gain something else. It is a central concept since economics broadly, explains how people behave to deploy best use of their resources. In environmental economics, the aim is managerial, so the categorisations of value are divided between those associated with process and with result that lies in some element of the environment, so that each may be dealt with (for example, Lockwood 1997). All of these focus on the idea of 'value as net benefit' (Graeber 2001), Graeber's (2001) first concept, so that the tendency for those dealing with value is to try and capture and articulate it in a precise way. Under the influence of classical economics as a science, this usually manifests itself as some form of measurement, if not categorisation (for example, Lockwood 2007).

In linguistics (Saussure 1966), organisational behaviour (Bellone and Nigro 1980), psychology and anthropology (Graeber 2001) however, there is another broad way in which value is focused on, which is how value comes to be, rather than what it already is. As Graeber (2001) notes, this is value as psychological construct (Wallace 1984), and the focus is in the process of how value becomes what it is, or how it can change. There is no assumption, as there tends to be when the focus is on measuring value, that value has fixed relations with any of the factors that 'cause' it, or any of the outcomes it 'causes'. All of these turn on a high level definition of value being 'meaningful difference', Graeber's (2001) second concept.

From abstract 'value' to concrete 'sense': Value as an instrumental operationalisation of meaning, making meaning visible

When one thinks of value as 'net benefit', value is a useful concept for measuring worth, and thus explaining decision and action, to ourselves and to others, since, as part of a society based on a globalised economic system, we are very familiar with ideas such as 'net benefit'; we think we really do understand the worth of things in monetary terms, and feel happily conversant with meaning as value. With value, meaning becomes visible and graspable, so that decisions based on them can be taken. Value techniques articulate meaning, making them understandable. What value does is to 'set the agenda' for meaning, and indeed, setting out what is meaningful, and what is not. Take away the possibility of expressing meaning as value as 'net benefit', and meaning is seen to descend into vagueness, and uncertainty, states that those, such as governing actors, focused on efficiency and effectiveness, find uncomfortable. The problem is, many types of meaning cannot so easily be expressed as monetary value. A case in point is the question of built environment quality, discussed earlier. Appropriateness and relevance is often sacrificed at the altar of clarity.

What could value look like in the built environment? Value as sense

So, what else could 'value' look like in the built environment and its management? **It depends on what we are trying to say or to investigate about the built environment**; both 'value as a result' and 'value as process of constructing that result' seem important. As the preceding discussion notes, this research seeks to explore specifically 'value as constructed content', and especially to understand the usefulness to practice of better understanding the processes of constructing value rather than seeking the very value of value.

If public administration of public space is indeed concerned largely with extrinsic value, and this thesis entirely is, the question of 'how' and 'what' aspects of the object of valuation are perceivable is the gateway concept – **there is no value with perception and knowledge about it**. Value "can

only happen through… *being recognized by someone else*," (Munn 1986 in Graeber 2001).

If this is the case, and a focus on the epistemological, or how construction happens, is a possible 'location' where the three concepts of value come together. In this light, 'net benefit' is a subset of 'meaningful difference'. It is 'meaningful difference' where the meaning is positive (i.e. benefit) and that benefit is explained in relation to its cost context. Furthermore, what is beneficial can only be judged in relation to one's 'principles or standards', that which allows one to determine "What is valuable or important in life."

Leaping forward to the 'sensemaking' framework eventually deployed, let me say that all of these definitions of 'value' can be characterised as 'meaning' or 'that which makes sense'. In this research, therefore, 'meaning' is taken to be the more general category that encompasses both the more instrumentally-how-can-we-use-the-value-of-value' focused 'value' and the more construction process-focused notion of 'sense'.

<u>Value in the built environment is often both 'value as sense' and public value; it is value as 'collective sense'</u>

The construction of value can be seen as managing meaning; so if meaning can be managed, so can value. It is in fact, unavoidable to seek to manage meaning in any sort of communication. This is important where there are multiple stakeholders involved who may have diverse preferences.

If the built environment is everywhere, at least in cities, and impacts on everyone, and if value needs to be perceived by someone before accruing to them and affecting their intentional actions, then valuation of the public built environment must necessarily take into account who the relevant beneficiaries and stakeholders are, and whether and how they have been able to participate in this **collective valuation**.

If 'value' is to be constructed, the very valuation IS the constructing. Value is the process by which a person's invisible 'potency' – their capacity to act – is

transformed into concrete, perceptible forms…" (Munn 1986 in Graeber 2001). So the access of stakeholders to be able to influence that process seems important if value is to be 'collective'.

So, what does value in the built environment look like? Given its ubiquitous nature with its multiple stakeholders, **it looks like some form of collective sense**, whose construction will inevitably deal with both the preference formation of individuals, achieved either privately (covertly) or publicly, and of the collective, and how each informs the other. 'Preference formation of the collective', if there can be such a thing, is that on issues of common interest and where action upon them requires some level of agreement.

The multiplicity of stakeholders in any given instance of public space governing also point to multi-lateral interaction. So any framework to investigate the workings of value will need to be able to deal with multi-lateral and mutual influence between actors. One idea that is helpful for thinking about the multi-lateral and mutual influence between actors is Smircich and Morgan's (1982) conceptualisation of leadership. For them, leaders are able to lead when those being led relinquish the valuations of those matters on which they are being led to their acknowledged leaders. In a mutually influential situation, successful influence in any one direction by A on B on one matter may be seen as the relinquishing of one's own valuation by B to A's leadership.

2.4. Part 3: The paradigmatic basis of an explanation

If its construction process is so important to the resulting meaning, and we want to understand how value construction happens, then this opens the door to, even demands, a theory of knowledge and paradigmatic assumptions that admits the constructability of value. Moreover, the built environment presents us with a governing situation in which there is little objectivity and a lot of intersubjectivity. This suggests that a conceptualisation that can deal with how multiple stakeholders mutually influence each others' construction of meaning, would also need to be applied.

This third part explores **the paradigmatic assumptions and associated theories** upon which I think 'value' and its management can become the preferred explanatory approach for the observations, and therefore, also become the reframed focus of actual management attention and action. Such an explanatory approach would be based on theories aligned with a **constructivist epistemology**, and would require location under an interpretivist paradigmatic approach.

<u>"A positivist paradigm does not admit that value is extrinsic nor can be constructed so we need to look at alternative paradigms"</u>

Let us begin from the observations of how value is deployed in practice. In contrast to the management of meaning, the focus on measuring value may be seen as reflecting the prevalence of a positivist paradigm of social knowledge. 'Positivism' is an approach to acquiring knowledge through methods developed in the natural science. This usually involves the capturing of observations of material phenomena to establish facts about the behaviour of these phenomena (Buckler 2002). It underlies much mid to late 20th century social science but really stems from the work of David Hume, who argued that "all our knowledge of world is actually derived from particular empirical experiences. Even abstract concepts are derived from generalisations base on sense experience. Thus true understanding always, ultimately, deals in matters of fact (with the only exception being) the logical relations between the idea that come from experience" (Buckler 2002 p173). The subscriptions observed in practice to a scientistic and / or economistic and / or mechanistic rational approach to explaining how society works are manifestations of this paradigm. Such an approach relies on Type 1 metaphors (Gibbons et al 1994 in Thrift 2001). These are systems of knowledge and production which were disciplinary homogeneous and hierarchical in nature.

The thesis is based on a hypothesis that such a paradigm provides impoverished terms with which to explain what happens in complex societal interactions, at least in the discipline of politics and public administration. So the manifestation of this paradigm which is a focus on a narrow language of

value within public sector performance measurement, would simply describe its own activity as 'measurement' and 'collecting' and 'assessment' of data or information, and all else outside these actions as 'gaming' or a distortion of the system.

Even cursory preliminary observations of performance management showed management actions to be versatile which always go beyond those strictures of 'measuring success'. So, to explore the range of observations of practice and what actors do when measuring performance, the positivist approaches are insufficient; indeed, their straightjacket is part of the problem the research is critiquing. We will need a different paradigm altogether against which to test the explanation of 'value management'.

Elsewhere in social science literature has been observed the advent of an alternative system of knowledge production, characterised as Type 2 metaphors (Gibbons et al 1994 in Thrift 2001). These focus on change and flow (for example, flexibility, adaptability, complexity, turbulence, labyrinth).These are transdisciplinary, heterogeneous, transient, more socially accountable, and reflexive, and dependent upon a much wider range of producers.

Breaking the grip of positivism: We are 'caught up' in an evolutionary paradigm shift to post-positivist paradigms but policy practice has not caught up

This project therefore chimes with the ongoing shift away from the dominant positivist paradigm in the social sciences to post-positivist ones. The inadequacy of a positivist paradigm is being increasingly pointed out in different ways. This research reflects upon this and adds to the case for a paradigmatic change, in the 'interpretivist' direction.

An ongoing debate regarding the fundamental nature of social sciences is whether or not and how they are the same / different from the natural sciences, from which they take the term 'science' and in many cases, inquiry techniques. This is summed up thus: "Should (a research strategy for social

science set up social science to) be more like natural science, focused on observation and experiment in order to discover laws, or more like mathematics, focused on logical connections and the meanings of its concepts; or should it be different from both?" (Rosenberg 1995). This is not just a question of 'how to do social science', it is a question of what the very aim of social science is: is it to 'discover laws' and by extension, to predict social phenomenon from those laws, or is it to uncover meanings by making interpreting social behaviour and making it intelligible? The former is the view of what I label here, the positivists, and the latter, interpretivists.

Opponents of the positivist approach to social sciences argue that amongst other things, a positivist approach answers questions, but not necessarily those that should be of paramount importance in science inquiry. Rosenberg (1995) characterises this alternative aim of social science as 'intelligibility', and this approach to social science as 'anti-naturalism' or 'interpretational'. A growing literature on interpretivist methodologies (for example, Yanow and Schwartz-Shea 2006) attests to the mainstreaming of this aim. Interpretivism is the label given to this approach that rejects social explanation in relation to universal social laws, and sometimes rejects the term 'explanation' altogether in favour of the term 'understanding' (for example, Yanow and Schwartz-Shea 2006). Flyvbjerg (2002) argued that an important dimension of intelligibility is the practical dimension of understanding, called 'the phronetic' after Aristotle's *phronesis*, or practical wisdom (Schram 2012). To gain practical knowledge is to participate, not to stand detached (as if that were possible, but which conventional social science practice based on positivist assumptions entail). To participate entails taking a political position, or other, and Flyvbjerg argues for not just the acknowledgement but the enactment of such a position. While he has taken this point to the wider social sciences, others have already pointed this out in a number of areas.

One notable and relevant example is in evaluation (Lincoln and Guba 1989). Evaluation, is, of course, a type of inquiry. In describing and indeed, proposing a shift away from 'conventional' positivistic evaluation to what they call 'Fourth Generation Evaluation', Lincoln and Guba (1989) articulate the

three steps that mirror those described above, in the form of 'criteria for evaluating the quality of evaluation itself'. Firstly, conventional or positivist evaluation emphasises the quality of the evaluation processes and are assessed by the criteria of internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity. Second, a constructivist evaluation should at least move away from these and apply "parallel" or "trustworthiness" criteria that assess the processes of constructivist evaluation. These are: credibility (parallel to internal validity), transferability (parallel to external validity), dependability (parallel to reliability) and confirmability (parallel to objectivity). These criteria reflect the focus of inquiry on intelligibility as opposed to positivism's adherence to laws. Intelligibility requires that the audience holds onto beliefs and constructs the meaning of the evaluation, and this construction is based on 'trustworthiness' of the information presented to them. In the third and final step in the move away from a positivistic / conventional approach, however, Lincoln and Guba (1989) advocate that evaluation should explicitly lead to or enable action to change those things which are not performing. To assess evaluation's success in this, they propose five authenticity criteria. These are fairness in the process of evaluation / governing and thus in producing the evaluation / governing outcome; ontological authenticity which assesses the extent to which individuals' constructions have become more sophisticated; educative authenticity, which assesses the extent to which participants have become more tolerant of others' positions; catalytic authenticity, which assesses the extent to which participants are moved to act; tactical authenticity, which assesses the extent which participants are empowered to act on the new knowledge created.

Epistemology and the shifting paradigm

The present research is not about the difference between these two positions regarding the aim of social science per se, but about the lack of clarity and explicit awareness about the relationship **between the aim, and the means of inquiry to meet those aims**; the tools and methods of a positivist approach continue to be applied in situations where they do not quite answer the question that needs to be answered. They miss the point. Instead, questions are posed that can be answered by positivist methods, but are less

useful to the critical problem at hand. This leads to a disconnection, or at least, the extending the connection to a breaking point, between the research social scientists actually do and what society really and critically needs to know. To illustrate, in the case of the 'value of public space' discussed earlier, what most of the projects were focused on was developing a way of measuring accurately the value of public spaces (or some other element of the built environment) when what policy leaders really needed to know was 'what weight of evidence would be sufficient to win our political argument and get developers to invest more in the public realm'.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AIMS AND MEANS OF INQUIRY

Led by methodologies that are familiar, the tendency of researchers is to ask questions that tend to be answerable by tried and tested methods. Wittgenstein said, "Tell me how you are looking and I will tell you what you are looking for" (Wittgenstein 1964, in Malcolm 1967). Paradigms tend to develop their users' "perceptual blinders" (Bellone 1980 p9), but no paradigm can address every issue, certainly not every issue equally; they will tend to ignore or diminish those that lie outside the internal coherence within its closed feedback loop. So how you look affects what you see. The consequence is that "… the choice of a definition of… a problem (also)… typically determines its 'solution'" (Harmon and Mayer 1986 In Hillier 2001).

So, while the shifting aims of social science will necessitate different methods and techniques for seeking information to fulfil those aims, achieving those aims is hindered by the inability to move away from the old ways of knowing. We therefore do not spend time developing methods of inquiry (and in the case of public governing, methods of accountability) that address cogently the issues of critical importance. Since the different ways one is seeking may also influence the aims *of* seeking, and because natural science aims to discover laws using the method of observation and experiment, that is, 'empiricism', the aim of those social sciences that deploy these methods and techniques may also become moulded to enable mainly those aims to be achieved by those methods. Those issues that fall outside

those methods, and are difficult to measure or capture using those methods, get left out of decision-making.

WAYS OF WORKING WITH DIFFERENT PARADIGMS

The present research is based on a pragmatic critique of the deployment of positivist / conventional / Type 1 approaches to a problem, the use of MCTs in public space governing, that might be better addressed by an interpretivist / constructivist / Type 2 or even, an approach that involves directly and deliberately seeking to effect change in the thing being researched. The present research therefore seeks to develop a framework and test its plausibility in providing intelligibility, that is, a coherent explanation, on the matter of '**the construction and management of meaning in public space governing**.'

Here, I briefly explore the shift between the two underlying assumptions of social knowledge and the methods associated with dealing with knowledge based on these assumptions, from the broadly positivist to the broadly interpretivist.

Constructivist epistemology in politics and public administration

A number of themes in recent discourse in politics, public administration and governance fields reflect the shift to a constructivist epistemology. Such an epistemology assumes the constructed nature of belief and intentional action, and that construction is based on **situated reasoning or vernacular rationality**.

LOCAL / SITUATED / VERNACULAR RATIONALITIES

In their approach to conceptualising governance, Bevir and Rhodes (2003, Bevir 2010) set out "… decentered theory (as revolving) around the idea of situated agency: institutions, practices or socialisation cannot determine how people behave, so any course of action is a contingent individual choice. People's actions are explained by their beliefs (or meanings or desires); any one belief is interpreted in the context of the wider web of a person's beliefs; and these beliefs are explained by traditions…. A tradition… is the set of theories against the background of which a person comes to hold beliefs and

perform actions." (Bevir 2007 p194-95). Hauser's (1998) term 'vernacular' fits with Bevir's (2010) terms 'local' or 'situated' rationalities. This approach stands in contrast to rational choice approaches (or what Hauser call 'opinion poll approach', to understanding governance and decision-making which is built on the assumption of a universal rationality wielded by 'economic man', a term first deployed by John Stewart Mills (Persky 1995).

AN INTERPRETIVIST RESEARCH APPROACH AND THE IDEA OF NARRATIVE

An assumption of situated reasoning precipitates a number of implications. Since reasoning is assumed to be situated as opposed to being universal (i.e. the same everywhere), it no longer makes sense to simply state / seek / establish the universal law to which the that reasoning appeals' in order to explain an empirical observation of human action. Instead, explanation is now about intelligibility of those actions, given what we know about the beliefs and positions of the actors. This requires researchers to **interpret** those actions in the light of what is known about actor beliefs, positions and motivations.

Situated reasoning is best explored via both the construction and interrogation of **narratives**, between our internal selves (as Mead 1934 in Weick 1995, p18, put it, a "parliament of selves"), or with others, because it is through narratives that people reason regarding social situations, and indeed, it is through constructing narratives about social situations that people come to understand those situations. A number of approaches to narratives are picked up in the politics and public administration literature, including the work of Finlayson (2007) who revisits classical rhetoric and investigated if this could form a framework for looking at how people try to influence other people's intention, through argumentation, the work of Bevir (2006) discusses how narratives themselves can deepen understanding, and reframing governing as essentially communication (Bang 2003).

PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICAL REASONING

A conceptualisation focusing on discursive practice or 'narrative' "would emphasize a different rationality from the idealized mode of liberal democracy or the means-ends logic of instrumentalism and objectivism; it

would accentuate the practical reasoning endemic in the use of symbols to coordinate social action, or rhetoric" (Hauser 1998 p85). Practical reasoning is of course, the heart of what Flyvbjerg's (2002) 'phronetic' approach. He argues that practical knowledge always takes into account calculations of power and is part and parcel of overall decision-making and action in society. The separation of the political and the technical in a Weberian bureaucracy is unmasked as a case of 'emperor's-new-clothes.'

Moreover, since a constructivist epistemology means people and their values are not inevitably linked. People's construction processes and therefore their values can be changed. They are inevitably changed when we have any communicative contact with them about the matter being valued (Bevir 2010, Flyvbjerg 2002). It therefore becomes a matter of conscience, not whether or not researchers should breach the artificial boundary between subject and object (which is an underlying principle of a positivist approach to research) but how they intend to position themselves when it is inevitably breached. Some scholars therefore advocate the acknowledgement and management of this breach, not its avoidance (for example, Lincoln and Guba 1989, Flyvbjerg 2002), and proposes that the very aim of social science is to in fact effect change in the world in a way that makes a difference and that matters to people. In this, taking positions is unavoidable. What positions, how it matters and to whom is then, a question of personal conviction and loyalties.

Despite the ubiquity and the pedigree of the very subject of a constructivist epistemology in academia, the practice of governing and of governance very broadly defined has never quite got to grips with the less straightforward less 'certain' results arising from such approaches. It is not expedient, and does not immediately produce certainty.

THE NON-VALUE INSTRUMENTALISATION OF MEANING: IDEAS FROM MARKETING STUDIES

That people construct their positions or meaning is tacit in many other areas of research which are founded on observations of practice, even if those areas may not recognise that this is what is being assumed. The constructs

from these, which are often grounded in empirical observations, may suggest ways forward for studying the instrumentalising the management of meaning.

For instance, the marketing or branding of products (both goods and services) or ensuring the high quality of services are all about managing the value that potential customers construct about the product. The former is evident in the literature on what is known as 'customer' or 'market orientation', which concerns how organisations seek to meet the needs of their consumer (Narver and Slater 1990 in Leo 2013). Under this very broad umbrella, a very wide range of literature covers various technical aspects of how customer orientation is achieved. A notable shift in marketing thinking from a "dominant logic focused on tangible resources, embedded value, and transactions" to "a revised logic focused on intangible resources, the co creation of value, and relationships" set out by Vargo and Lusch (2004, abstract) in their important article, maps quite precisely onto the very shift in epistemology and metaphor types discussed earlier. This focuses us on the idea of the management of the quality of services.

What the marketing literature brings to this research are sophisticated technical approaches to understanding and managing the way that value is constructed. The very question of high quality services and strategies to achieve this through matching perception of service users to their expectations is a principle established in the well-known five-gaps model of service quality, where quality is attributed to the perception of customers of the service, which itself is framed by, for example, prior expectations of the service, relationship to the service provider, emotional state of the customer (Zeithaml et al 1990). Recent developments of this stream of scholarship includes work on the co-creation of value in services (for example, Payne et al 2008), the co-production of services (for example, Etgar 2008), and the management of relationships (for example, Christopher et al 2012) and the application of this constructivist way of thinking in an ever broader range of fields, including social marketing (for example, Leo 2013) and managing expectations of employees (for example, Backhaus and Tikoo 2004) and investors (for example, Phelan ud) as well as customers. Most of these are

replete with prescriptions of essentially how to manage meaning of others, in other words, to influence what people believe.

<u>Seeking a framework in the constructivist mould, to explain the management of value</u>

So positivist and interpretivist (specifically constructivist) paradigms differ on a number of dimensions. The table below touches upon some of these contrasts. These show us the qualities that a constructivist epistemology offers the operationalisation of this research. These are used as selection criteria for the preferred operational framework for the empirical work, 'sensemaking', in Chapter 5.

FIGURE 2.2 SUMMARY TABLE COMPARING DOMINANT AND INTERPRETIVIST APPROACHES

A constructivist epistemological approach has implications for the operationalisation of this research, which affects the following dimensions:

Dimensions of the operationalisation	'Dominant' positivist paradigm	'Interpretivist' paradigmatic approaches, focusing on a constructivist epistemology	Examples of literature found to describe a constructivist approach:
Paradigm	**Scientific, economic, positivistic, foundationalist**	**Constructivist, interpretivist, anti-essentialist**	Yanow and Ybema (2010), Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (2006), Lincoln and Guba (1989), Marsh and Furlong (2002), Bevir and Rhodes (2003), Bang (2003)
[A1] Concept of value	Monetary or numerical 'value'	Meaning	Graeber (2001), Lockwood (1997)
[A2] Key action with value	Measure value	Manage value	Diaz (1999), Moore (1995)
[B] Rationality	Scientific, economic, universal	communicative, local	Bevir (2003 in Bang ed (2003), Hauser (1998)
[C] Theory of knowledge	correspondence	Coherence, pragmatic	Quine (1969) in Dancy (1985)
[B] Knowledge acquisition	expert	dialogic, deliberative	Hauser (1998)
[B] Nature of knowledge	Technical focus	Political focus	Kanter and Summers (1987)
[D] Language	Reductionist, numerical, monetary	Rich, discursive	Carmona and Sieh (2004)
[E] Shape of explanation espoused (Weick, sensemaking)	Cause and effect	Mutual causality / conditionality between belief and action	Weick (1995), Madanipour (2007)
[E1] Nature of social scientific explanation	Ultimate appeal to universal causal laws underlying social phenomena. Explanation seeks to convincingly demonstrate whether the law holds, or not.	Ultimate appeal to intelligibility by relevant audiences, and satisfaction of those audiences' local rationalities.	Rosenberg (1995), Schram (2012) in Flyvbjerg et al (2012)
[G] Mode of credibility	Neutrality, independence	Trust and buy in by	O Neill (2002), Lincoln

Dimensions of the operationalisation	'Dominant' positivist paradigm	'Interpretivist' paradigmatic approaches, focusing on a constructivist epistemology	Examples of literature found to describe a constructivist approach:
and validity	of evaluators	stakeholders, interaction of evaluators / researchers and evaluands / subjects of research	and Guba (1989), Finlayson (2007)
[H] Normative success criteria for inquiry in this paradigm	Process focus criteria	Outcome focus, authenticity criteria, trustworthiness criteria	Lincoln and Guba (1989)
[I] Potential for prescription	Expedient, appears objective, categorical	Resource intensive, appears subjective, discursive	Pollitt et al (1999), Likierman (1993)
[J] Concept of actors	Rational or near-rational preference-forming machines	sensemakers	Weick (1995), Bevir (2010)
[K] Research and methodological approach	Positivist / close to 'natural scientific'	Interpretivist / constructivist / phronetic	Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (2006), Flyvbjerg (2002)

[A] VALUE

In the positivist paradigm, because value is defined narrowly in numerical or monetary terms, the focus of action is on its measurement. The act of measurement itself becomes fetishised as data is selected to be measurable rather than to reflect what is 'on the ground'. This results in the reification of complex social realities into something that is simply measurable, and this in turn is associated with reductionist practices that are prevalent among both practitioners and scholars (for example, Talbot 2000, Carmona and Sieh 2004).

Why is 'value' important?

As discussed, this contributes to the situation where issues that cannot easily be ascribed monetary value are being sidelined, even hidden from view. Many types of values 'borne' by public space can most usefully be defined as 'meaningful difference' since public space is a complex bundle of private goods, club goods and common pool resources which are difficult to value

monetarily. If these 'values' are to be properly governed, they need to be brought into the 'sights' of governing actors, whose epistemological blinders set up by the measurement-focused and rationalistic ways of thinking must be removed.

[B] RATIONALITY

Definition of rationality

A generic definition of rationality is not formal logic, but **consistency** (Bevir 2010). A rational set of actions and beliefs would exhibit internal coherence if submitted for 'public inspection and verification' (Lincoln and Guba 1989). This definition of rationality admits a range of foundations on which it could be based, and within whose frame consistency can be demonstrated.

The universal rationality required by a positivist model leads to "context-stripping" (Lincoln and Guba 1989) so that findings of research can never have context-specific or local usefulness. For a constructivist epistemology, rationality needs to be 'local' to the context in question, as opposed to 'universal'. In accepting a constructivist approach to studying governing, we reject any sort of universal rationality in favour of a local or 'context specific' rationality (Bevir 2010), or 'vernacular' rationality (Hauser 1998).

 'Local rationality' is necessary as a basis of social explanation is because "human societies can incorporate multiple beliefs instantiating diverse rationalities" and "because the set of consistent beliefs that people must hold depends on the actions that they must perform, and because we cannot identify a set of actions that all people must perform, we cannot identify even a minimal way in which people's beliefs must be consistent" (Bevir 2010 p261). Local consistency can take into account a range of rationality concepts, which could incorporate elements of rationalities as set out in the table in Figure 2.2.

If these, the most pertinent for this research is 'communicative' rationality, which arises from "interactions between social actors striving for a common

definition of reality by means of communication" (Habermas 1984 in Kooiman 2003 p 174). This can be associated with the coherence theory of knowledge (Quine 1969 in Dancy 1985), discussed later, and is relevant to a situation where 'sense' in made by multiple stakeholders. This is because, not only does the result of deliberation in public space governance need to be socially acceptable (which requires rationality in the first place), the very act of deliberation is also shared; thus, the means by which a rational result is arrived at needs to be rational[2].

Why is rationality important?

In a discussion of what MCTs do, we need the concept of rationality or consistent belief because of the social nature of governing; 'social' in the sense that more than just one individual is interested in its processes and outcomes. If "the ultimate stakes of politics… is the struggle (between individuals or groups in a society) to establish what value is" (Turner 1978, 1979c in Graeber 2001 p88), then rationality is required, even to begin a struggle that involves the deliberative participation by those individuals or groups.

 [C1-3] KNOWLEDGE

Theories of knowledge

According to the 'correspondence' theory (see for example, Dancy 1985) knowledge involves justified true belief. To know something, it is not sufficient just for a proposition to be true and for there to be belief in proposition, but that there needs to be a 'tether' between the fact and the belief, which justifies the belief. Otherwise, the existence of the belief that something is true might simply be coincidental, rather than justifiable as knowledge. The correspondence theory thus sets up knowledge as a reflection of what is actually there in the world.

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[2] This has echoes in the idea of 'the common good' (Deneulin and Townsend 2006), which is contrasted to the 'public good'.

The 'coherence' theory (for example, Dancy 1985, Quine 1969) is useful where what is true or not true is hidden from direct contact that can enable ascertainment, for example, where issues are too complex, or are constantly changing. In these circumstances, systems of belief can be built up around a model about which there is broad mutual consent to being 'knowledge'; this is 'knowledge by agreement'. The problem is that 'everyone' could have knowledge that was not 'true' in the correspondence sense. Sensemaking does not deal with 'factual truth', instead, the knowledge that sensemaking generates is constructed. It is based on 'coherence' theory.

Thirdly, the 'pragmatic' theory focuses on the 'cash' value of knowledge (for example, James 2000). Its characteristics are a reliance on the pragmatic maxim as a means of clarifying the meanings of truth, and an emphasis on the fact that the product, variously called belief, knowledge, or truth is the result of a process: inquiry. If Deming is right, that all models are wrong, but some are useful, then it does not matter which approximate model we begin with, only that we need to recognise when to discard a model when it ceases to be useful.

For a constructivist understanding of knowledge processes, enactment is achieved dialogically and deliberatively (Bevir 2010) deploying local or a mix of local and expert knowledge, rather than achieved through expert knowledge as might be in a positivist approach. Knowledge is focused on the political, whereas the positivist approach focuses on the technical and cannot deal with the political unless the political IS the subject of research[3]. The

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[3] This rings bells with, not just observations of MCTs, but with every single time anyone complains that decision-making at their place of work (or indeed, in government) does not look at the technical facts but is driven by politics. A positivist paradigm elides the political, treating them as part of the hazard of decision-making. MCTs however, accomplish so much precisely because they are wielded politically. So a model that remotely satisfactorily describes what they do needs to be able to deal in 'the political', and put it centre stage, as well as the technical.

coherence theory of knowledge is adhered to, in contrast to the correspondence theory.

The adherence to a correspondence theory only is problematic because many conceptual assumptions and contortions are required to 'fit' the data into a highly formalised epistemology. For example, a positivist model needs to assume the following about data it processes: its knowability (of means-ends, of objectives, whether or not input-outcome can be represented), its capturability (whether or not it can be represented), its communicability (whether or not it can be represented to others), its identifiability (measurability, whether or not it be 'labelled'), its comparability (so discounting practices are unique or on the move) of issues and preferences (for example, Likierman 1993, Oakeshott 1962, Noordegraaf and Abma 2003, Rosenberger 2001). These are just the *epistemological* issues. There are also *ontological* assumptions that need to be adhered to. A positivist model requires commensurability of elements (exchangeability / compensability) and does not take into account the level or cost of contestation and its effects (e.g. path dependency, timescale for decisions and negotiations) nor the levels permanence / changeability, nor indeed, their linearity / determinacy (See for example, Pierre and Peters 2005, Lockwood 1997, Rosenberger 2001, Noordegraaf and Abma 2003).

We know that even with expert knowledge, most of these criteria cannot be met unless there is a major simplification exercise. In the process, many significant, plausible and useful 'cues' of what may actually be happening in a social situation could be lost from the reseacher's frame of vision. Furthermore, where the very basis of 'what should be argued about' is contested, a positivist model that ignores the political cannot cope.

Why theories of knowledge?

Theories of knowledge are theories about how we can be said to know anything. They are the basis of the concepts of rationality required for *rational* valuation and rationality itself is required for *social* valuation. The shift to constructivist epistemology is associated with a move away from the

correspondence theory of knowledge to a mix of the coherence and pragmatic ones. MCTs feature characteristics that suggest adherence to a correspondence theory, but in practice, are enablers of the achievement of coherence and pragmatic-theory-based knowledge. Thus the explanation of what MCTs do can ultimately be tied back to the very bases of knowledge.

[C4 ETC] TRUTH AND FACTS

Truth in the positivist paradigm is coercive, non-negotiable and non-contextual, drawing on the natural order (Arendt 1963, Lincoln and Guba 1989). Since there is only one solution which is true and ordained by scientific evidence, no other solution is admissible. This becomes difficult when there is a plurality of value and particularly moral positions held by stakeholders.

For a constructivist epistemology, "truth" is a matter of consensus among informed and sophisticated constructors, whereas for the positivist paradigm, it is a matter of an observation corresponding to something in ontological reality (Lincoln and Guba 1989 p44-45). "Facts" have no meaning except within some value framework, whereas for positivists, they need to be universally true, irrespective of context (Lincoln and Guba 1989 p44-45). Phenomena can only be understood within its context (Lincoln and Guba 1989 p44-45).

[D] LANGUAGE

Overdependence on formal quantitative measurement becomes problematic when measures can take on a life of their own: "what cannot be measured cannot be real" (Lincoln and Guba 1989 p37) and are therefore ignored. This is a well-known problem in public administration literature, usually noted as 'what gets measured gets done' (e.g. Likierman 1993, Neely 1998).

[E1] NATURE OF EXPLANATION

In a constructivist approach, the definition of explanation is 'to make intelligible' (Rosenberg 1995) to relevant audiences. The appeal, that is, the criteria for judging what satisfactory explanation is, is to those audiences' local or situated rationality. This is opposed to explanation as the

'demonstration, to a high degree of certainty, that the hypothesised 'cause' causes the hypothesised 'effect', thus (dis)confirming universally applicable laws underlying social relationships and phenomena. This is how explanation is understood in a positivist paradigm.

[E] SHAPE OF EXPLANATION

In the positivist paradigm, the shape of explanation is 'if A then B', or 'cause and effect'. These are usually described by dependent and independent variables. It is an approach that requires an assumption of stable causes and effects at a point in time. It assumes a linear process of cause-to-effect and cannot deal with 'new' information that is not described by a tightly defined variable already, and it can only confirm knowledge, not create or explore (Lincoln and Guba 1989 p44-45). The prevalence of positivist measurement as the basis of modelling governance and management have precluded the potential opening up of governance discourse around the more general and potentially richer definition of 'value' as the relationship between thing and mind. Finally, this 'closed' situation leads to this point: "the worst thing that can be said about any assertion in (our culture of the positivist paradigm) is that there is no scientific evidence (that can be drawn on) to support it" (Lincoln and Guba 1989 p38).

In contrast, the shape of explanation via a constructivist approach is a mutually causal (or conditional) cycle, not linearly causal link. It is characterised as 'mutual causality between construction enactment' described by narratives of belief and action, as opposed to a positivist shape of 'cause and effect' described by dependent and independent variables. Such a shape "together **beliefs and actions** in a self-sustaining structure…. Structures of mutual causality mock the language of independent and dependent variables. Instead, beliefs can affect themselves through the mediation of action, and situations where actions can affect themselves through the mediation of beliefs" (Weick 1995 p155-156). This is also what Hauser (1998) after Bakhtin (1981 in Hauser 1998) described as 'dialogic', and what Follett (1924 in Weick 1995) described as 'relatings'.
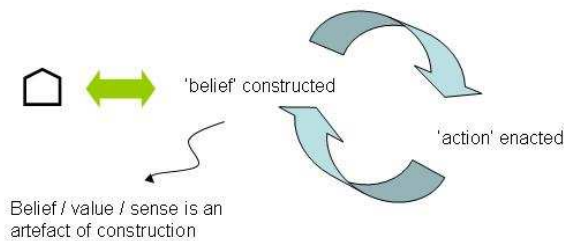
To explain something involves the making relevant to the recipient of or audience for that explanation, knowledge, thereby increasing their understanding of that thing. The cycle can describe how understanding is forged, whereas the positivist linear shape of explanation does not; it simply sets up a universal causal hypothesis to be tested, and defines THAT as explanation. From the discussion about the paradigmatic debate in social science above, it is clear that this means that a positivist approach is not 'worse than' an interpretivist one, it just has a different aim. However, from the discussion on observed problems in practice, and the apparent 'dead-end' that practitioners and researchers get into about aspects of performance measurement in the public sector, and in the complexities of built environment production, it is also clear that the positivist approach is therefore, at least in these areas, asking the wrong question.

One notable consequence of the cyclical shape of explanation is that it allows us to recognise the 'world-making' nature of meaning that we hold. Weick (1995) called this "ongoing co-determination" of meaning. The concept of reflexivity captures this. Elcheroth et al (2011) argued that social, that is public representations are also "about doing as much as thinking. They are enacted knowledge…" (p734). They are also "world-making… they do not just "reflect social reality but constituted that social reality" (p734).

The reason that 'sensemaking' was spotted as potentially useful as a basis of explaining explanation itself – the basis of increasing understanding of understanding - and therefore action in the world, is because it presents

plausible explanations of those explanations. The plausible explanations are plausible because they are empirically grounded in a wide-ranging meta-review of social psychological studies in the field of organisational behaviour (Weick 1995). Sensemaking suggests inroads into analysing how the belief-action cycle goes around, precipitating new belief and actions on the way; that is, constructing new meaning. Sensemaking attributes this dynamic to social psychological tendencies of actors, who are, in this analysis, wearing the hat of 'sensemakers'. These will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Finally, data derived from constructivist inquiry have neither special status nor legitimation; they represent simply another construction to be taken into account in the move towards consensus (Lincoln and Guba 1989 p44-45). Finally, change involves a nonlinear process that involves the introduction of new information, whereas a positivist paradigm cannot admit new information within the scope of inquiry. This is why a positivist approach to inquiry can only confirm knowledge, not create or explore (Lincoln and Guba 1989 p44-45).

[F] CONCEPT OF ACCOUNTABILITY

Positivist accountability is based upon a deterministic and linear 'cause and effect' form, with 'cause' lying definitively with a particular actor (Lincoln and Guba 1989 p44-45). In contrast, what might a constructivist accountability look like when 'causes' and 'effects' do no exist except by imputation? Conceptually, accountability is a relative matter and implicates all interacting parties equally, but is this practicable? Herein lies the great attraction of the positivist approach to accountability; it is capturable and appears to give certainty to results. Nevertheless, the problems for positivist accountability are very similar to those for adhering to a correspondence theory of knowledge, including the need to model reality in a such a stylised and therefore 'unnatural' way that often, the results of accountability activity is a result of the method rather than something 'on the ground'.

[G] MODE OF CREDIBILITY AND VALIDITY / NEUTRALITY OF EVALUATOR

An interpretivist approach accepts that facts and values are inextricably linked, whereas a positivist approach is set up in an attempt to separate facts and values (Lincoln and Guba 1989 p44-45), and to maintain evaluator neutrality. Epistemologically, constructivism denies the possibility of subject-object dualism; that is, complete non-interaction between evaluator / inquirer and evaluand. Instead that what is known exists "because there is an interaction between observer and observed that literally creates what emerges from that inquiry" (Lincoln and Guba 1989 p44). Credibility and validity in a constructivist approach to knowledge is achieved instead through trust and buy-in to the plausibility of the presented results or, more accurately, message (Lincoln and Guba 1989).

[H] NORMATIVE SUCCESS CRITERIA FOR INQUIRY IN THIS PARADIGM

Interpretivists and constructivists argue that to achieve the positivist ideal of 'evaluator / inquirer neutrality' is not really possible because even the selection of variables and the design of the research involve subjective choices given by the researcher's interest. Since researchers are themselves social and psychological beings, how they gain knowledge is much better described by a constructivist than a positivist model, as it takes the social and psychological aspects into account. Without this, and because the success of positivist inquiry is based on the conduct of its inquiry, not the result (Lincoln and Guba 1989), positivist inquiry focuses people's minds on hitting procedural targets, which dictate the distribution of future resources, rather than achieving end results. This is a classic problem, most succinctly set out in Goodhart's Law (Elton 2004). Moreover, adherence to the scientific paradigm relieves the evaluator of any moral responsibility, because science is putatively value free (Lincoln and Guba 1989 p38).

So what qualities, in this paradigm of knowledge, describe solid and sound process and outcomes for any recipients of new knowledge? As discussed earlier, Lincoln and Guba (1989) argued that criteria that were parallel to the positivists' paradigm's criteria, also called 'trustworthiness' criteria, tell us

whether the processes are sound, whereas authenticity criteria assess both whether the outcomes are sound, including whether evaluation makes a difference in practice.

[I] POSSIBLE LEVERS FOR MANAGING

An interpretive approach may not readily provide as clearly defined and mechanistic levers for managing, whereas a positivist model may provide more clearly defined levers which require little discretion in use, hence it may be applied more universally. Indeed, this research may be seen to be establishing some levers for managing in the constructivist mould. The numerical information arising from positivist methods usually generated has the advantages of being concise, lends itself to pithy headlines, and appears rational, whereas a constructivist one, by nature, may need interpretation. What is important is that the positivist levers are recognised and have benefited from decades of being developed. This 'establishment' coupled with the 'coerciveness of positivist truth' provides some actors with disproportionate power to manage other actors, which is good for the powerful but not good for the disempowered.

[J] CONCEPT OF ACTORS

'People are rationalising, not rational'. Unlike positivist assumptions that actors are perfectly economically rational preference-forming machines, the constructivist approach that argues "against the acceptance of individual preference as a given and instead interrogate specifically why and how preferences come to be formed and how these preferences and choices relate to the strategic aims of powerful interests in society" (Marsh and Furlong 1995 p39-40). That is, the focus is on the active construction of preferences by actors of the social world. Actors are not even thought of as rational preference-formers limited by their 'bounded rationality' (Simon 1962 in Kooiman 2003), or by behavioural bias from the 'truly' rational (Tversky and Kahnemann 1986 for example). Instead they are re-conceptualised as 'sensemaking agents' who value rationality but whose decisions may be far from the rationality they espouse; indeed, it is more important for their preferences to appear to be rational, to being actually rational. A

constructivist approach proposes a completely different picture of how people come to value one thing over another. The fact that they can *come to* a particular value is notable; values are not fixed, essential, either to the valuer or the thing being valued. This is the foundation of the constructivist approach.

[K] RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Since we are seeking to understand how people construct and manage their own and others' meanings, something that is accessible only if researchers engage in interpretation, the focus of the literature reviewed is on cognitive approaches. More specifically we focus on theories enabled by interpretivist research approaches (for example, Yanow and Schwartz-Shea 2006); that is, interpretation of meaning is something I, the researcher, does and am allowed to do, not just to observe. I reject the limitation to observation only. An interpretivist approach is now mainstream in the social sciences.

Within that, we also assume that actors come to their intentions (which we interpret) and their actions by themselves **constructing values**; values and preferences are not given or inherently attached to individuals, but have to be actively chosen, and can be changed. So it makes sense to review the literature of the types of contextual and actor-related conditions that can shape the meaning construction process, and thus the resulting meaning.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter began with **my practical experiences** that laid the foundation of this thesis. I had realised that quality in the built environment is often not a 'given', one had to start a bit 'further back', at the subjective 'value' each stakeholder placed on the built environment, rather than at a point of objective 'quality'. However, it was important to keep in mind what the ultimate purpose of the study was: advocacy, not inquiry. What this entailed was to manage others' values successfully, not simply the measure value accurately, if at all. In practice, the notion of value and decisions based on it were suffering from being defined too narrowly as 'price'. To seek a way of

explaining the management of value, the nature of value in general and 'societal value' was discussed.

This was followed by an exploration of concepts of 'value' and 'meaning' in society, both held individually and collectively.

The chapter concludes with a foray into the epistemology of social science, as the research seeks a template for explaining the construction of meaning in built environment production. This requires a paradigm that assumes that value is not inherent in the valuer's mind, but is constructed by him / her, and that this could be influenced. The explanation selected would therefore have to be able to work with the assumptions of a constructivist, not a positivist epistemology.

Apart from the needs at a paradigmatic level, the template framework on which to build our explanation of how MCTs work needs to lend itself to the operationalisation for the actors, of a constructivist epistemology. This is important because in part, positivistic approaches seem to be highly developed instrumentally and this contributes to their success. They work because they appear to succinctly convey complex issues, appearing objective. 'The possibility of instrumentalisation' as a criterion for selecting a template framework in the constructivist mould will be discussed in Chapter 5.

With this in mind, let us turn to the research setting: MCTs in public space governing in England.

It is effectively a single case, with a number of sub-cases.

Chapter 3 Research setting: 'Multi-criteria tools' in public space governing in England

This research aims to explain how public space governing can be plausibly conceptualised as the management of meaning, and to do so by reference to both abstract theory and concrete empirical observation. An operational explanatory framework will be developed that fits both the assumed epistemological position discussed in Chapter 2 – that governing actors actively construct meaning, and the concrete observations of how MCTs work. This explanation will be operational or instrumental, in that it enables the application of the constructivist epistemological position to explaining how multi-lateral governing happens. It mediates between these extreme abstract and concrete levels, and could act as a heuristic for governing practitioners.

This Chapter discusses this empirical setting with which we develop and test this explanatory approach. The setting is the use of MCTs in public space governing in England. The parameters of the setting arise from the areas of policy I am familiar with, and from which the research problem originated. Public space governing presents a microcosm of built environment governing generally because it is: multi-stakeholder, complex, urban, changeable by users, costs a lot to execute major changes, will allow the probing of collective or public meaning-making and meaning management. It may allow transferability of research results to a broader context.

The governing of public space

In this research, physical urban public space, that is, 'space between buildings in cities', is conceptualised as the object of governing. Governments' actions on public space are most often conceptualised as 'management', with an 'operational' focus; there is very little attention paid to public space in a strategic manner, and not just 'operational considerations writ large'. Yet the complex, contested and fragmented nature of public space management suggests that such a strategic overview is required to deliver coherent solutions – hence public space *governing*, which deals with the nature of state-society relations regarding public space. In other words, we need a strategic view of the object of governing which is public space.

By exploring two hitherto barely related literatures of governance / governing and of public space, this chapter discusses the conceptual field of MCT operation, which may be called 'public space governing'. Although it is itself an area with a limited academic literature, its antecedents are wide. This chapter therefore 'derives' a conceptualisation of public space governing from existing ideas about public space and public administration, so that we can explore it as 'the management of meaning'.

Multi-criteria tools (MCTs)

The aim of this research was to explore the plausibility of conceptualising public space governing as managing meaning. This aim can be achieved by observing governing, by looking at the deployment of what are loosely designated, for the purposes of this research, 'multi-criteria tools' (MCTs) in the governing of public space in England. The research focused on how MCTs attenuate the construction of meaning within governing, while also enabling the refinement of a framework that describe how MCTs work.

MCTs have been designated in this research based on a family resemblance (Wittgenstein 1967 in Clegg and Haugaard 2009) to each other and would be immediately recognisable by any built environment governing actor. They are multi-dimensional policy tools – multi-dimensionality being their defining feature - which are used to find out and / or advocate. MCTs are the non-monetary expression of value. They are a good setting to examine the epistemological mechanisms for shaping meaning because they make at least some of these mechanisms visible; indeed, the very design of the MCTs were hypothesised to accentuate success factors for both research and advocacy. In understanding how MCTs work, and why they succeed or fail, it is possible to begin building a picture of how to approach a robust explanation of how governing aims are achieved via the management of meaning construction. Lastly, they are a very common type of tool, and afford a range of situations and public space issues to research.

It is NOT the aim of the thesis to take a view against or for the use of MCTs, nor to cheerlead for it, simply to develop one of several possible understandings of why

they work. In so doing and in understanding how MCTs work, we also begin to understand how the management of meaning-making in multilateral governing works. Nevertheless, within each case, there was also evidence of MCTs having either little or negative impact on the meanings constructed, and this directly contributed to some features of the resulting explanation, for example the necessary condition of 'purchase' (see Chapter 7a).

Put a different way, the same question – how is meaning managing in public space governing – could have been answered by observing an entirely different area of policy activity altogether. However, MCTs provided a great opportunity to explore this question, as Chapter 2 and this chapter will explain.

Structure of this chapter

This chapter is simply divided into two parts. The first sets out the scope and definition of public space governing in England, including literature on urban public space, on governing / governance as "all patterns of rules" (Bevir 2010) and "solving societal problems" (Kooiman 2003), and then on the management of public space, in particular the strategic picture, or the lack of it. The second part introduces MCTs. These are introduced as an empirical rather than a theoretical phenomenon, although their provenance can be easily traced to various performance management and evaluation approaches.

3.1. Public space governing in England

This Part explores the literature on public space governing in England in a way that is relevant to the exploration of MCTs' roles within it.

Public space

The 'public space' in this thesis is the physical public space, "the streets and squares and spaces between buildings in a town or city, which is accessible by 'the public'", as opposed to a 'virtual' public sphere of Habermas (1962 in Carmona et al 2003) or Arendt (1958 in Carmona et al 2003) the arena for political and public life. The origins of the scholarly discussion on public space is the "polis", the self-governing political community whose citizens

deliberate, debate and resolve issues (Arendt 1958) through critical-rational discourse (Habermas 1962 in Villa 2001). Today, politics (in the common understanding of the term, as 'the activity of governing') has largely (but not entirely, see Goodsell 2003) been removed from the physical arena of urban open space into assembly buildings and municipal offices (See for example, Henaff and Strong 2001). For the purposes of this thesis, the discussion is limited to 'physical urban public space'. However, it will become clear that public space remains undeniably 'political' (in the sense of being contested).

In defining public space, epistemological dilemmas come to the fore because public space is a vast 'thing', which defies a single uncontested definition. The definition of public space will always involve multilateral interdependent relationships, and the continual search for a resolution means that there can be no end to this contestation (Blomley 2004). As will become clear, the very act of definition and redefinition of public space lies at the heart for the need to govern it. This is clear when considering the difficulties that arise even defining what public space is.

One common strategy that has emerged to get a grasp on the idea of public space so that it can be managed is to parcel up selected aspects of public space into dimensions, and through this process, to exclude some aspects. This means to narrow down the scope(s) of public space and draw firm boundaries around that scope(s), explicitly excluding what does not fit the issue being examined. This strategy is common when the approach to inquiry is positivist or scientific. Where operational definitions are required, limiting the set of public space variables make it possible to define public space, and to draw more robust conclusions in research or define specific courses of action in a narrow frame. This is reducing the proliferation of signals in order that sense can be made of things. This approach has its problems: the resulting proliferation of definitions and typologies of public space broken down in a myriad ways leads to fragmented views (see Figure 3.2 and 3.3). This fragmentation puts up "epistemological blinders" (Bellone 1980 p9) to other valid public space conceptualisations. These may result in the often-mentioned 'silo mentality'.

FIGURE 3.1 SOME DEFINITIONS OF PUBLIC SPACE

Author	Definitions of public space, with key characteristics of 'publicness' in bold
The Bartlett School of Planning and Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, UK Government (2004)	"…all those parts of the built and natural environment where the public has **free access**. It encompasses: all the streets, squares and other rights of way, whether predominantly in residential, commercial or community/civic uses; the open spaces and parks; the 'public/private' spaces where public access is **unrestricted** (at least during daylight hours). It includes the interface with key internal and private spaces to which the public normally has **free access**" (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister 2004 p10).
Carr et al 1992	• "**open, publicly accessible** places where people go for • **group** and **individual activities**" (p50) Their 'typology of contemporary urban public spaces' (p79) refer only to public space in terms of physical accessibility (as quoted above), and precludes 'public space' in the non-physical, or indeed, the "representative" sense of democratic governance. "…the foundations of our perspective on public spaces: • **needs,** • **rights,** and • **meanings**."
Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee (1998)	The public realm is "the sites and settings of public life" and includes physical public space. It should ideally function as: 1. A forum for **political action and representation** 2. A **'neutral'** and common ground for social **interaction, intermingling and communication** 3. As a **stage** for **social learning, personal development, and information exchange**"
Carmona et al (2003)	, "the (physical) spaces and settings… that support or facilitate public life and social interaction" (Carmona et al 2003).
Goodsell (2003)	Generic definition of public space: a space-time continuum for connected and interactive political discourse. Conditions are that apply across all public spaces: • **mutual presence** • **interactive** (or the capacity to be) • **discourse is political** in the sense that it concerns the nature and future of the community and the public good.

Author	Definitions of public space, with key characteristics of 'publicness' in bold
Henaff and Strong (2001)	• **Open** – in the sense of it being clear where one is. Thus, Venice's St Mark's Place is a public space, the alleys and canals are not. • **A human construct, an artefact** (here meaning man-made object, physical or otherwise) – the result of the attempt by human beings to shape the place and thus the nature of their interactions. • **Theatrical** – **linked to the human faculty of sight** – (St Augustine's three faculties definitive of the human: in memory, we make and retain the past; in the will, we construct and bring about the future; in vision or sight we establish the present. "Presentness is thus connected with seeing and thus inevitably connected with seeing someone, something. There can be no present without an 'other'" (p6).
Barber 2001 in Henaff and Strong 2001	• **Accessible** to all • **Free speech rights** protected • Contains **civic services**

As discussed in Chapter 1, public space is multi-valent and ubiquitous; to understand it in a balanced way calls for the drawing on the range of diverse disciplines for its making, each of which focus on different overlapping aspects of public space, deploying different conceptualisations of public space, and indeed, defining public space in quite different ways. Much writing on public space is a subset of established subject areas, for example, urban transport, landscape, architecture, criminology, environmental psychology or property development (Vernez Moudon 2003), but public space is largely as a sort of an appendix in each of them. There is a substantial literature that deals with public space more as thing to be studied than to be made, for example, the politics, sociology or law of public space (for example, Low and Smith 2006, Neal 2010, Sennett 2008).

Governing / governance ('all patterns of rule', 'solving societal problems') – focus on the technologies, not the structures (although structures can be technologies)

The **governance / governing** literature is vast, as the concept covers so much, from questions of jurisdictions in Europe (for example, Hooghe and Marks 2003), to corporate governance (for example, as discussed by Bevir and Rhodes 2003). While I looked at literature covered by the terms

'governance', 'public administration' and 'public management', with a focus on the areas of governance that were relevant here: urban, local and participatory governance, the thesis really looks at the actions of 'governing', a term that is preferred in this thesis over the term 'governance', due to the connotations of the latter in urban planning and public administration literature.

Nevertheless, it is not inappropriate to deploy the term 'governance' whose pedigree lies in a way of thinking about control in organisations. Coined by Harlan Cleveland in the 1970s, its meaning then was quite specific.

"The organizations that get things done will no longer be hierarchical pyramids with most of the real control at the top. They will be systems—interlaced webs of tension in which control is loose, power diffused, and centers of decision plural. "Decision-making" will become an increasingly intricate process of multilateral brokerage both inside and outside the organization which thinks it has the responsibility for making, or at least announcing, the decision. Because organizations will be horizontal, the way they are governed is likely to be more collegial, consensual, and consultative. The bigger the problems to be tackled, the more real power is diffused and the larger the number of persons who can exercise it—if they work at it" (Cleveland 1972 in Frederickson 2004 p3).

Bevir (2010) defines 'governance' succinctly and broadly as "all patterns of rule". The term 'governing' has become associated with deliberative and collaborative rule, while not completely free of hierarchical and rule-based structures. MCTs can be seen as governing tools that have been optimised to deal with such a context. Kooiman (2003) argues that governing activity can be conceptualised fundamentally as interactions between people, and the aim of these governance interactions is to "solve societal problems or create social opportunities, (to) care for institutional aspects of these interactions, and (to set) normative principles for them" (Kooiman 2003 p231). So, 'governance' is a generic term that enables an analysis of how societies 'collectively solve societal problems and create opportunities'.

It is this last 'socio-cybernetic' conceptualisation of governance that is focused on in this research, rather than the more usual focus on the shifts in the state-society relationship away from authority-based styles of governing by 'the government' (Pierre and Peters 2005), sometimes called the 'new governance' (Bevir 2010) or 'governance beyond the state' (Rose and Miller 1992). This 'new governance' discussion nevertheless provides the backdrop in which MCTs work in public space governing as the nature of governing activity is changing from a focus on policies and programmes 'done to' the governed to some 'effect' to something much more interactive (Bevir 2010) and 'done with'. The present study focuses on the micro-foundations of urban actors' meaning making, of governing actions that are precipitated and how actors exert influence over others' meaning construction. Thus, the questions of the actor roles, technologies of influence and the concept of rationality come to the fore in this research, backgrounding the question of relating MCT and the new governance context.

The conceptualisation of governing as solving societal problems

Governing is built upon and requires the problematisation of social issues. The focus of this research can be captured by Kooiman's (2003) conceptualization of governing. He argues that governing activity can be conceptualised fundamentally as interactions between people. The aim of these governance interactions is, at what Kooiman (2003) calls the 'first order', is, as already mentioned, to "solve societal problems or create social opportunities, (and at one level up, to) care for institutional aspects of these interactions, and (to set) normative principles for them" (Kooiman 2003 p231). To elaborate, a problem is defined as "a subjectively and negatively experienced difference between an actual and a desired situation" (Kooiman 2003 p135). A governance problem may be said to arise if "the actors involved in interactions regard certain tensions within and between the different elements of interactions as unwanted and changeable" (p136). Put another way, "governance can be thought of as purposeful collective action (among state, private, and civil society stakeholders) to either sustain and improve a certain regime, or to trigger a transition of the system to a more preferable regime" (Folke et al. 2005 in Ernstson et al 2010). Importantly, as

Kooiman (2003) argued, a defining characteristic of what makes a problem one for governance is the need for it to be a societal problem, a shared problem, not merely a private one. This will be shown to be an important point later, as the theoretical basis of sensemaking deals well with how individuals construct meanings for themselves, but less well with how meanings are constructed for others as well. That is, for society at large. As shall be discussed, this will need to be the focus of theory extension in order that the theory can explain actions of interdependent sensemakers within public space governance.

Moving to the dynamics of a governance situation considered over a period of time, where the beginning of that period is designated 'A' and the end designated 'B', the effect of governing could be represented as follows, where state B2 is the end state with governance intervention and ought to be more preferable than state B1. State B1 is the less desirable 'counterfactual' state, the 'state of things' that would have happened if no governance intervention was made. State B1 is the 'governing problem' state. State B2 is the more desirable state that is closer to a 'better' solution. The point of governance is to change the end state from B1 to B2. It is now possible to think of the impact of an MCT involving a different governing action from that that produced B2, as **changing the path of the governance situation** to achieve yet a third different end point, B3, and possibly change the way B2 is reached, for instance, more quickly or cheaply, than without the deployment of the MCT.

FIGURE 3.2 SHIFT IN GOVERNING PATH FROM B1 TO B2 TO B3
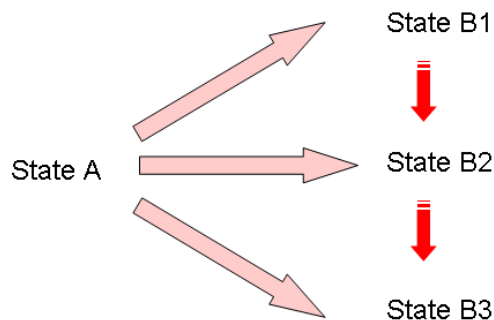
'The governing of public space': the context for MCTs

In developing a useful definition of public space governing, we need to delineate a conceptualisation that works with governing both as a problem-solution scheme and as an instance for 'sensemaking', which is the selected way to operationalise the construction of meaning to explain what MCTs do.

In problem-solution terms, many public space problems may be described as "wicked" (Hoppe 1989 In Noordegraaf and Abma 2003). First, public space is multi-stakeholdered; it is the site of multiple and enacted claims to property, and yet, are precisely the sort of property rights that do not fit into what Blomley (2004) characterises as the 'straightjacket' of the private property / ownership model. Indeed, public space challenges the very definition of societal problems (i.e. are they objective enough to be societal); Second, many activities happen simultaneously in any single public space and is therefore not in any one party's full control. Third, many activities that happen simultaneously also require a degree of mutuality or interactivity between people and between people and physical elements of public space. Finally, public space is changeable, its temporality fleeting and little or no control can be exerted over it. All this means that public space is difficult to define, complex, and its benefits highly contested.

One way to capture the essence of the problem is to say that public space is both technically fiendishly difficult and highly politically contested, but this has traditionally been ignored in public space studies. Public space has always been governed politically but the relationship between government and public space has more often been seen as one of operational management.

Government policy and public space: recent developments

One consequence is that while strategic (i.e. large scale and long term) urban issues may be dealt with in technical spheres (for example, transport or planning policy or even public space detailing), but most treat public space itself only as a necessary appendage. Few policies addressed 'public space' as a central concern. What policies concerning public space remains very

highly fragmented. It is only recently that the term 'public space policy' can actually be meaningful and various branches of policy yield the tale of its evolution. Until Tony Blair's speech at the Groundwork Trust in Croydon in 2001, following the Urban Task Force Report (1999), and the Urban White Paper (DETR 2000), there had been relatively little rethink of the 'institutions' or high level normative approaches for delivering public space. Since then, quality has become a major component of the new focus in the UK on the issue of 'quality' of cities and specifically how public space is a component for this. It is not just government that has taken a renewed interest in public space, but also the various professional bodies or partnerships comprising them (for example, the Urban Design Alliance or the Institute of Civil Engineers) and think tanks (for example, the Institute for Public Policy Research, The New Local Government Network and Demos to name but a few. Public space has gained ever increasing policy and 'good practice' attention. The introduction of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), the Liveability Fund and the Safer Cleaner Greener initiatives and the formation of CABE Space are just some ideas that have been championed at national level. These work in different ways, some are subsidy schemes, others focus on 'campaigning for quality' or 'social marketing' (Kotler and Roberto 1989). Public space concerns have also crept into existing regulatory frameworks (such as planning) and new ones (such as community strategies) Yet, with the possible exception of BIDs, most of these have involved joining up or cannibalising existing delivery mechanisms, and the rearrangement of existing relationships. However, adding up the operational does *not* necessarily result in a strategic viewpoint (Mintzberg 1994).

All this means that public space presents a complex multi-dimensional problem situation, but whose solution requires interactive deliberation, negotiation and collaboration between governing actors. In other words, it is a complex and inter-related technical set of problems, but which are also inherently political. Yet most studies of public space management ignore the political dimension, whereas those of public space politics do not deal with the technical dimension.

This is another reason to talk about 'governing'. The terms 'governance' / 'governing' are used to steer a path between managerial technical prescription and the political description. The term 'public management' connotes the new public management which, as Bevir (2010) notes, refers to the trend in public administration towards "marketisation, neo-liberalism and economic rationality", but also suggests a strongly prescriptive 'we can fix this with some smart technical stuff' flavour. After all, associated neo-liberal and rational choice approaches do assume people to be completely rational and in some way, machine-like in their decision-making.

However, public space exhibits characteristics 'to be governed' that will be best attacked by some of the concepts strongly associated with the 'governance' literature. Yet the literatures on urban quality and governance (for example, Madanipour et. al. 2001, Harvey 1989a, Healey et al. 1999, Amin 2008) hold some of the sources of concepts applicable to public space governing (Frederickson 2004, Stoker 2003, Hughes 2003, Pierre and Peters 2005) do not link to concerns in the public administration of public space such as accountability and performance measurement (for example, Hughes 2003, Stewart and Walsh 1994, Carter et al 1992, Pollitt et al 1999).

The use of the term 'governance' and 'governing' instead of 'management' retains the place of 'the political' and other less 'technical' concerns within the public sector activities, which suggests a more messy, less technical picture, focusing on the shifting but interpenetrating division between **politics and technical** concerns of administration (Frederickson 2004), thus, linking the two.

3.2. *Multi-criteria tools (MCTs)*

In a context of 'the new governance', which can be seen as an evolutionary stage of public administration, this relationship between politics and technicality actually becomes the focus of governmental activity. It is in this context in which MCTs have become such a fixture.

MCTs and governing: MCTs makes sense within the communicative function of governments

When students of 'government' discussing high level 'roles of government', the concepts are usually broadly **economic**, that is, focused on distribution of resources by responding to 'market failures', or **political**, that is, focused on dealing with rights to benefit from resources, that is, the role of 'benefit distribution' (Sandler 2001, Hughes 2003). Since the rise of the new governance, some commentators highlight a third type of role, which is that of 'regulation and audit' (Hughes 2002, Bevir 2010). This might be labelled '**communicative**'. This conveys what government is doing, and often involves the projection of what Kooiman (2003) calls 'governing images'. These shape expectations and behaviours of actors. This is about government **needing to demonstrate how they manage themselves**. Indeed, it is argued that government provides accountability better than any form of organisation (Pierre and Peters 2005). This role lies outside both the correction of 'market failures' or of 'benefit distribution' (Hughes 2003) but is critical because it mediates how these economic and political roles are perceived, thus acted upon by the electorate. In other words, the evaluation of how fairly, effectively and efficiently interests and rights have been dealt with by government enter the public imagination mainly via a communicative lens.

It is in this sphere in which MCTs work. MCTs may be seen as a formalisation, or a way of packaging communication of how government manages itself.

What is public space and what does a focus on the communicative function of government mean for a definition of public space governing?

Public space governing goals associated with this 'communicative' function of governments, must therefore derive from some form of collective desire with regard to activity in, on and about public space. This, as we have seen, is complex, dynamic, contested and difficult to define. What is more,

governance interactions are themselves not outside of, but are part of public space 'practice'. Public space may be seen as a site for societal practices and also as a component enabling societal interactions and therefore re-production of society.

<u>Why MCTs?</u>

Recalling the discussion in Chapter 2, it seems that the mainstream approach to the communicative function of government sees it being mediated through a positivist lens. MCTs are both seen as a phenomenon of interest in itself, a constructivist tool deployed to work in the language of positivist accountability / governing. It is a tool that put its finger at the heart of the intepretivist-positivist tension, and also as an opportunity to explore a possible constructivist theorisation of public space governing as managing the construction of meaning. In other words, it is a non-monetary expression of value. On the one hand, MCTs are deployed as a type of mediating tool which fit the positivist bill, but on the other, they are deployed not only to measure, but wielded to attenuate the politically-driven actions in public space governing. This was clear to most users interviewed preliminarily and to myself as one of those users.

MCTs are observed to attenuate the construction of collective governing actions which are in turn informed by individual and collective desires regarding public space and its governance. By 'attenuating' or 'mediating', I mean that MCT is involved in influencing communication and message reception in ways that are simply not yet defined, but will be articulated by the present research. Thus, the research may be seen as theorising practice. What MCTs do do is both aid inquiry and advocacy; this much could be observed in practice.

The technologies of influence are ways in which public interest can be exerted, such as MCTs are, is what Bevir (2010) called 'source of coordination'. In hierarchical governance, the public interest in governance "defined politically and expressed in law" (Bevir 2010 p103) and the technologies of influence are associated with rules and authority. In market

governance, the public interest is captured by aggregation of those interests, with preferences and incentives. In networked and other forms of new governance, governance interactions, dialogue and deliberation (Bevir 2010) are the key technologies. This could encompass norms, regulation, arguments and collaboration (for example, Sullivan and Skelcher 2002, Healey et. al. 1999). Some of these have resonance with studies dealing in 'participatory governance', deliberative democracy and the way that governance actors interact (for example, Forester 1999, Dryzek 2000, Healey 1993).

Finally, there is a question of what a communicative focus means for the type of rationality deployed and assumed. The question of rationality was introduced in the previous chapter. Bevir (2010) describes the economic and political functions of governments based on the assumptions of 'universal rationalities' because they 'should apply everywhere and anywhere. However, he puts forward the case, very strongly, that the appropriate type of rationality to apply to deliberative, civil society-led, networked governing should be 'local'; in other words 'situation-specific', and defining rationality as 'consistency'. This is an important point in public space governing because public space by its very multiple-stakeholdered, co-produced and public nature, presents difficulties to those attempting to apply universally rational techniques to capture them, except for the most basic qualities (e.g. clean, safe). It is arguable that MCTs is an apparently universally-rational device that really works based on local rationalities, and the appearance of being economically or universally rational. In fact, those multiple actors apply different rationalities, and the very question of what rationality to apply in any given situation is itself contingent on negotiation and influence, one that MCTs mediate.

Documentary evidence for MCTs

There is no shortage of documentary evidence for what might be termed MCTs themselves, and there is some policy literature reviewing these (e.g. ODPM 2004), and there has been theorisation of such multi-indicator packages in, or relevant to the built environment. These include composite

indicators, where a summing up of the indicators takes place into an index figure. Examples of work dealing with multi-indicator packages include, Burton's (2002) work on urban compactness, work on urban or environmental sustainability (for example, Tweed and Jones 2000, Ravetz 2000, Moffatt 2008), road safety (for example, Hermans et al 2008), Quality of Life (for example, Morais and Camanho 2011) and public services (for example, Jacobs and Goddard 2007).

However, there has been little work done on such multi-criteria policy tools for the governing of public space in the academic arena.

The next two sections will look at, respectively, the origins of multi-criteria tools, and the features of each of the four MCTs to be examined in detail this research.

Provenance of MCTs

This section presents precedents for MCTs in a number of discourses and practices of communicating performance, and thus 'locates' the discussion about MCTs in those discourses. Among the immediate precedents are public sector accounting and audit practice, project or programme evaluation and the design primer.

At the start of this project, a very broad review was carried out based on then work carried out by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2004), of the range of public space management tools, and further extended by a broader trawl based on preliminary interviews with MCT owner organisations (for example, CABE and Living Streets). Within the sphere of public space governing, MCTs were found to start life as, among other things, assessment protocols for awards (Building for Life, Green Flag Awards), or as consultation / engagement methods (Spaceshaper, Market Town Healthcheck, Community Street Audit), or as technical assessment or reporting methods, (Local Environment Quality Survey, Pedestrian Environment Review System), or as means of learning about and therefore acting on public space (Placecheck), or as the basis for controlling

performance (BfL as used in the Annual Monitoring Report from local authorities to central government).

Going further back beyond the confines of public space management, MCTs have a diverse and complex pedigree, sketched here. A number of precedents from different disciplinary origins are discussed briefly and explain how MCTs end up with such a range of functions in public space governing, and indeed, how MCT features enable them to operate across those functions. **Figure 3.4,** adapted from Carmona and Sieh (2004), sets out a list of the precedents of MCTs.

<u>1 Engineering and quality control techniques</u>

Early attempts at management of quality in organisations have a direct pedigree in the engineering of production line processes. This is a 'classical or mechanistic' approach, characterised by the assumption that the object of quality management is a closed system. Notable concepts include 'quality control' and 'Total Quality Management' (TQM). This mode of thinking extended from operations into higher levels of management of the organisation and of people. One move away from rational determinism of the machine involved the methods developed for the measurement and management of the quality of (intangible) services, for example the five-gaps model, SERVQUAL, SERVPERF (for example, Fitzsimmons and Fitzsimmons 1998). The advance here was to deploy 'customer expectation' of a service, and the gap between that and the service perceived to have been received as the comparator – the thing that gave the assessment meaning. A second move was that towards ever more holistic measures of quality, performance and value have seen the development of packages of measures designed to deal a range of issues that an organisation faces (see section on 'performance management in private sector organisations' later. Just one example is the Balanced Scorecard (Kaplan and Norton 1996), which then begin to look like the packaged, marketed and multiple-aspect MCTs.

2 Accounting techniques / key financial indicators

For shareholders in a commercial company, the primary concern is financial performance. This is widely accepted as the definitive measure of a company's success and is reported in a limited number of key financial ratios such as Return on Investment and other numbers indicating profitability that are found in company accounts. Public sector or non-profit organisations also 'keep an account' of their finances although they do not have profit either as an incentive nor as a straightforward measure of success that comes directly as a 'signal' from the markets as 'share price' might be. Nevertheless there have been attempts to use financial measures to indicate the scale or efficiency activity, such as the overall cost of service provision, cost per head of population or comparisons with other benchmark organisations. These are unsatisfactory for a number of reasons. Nevertheless, the 'habit' of seeking numerical measures of success is established, and many MCTs reflect this by reporting numerically.

3 Evaluation strategies and techniques

A third area that may have inspired MCTs is the vast area of project / policy evaluation. "Evaluation is the systematic acquisition and assessment of information to provide useful feedback about some object…(which could refer to a program, policy, technology, person, need, activity) …. The generic goal of most evaluations is to provide "useful feedback" to (relevant constituencies): …. the major goal of evaluation should be to influence decision-making or policy formulation through the provision of empirically-driven feedback." (Trochim 2006).

There are a large number of evaluation techniques, but can be organised into four groups (Trochim 2006), as set out in Figure below.

FIGURE 3.3 CATEGORIES OF EVALUATION TECHNIQUES

- **Scientific-experimental models** take their values and methods from the sciences -especially the social sciences - they prioritize on the desirability of impartiality, accuracy, objectivity and the validity of the information generated

- **Management-oriented systems models** emphasise comprehensiveness in evaluation, placing evaluation within a larger framework of organizational activities. Examples are PERT, the Program Evaluation and Review Technique, and CPM, the Critical Path Method. Both have been widely used in business and government.

- **Qualitative / anthropological models** emphasise the importance of observation, the need to retain the phenomenological quality of the evaluation context, and the value of subjective human interpretation in the evaluation process. Examples include the naturalistic or 'Fourth Generation' evaluation (Lincoln and Guba 1989) and critical theory and art criticism approaches.

- **Participant-oriented models** emphasise the central importance of the evaluation participants, especially clients and users. Client-centred and stakeholder approaches are examples of participant-oriented models, as are consumer-oriented evaluation systems.

There is no inherent incompatibility between these broad strategies, each of them brings something valuable to the evaluation table and recent work has moved towards bringing together more than one approach which can build on, sometimes rejects certain aspects of, but may never completely supersedes the others.

Finally, one type of needs assessment, multicriteria analysis, MCA, may be particularly relevant as a precedent of multicriteria tools. An MCA is "any structured approach used to determine overall preference among alternative options, where the options accomplish several objectives" (Department for Communities and Local Government 2009). Some of the more technically demanding MCTs reflect the techniques deployed in MCAs, for example, weighting of criteria.

4 Subject (built environment / urban management)-specific prescription, evaluation, assessment techniques (a-political but technical)

A fourth precedent for MCTs is the design primer for architecture and the built environment more generally. Many of them have long been linked to the regulation of the built environment (Carmona et al 2006). The earliest surviving example is *De Architectura* or 'The Ten Books of Architecture' by Vitruvius, written in the first century BCE (Wotton 1968). In this, and in the many treatises inspired by it during the Renaissance (for example, by Alberti, Colonna and Palladio), there is an attempt to codify architectural practice and theory in some way (Hart 1998). In contemporary literature Carmona et al. (2006) provide a useful overview of historical use of codes. The contributions of New Urbanism coding, pattern books, urban assembly toolkits prescribing design processes (such as the Urban Design Compendium in the UK, Llewelyn-Davies 2000 for English Partnerships) and typomorphological approaches may be seen as precedents of one or other of the MCTs. All of these have in common the aim for prescribing how the process of design should occur and / or the form that the end result should take; they are descriptive in order to be prescriptive. Some are linked to regulating the built environment.

5 Performance management in private sector organisations

As already mentioned, there has been an approach to thinking about organisations "as wholes rather than parts; as complex networks of elements and relationships (which) recognises the interaction with the environment…." (Carmona and Sieh 2004). This led to measurement tools that attempted to capture more compound, broader views of both product quality and organisational performance. Examples of these include measures that focus on narrow aspects (for example, employee satisfaction or intellectual capital) or across the range of issues an organisation may be concerned with, for examples, EFQM or the Balanced Scorecard. All these in fact, also fit the description of 'Management-oriented systems models' in the 'Evaluation strategies and techniques' section above.

6 Performance management in public sector organisations

MCTs in this study can be seen as a latter day continuation of the 'trend' that began in the mid 1970s towards demonstrating accountability in the public sector through measurement or audit (for example, Pollitt et al 1999). This 'trend' is a key symptom of a much larger revolution that took place in public administration which essentially saw the public servant / public administration trust-based Weberian model shift towards an evidence-based and managerialist approach (see, for example, Bevir 2010).

Reflecting the need for more holistic measures to be taken into account, tools such as the European Foundation for Quality Management (EFQM), Investors in People, Citizen's Charter and so on were developed, packaged and promoted. In the UK, these developed against a backdrop of continual local government reform, from the NPM driven compulsory competitive tendering (1980s) which is essentially the most extreme form of market-type mechanisms, to Best Value in the 1990s / 2000s, to the Comprehensive Performance Review (mid 2000s) to Local Area Agreements (late 2000s).

These six 'roots' are summarised here with the long list of MCTs that reflect the characteristics of each of the roots.

FIGURE 3.4 LIST OF POSSIBLE PRECEDENTS FOR MCTS

Evolutionary category	Example tools and techniques (adapted from Carmona and Sieh 2004)
(1) Engineering and quality control techniques	• quality control • PERT charts • Ishikawa / fishbone / cause and effect diagrams • Service blue-printing • SERVQUAL, SERVPERF, Customer satisfaction surveys, Focus groups • Benchmarking • total quality management • Quality Function Deployment (House of Quality) • ISO 9000
(2) Accounting techniques / key financial indicators	Financial performance figures that are indicators of a company's performance.
(3) Project evaluation strategies and techniques	Four groups: 1. Scientific-experimental models 2. Management-oriented systems models 3. Qualitative / anthropological models 4. Participant-oriented models • Two types: Formative and summative evaluation • Including the technique of Multicriteria Analysis, MCA, which is a type of needs assessment. Programme evaluation – Lincoln and Guba's (1989) four generations of evaluation. First generation: measurement Second generation: description Third generation: judgment Fourth generation: responsive constructivism
(4) Subject (built environment / urban management)-specific prescription, evaluation, assessment techniques (apolitical but technical)	• Building Rating methods – e.g. BREEAM • Movement-focused – Space Syntax • Urban design / architectural inventories, primers, treatises, assessment methods – e.g. Vitruvius, Palladio, Alberti, Parker Morris, New Urbanism coding, pattern books, urban assembly toolkits prescribing design processes (such as the Urban Design Compendium in the UK, Llewelyn-Davies 2000 for English Partnerships) • Placecheck

Evolutionary category	Example tools and techniques (adapted from Carmona and Sieh 2004)
	• Sustainability measurement frameworks
(5) Performance management in **private sector** organisations	• Employee satisfaction measures • Skills-based Quality Management (SBQM) • Intellectual Capital • Investors in People • European Foundation for Quality Management's Business Excellence Model (EFQM) • Balanced Scorecard (Kaplan and Norton 1996)
(6) Performance management in **public sector** organisations	• composite indicators (for example, Jacobs and Goddard 2007) • measurement of planning outcomes • measurement of outcomes • Moving Towards Excellence family for public services
(7) Subject specific approach to Performance management in public sector organisations	• Tools for assessing economic aspects • Tools for assessing social aspects • Local environmental quality focused - Local Environmental Quality Survey (LEQS) family • Housing focused- Housing Quality Indicators, Building for Life • Movement-focused – Space Syntax, Pedestrian Environment Review System (PERS) • Green spaces and parks focused – Green Flag Awards, Greenstat, Towards an Excellent Service (TAES) for Parks • Street Excellence (based on EFQM) • Urban design / architectural inventories, primers, treatises, assessment methods –e.g. Design Quality Indicator, Spaceshaper • Town Centre Healthcheck • Market Town Healthcheck • Sustainability measurement frameworks • Quality of Life Capital
(8) New public governance-focused subject specific prescription, evaluation, assessment techniques as a direct response to complex governing needs.	• Tools for assessing economic aspects • Tools for assessing social aspects • Local environmental quality focused - Local Environmental Quality Survey (LEQS) family • Housing focused- Housing Quality Indicators • Movement-focused – Pedestrian Environment Review System (PERS) • Green spaces and parks focused – Greenstat • Design Quality Indicator

Evolutionary category	Example tools and techniques (adapted from Carmona and Sieh 2004)
	• Spaceshaper • Town Centre Healthcheck • Market Town Healthcheck • Quality of Life Capital

Reflections on evolution and MCT design

The relationships between the six roots might be characterised as follows:

FIGURE 3.5 EVOLUTION FROM PRECEDENTS TO MCT
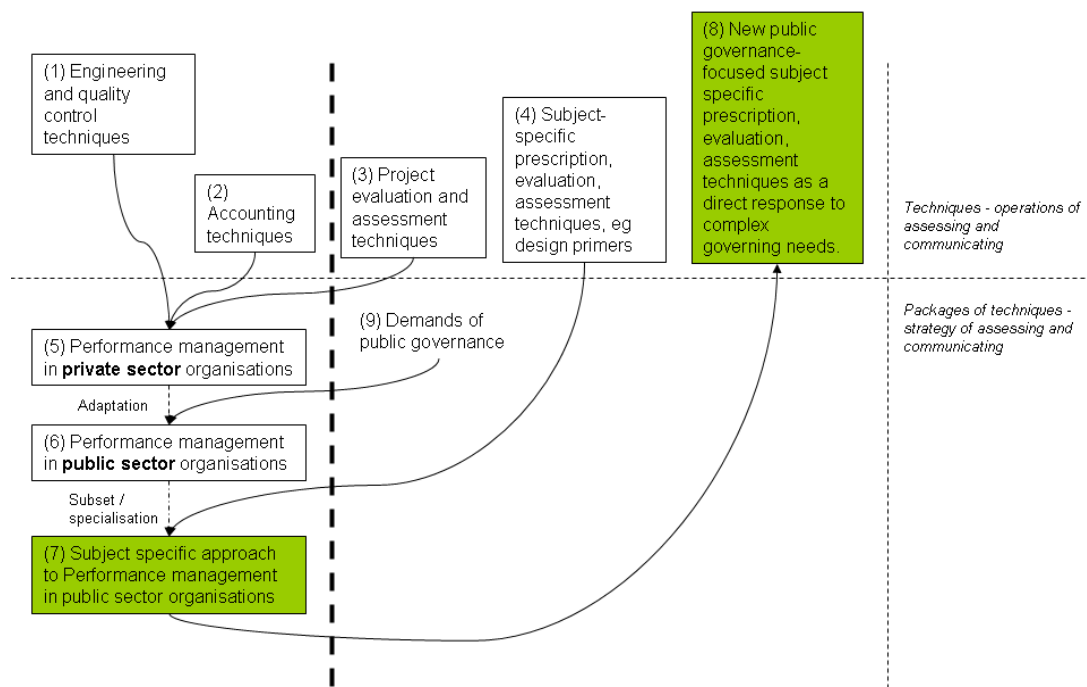
In the upper half are techniques concerned with the operations of assessing and communicating. In the lower half are packages of techniques concerned with the strategy of assessing, communicating and sense-making-shaping. MCTs we are studying are located in (4), (7) and (8). The column to the left of the fat dotted line refers to more prescriptive areas of performance assessment which require less interpretation. The column to the right of the fat dotted line refers to less prescriptive areas which require more interpretation.

The six 'roots' contribute to the development of MCTs in the following way. Quality control and accounting techniques underpin performance

management techniques in the private sector. Projects evaluation techniques can also be deployed in the private sector. Private sector performance management then become the inspiration for and are adapted for public sector use, often badly with perverse effects. While there are performance regimes deploying multiple dimensions, such as various 'baskets of indicators' for social or health services, these remain firmly technologies for statistical analysis and in highly summarised form, political communication. MCTs heavily on the tradition of design primers. Not only that, they also seem to cross the boundaries as set out by the distinction of summative and formative evaluations easily, and often, accidentally. They also often address both the related 'is it?' (associated with formative) and 'it is' (associated with summative) aspects of communication. 'Is it?' refers to the capturing, constructing and communicating facts, whereas 'it is' refers only to the communicating; this is when MCTs (or any bit of evidence) is used to 'make a point' or 'convince others'. This was as noted by Saltelli (2007) who discussed the two key functions of composite indicators: analysis and advocacy.

As discussions in Chapter 5 will show, a sensemaking approach will actually conflate these two aspects, through the idea that there is a mutually causal cycle that runs iteratively between 'what we think' and 'what we do'. Given this, it might be more useful to think about the precedents as streams of influence that overlap to inform the knowledge held by those who developed the MCTs for public space.

Some characteristics of MCTs

MCTs share a set of mechanisms that, when 'mapped onto' or overlay key mechanics of sensemaking, will attenuate those mechanics. Understanding MCT mechanisms are therefore a template for analysing how MCTs work.

<u>1 Dimensions or criteria, intra and inter dimensional design</u>

'Dimensions' or criteria of the MCT are the defining element of MCTs. They define the objects, and to a lesser extent, the subjects hat are to be evaluated, and enable users to notice, observe and capture visual, aural or

other 'signals' or 'cues' that arise from the object of evaluation. Here, that object will be some aspect of public space. Most MCTs organise dimensions into nested categories, and there may be more than one level of this organising. In some MCTs, the design of the MCT allows inclusion / exclusion / increasing / decreasing of impact of particular dimensions on the sense-made, through weighting. Both weighting and 'nesting' of dimensional levels are characteristics of inter-dimensional design, as it changes the relative impact of a particular dimension on the overall sense made, and the relationships in the sense-maker's mind between the aspects that those dimensions. For some MCTs it is possible to sum up the total result of sense-making across all the dimensions. Dimensions themselves communicate something. They have to be of a 'language' that is understood by its users, whether this is discursive, numerical or even visual.

2 Comparison / comparators

Comparators, which are effectively the same as 'frames' in sensemaking (Weick 1995), are that which give meaning to a signal. Without comparators, there simply can be no 'measurement', no 'evaluation', no 'meaning'. Comparators define the type of meaning, but may also tell us about the intended final aim of deploying the MCT. The comparator may take the form of a description, a scale (numerical or categorical) or even a graphic. Comparators can be found built into dimensions already, for example, in a dimension worded "Is the street well-connected?", the comparator is effectively the connectedness of the street. An example of an extra-dimensional comparator may be a set score across all the dimensions which make that particular score meaningful.

3 Communication

'Communication' refers to the means by which the meaning emerging is made known to the users themselves and to others. This aspect is examined to understand how MCTs make things easily comprehensible and convincing.

Languages with which people use to conceptualise the object of sense-making often affects the sense finally made, because it would have shaped

the 'argumentations to self'. To extend that, if someone thinks about a problem in numbers, their solutions will reflect this. If they think about a problem as poetry, their solutions will likewise reflect that. So, MCTs are in practice, never 'message-free'. Even where they are used as 'fact finding' tools, they very easily end up being 'campaigning' tools for particular points of view. By their very design, from limiting signals via dimensions onwards, MCTs are geared towards giving messages, not pure 'fact finding'.

<u>4 How deployed</u>

Understanding **how the MCT is deployed** matters because they directly contribute to actions or thought processes that shape the construction of meaning and thus, the sense / value / meaning that is finally made. How an MCT is used affects it's the sense it makes as much as, or more than what its dimension capture and communicate. Three aspects of MCT deployment particularly matter. The first is the arena of deployment - many MCTs are designed to be used under very specific circumstances, for example, only by accredited facilitators, or with strictly controlled data collection procedures and sampling frames. The second is access to the arena, a very important issue for public governance, and the third is the consequentiality attached to the result of the MCT, for example, rewards or sanctions.

These four dimensions become suggested foci for exploring how MCTs operate. The following and final section sets out a brief description of the four MCTs which are deployed in the empirical data for this research.

MCTs in this research

The four MCTs found within the empirical data were selected through a process described in Chapter 4. A fuller description of the MCTs is set out in **Appendix 3.1.** Here, they are discussed under the four dimensions of MCT operation, plus a brief introduction of the origins and format. Here it is sufficient to note that they are widely used, have some measure of 'official' support at the national level and were selected to cover a range of issues in public space. They are: Building for Life (BfL), a nationally accepted standard for the design of residential developments, Community Street Audit (CSA), a

means of enabling local groups and local authorities to evaluate the quality of their walking environment, Market Town Healthcheck (MTH), a protocol for enabling local people to assess the general state of their town including the state of public space, and Local Environment Quality Survey (LEQS), a survey tool which is the basis for the annual national survey of cleanliness, or 'local environmental quality'.

<u>Origins</u>

All of these tools have been developed in the past twenty five years. Building for Life was the basis of assessing an awards scheme run by a third sector organisation campaigning for better housing quality, 'Design for Homes', which was the descendant of the Royal Institute of British Architects' Housing Group and "a voice for design in the residential sector" (Design for Homes 2009). BfL was subsequently endorsed and adopted by the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) as a national standard for housing. Subsequently it was also adopted as an evaluation standard by other national bodies such as the Homes and Communities Agency (HCA). The Community Street Audit was developed by Living Streets, formerly the Pedestrian Association and "are a method for evaluating the quality of public space – streets, housing estates, parks and squares – from the viewpoint of the people who use it, rather than those who manage it" (Living Streets 2002). The Market Town Healthcheck originated with the Countryside Agency, and now 'owned' by Action for Market Towns. The Local Environment Quality Survey protocols are 'owned' by 'Keep Britain Tidy' (formerly ENCAMS) and have been developed in conjunction with consultancy work done by ENCAMS between 1989 and 1999. LEQS has become agreed protocol for reporting on a set of key indicators that would give a reliable and easily understood benchmark of the state of the physical environment. The LEQS forms the basic protocol for a range of national surveys, programmes and a nationally recognised set of key indicators. The Local Environment Quality Survey of England (LEQSE), an independent review of local environment quality across the country was initiated in 2001 by the government, and has been published every year since (ENCAMS 2005).

<u>Format</u>

Building for Life is presented in a number of formats, including a website with dimensions and good practice examples, a brochure and an easy reference flipchart. Community Street Audit is presented in a DIY brochure which sets out a series of questions for users. The Market Town Healthcheck has a far less user-friendly good practice guide. There are in fact 2 parts to the Healthcheck which involves multiple dimensions. The first is the 'snapshot' of the town and surrounding countryside, and the second is 'the Worksheets' whose aim is to enable a SWOT analysis. The LEQS is always conducted by trained surveyors, whose results are entered electronically and stored in an EXCEL spreadsheet. The interface the audience sees may vary from some version of coloured bar charts to various crunched numbers. The actual dimensions are not publicly available as this is a proprietary tool.

<u>Dimensions</u>

The BfL has twenty dimensions set out as non-technical questions, with a short descriptive text and associated examples to illustrate the meaning of the question. The dimensions are grouped into 4 categories: Character, Roads, parking and pedestrianisation, Design and construction, Environment and Community.

FIGURE 3.6 EXCERPT FROM BUILDING FOR LIFE WEBSITE SHOWING SOME OF THE 20 CRITERIA

The 20 criteria

The 20 Building for Life criteria embody our vision of functional, attractive, and sustainable housing.

The Building for Life criteria are a series of 20 questions which are used to evaluate the quality of new housing developments.

Watch our video explaining the 20 criteria or browse them individually below:

Environment and community

01. Does the development provide (or is it close to) community facilities, such as a school, parks, play areas, shops, pubs or cafes?

02. Is there an accommodation mix that reflects the needs and aspirations of the local community?

03. Is there a tenure mix that reflects the needs of the local community?

04. Does the development have easy access to public transport?

05. Does the development have any features that reduce its environmental impact?

The DIY version of the CSA has at least 60 jargon-free questions designed for public use, and organised into 8 categories: Footway surfaces and obstructions, Facilities and signage, Maintenance and enforcement issues, Personal security, Crossing points and desire lines, Road layout and space allocation, Aesthetics and Traffic.

Eight audit categories

1 Footway surfaces and obstructions
Quality and mix of materials; footway condition; inspection and hole covers; positioning, alignment and condition of street furniture; temporary obstructions including cars, advertising boards, shop front displays and road works.

2 Facilities and signage
Toilets, benches, litterbins, lighting, trees, signs for pedestrians.

3 Maintenance and enforcement issues
Litter; footway cleanliness, repair and patching; flyposting and graffiti; parking enforcement.

4 Personal security
Lighting levels, sightlines, natural surveillance, anti-social behaviour, and escape routes.

5 Crossing points and desire lines
Both formal crossings (Zebras, Pelicans, Puffins) and informal (no specific provision), including consideration of desire lines, i.e. the routes that people most want to take.

6 Road layout and space allocation
The share of space allocated to different users and the relationship of different elements of the street to each other.

7 Aesthetics
Beauty and interest, public art, fountains, statues, green space - noise, smell, and ugliness.

8 Traffic
Traffic speed and volume, air pollution, noise and smell.

In the following sections we'll look at these categories one by one – what questions you should be asking and what sorts of solutions might be available.

17

The MTH SWOT analysis on a range of topic areas under the 4 overarching topic areas at the highest level (3): Environment, Economy, Social and Community issues, and Transport and Accessibility. At the next level down, the Healthcheck method requires the use of Worksheets with which to

assess the strengths and weaknesses of particular sub-topics; what topics those is again left to the people doing the Healthcheck. However, Healthcheck guidance suggests the broad top categories of Environment, Economy, Social and Community, Transport and accessibility.

Finally, the LEQA has 256 undisclosed dimensions but gathered first under 7 headline indicators which are really descriptions of public space elements, but also of standards applicable to those elements: cleansing standards, cleansing related, highway infrastructure, street furniture, litter bins, bus stops etc., landscaping. These are further described in detail at level 2, so for example, some of these headlines may be articulated with terms such as 'litter' and 'detritus.

Comparators

Each of the 20 BfL dimensions is set out as non-technical questions, which, if answered, will demonstrate principles of how housing can be designed to a high standard. Each dimension comes with a short descriptive text that elaborates on what the assessor should look for. It is possible to get single figure to sum up the result of a BfL assessment, in the form of points out of 20. 14 points is a silver standard, 16 a gold. As the tool was adjusted to simply an award assessment scheme to a national standard, some aspects of its scoring was modified.

There is no scoring, aggregating or weighting of CSA results. Instead, conclusions are drawn interpretively. The dimensions and audit categories form the basis for indepth discussion and observation of pedestrian environment. The comparators are simply within the wording of the questions that enable focus and thinking about observations of the walking environment in the right way.

For the MTH, there are generic worksheets that aid Healthcheckers on what sorts of questions to ask, but no ready-made facility for summing up or aggregating findings although it is again up to those carrying out the

Healthchecks. The language of comparators is unprescribed, Healthcheckers can choose to use open ended or close ended questions to put to.

Comparisons across areas and across time are both possible with the LEWS and much carried out. The comparators at the headline dimension level are given by a 16 point cardinal scale. Calibration is achieved through training and mentoring of the 'surveyors' or data collectors, who learn how to identify the 'standard quality interval' (SQI) on the ground.

Over communication

The language of communication of the Bf: is both numerical and discursive (the explanations given by the assessor for the reasons for the scoring of the scheme). The former is useful to quickly sum up an overall picture. The latter enables negotiators to communicate with each other, by focusing attention on the same few issues, using the same terms, to ensure that all parties have purchase on the issues. In the CSA, the communication of results is entirely contained within a report. There is no inbuilt facility for graphic or numerical reporting. If professionally carried out, then this report is likely to be very detailed, but DIY audits will usually also produce some form of report or presentation. MTH users have a great deal of autonomy to modify the detailed conduct and content of the Healthcheck, so there are no prescribed methods of communication. However, it is the very doing of the Healthcheck that enables communication to take place in multiple ways. For example, the very questions in a survey inform respondents of what sorts of issues may be of concern. Finally, easily understood graphic communication is used with many of the LEQS family. For example, the LEQSE reduces the 16 SQI into 4 categories for communication purposes, and these are displayed in colour:

FIGURE 3.8 CATEGORISATIONS OF LEQSE PERFORMANCE

Good (+8 to +5 SQI) by Dark Green
Satisfactory (+4 to +1) by Light Green
Unsatisfactory (-1 to -4 SQI) by Yellow
Poor (-5 to -8 SQI) by Red

The LEQSE results are also displayed in a matrix form, SQI vs. land use type.

It is important to note the covert communication that MCTs activate. For example, the endorsements they carry are communications about their own trustworthiness, and rewards and sanctions related to their results is communication about how important meeting MCT criteria really are. As discussed above, the very conduct of many MCTs are themselves communication about how seriously a local authority or central government is taking a particular issue, and data collection itself communicates what issues are important.

How deployed

BfL is mainly used for assessment purposes, either of proposed or built schemes, but whose dimensions and documents also used for training purposes. As BfL's profile as a national standard increased, so too efforts to control its use, at least as an assessment tool whose results have consequences (such as funding from HCA or planning permission being granted on the back of the result); a standard needs credibility. This means that the 'sampling' / 'data collection' and 'comparison' conditions in instances of BfL use where the results have consequences were more controlled, through facilitation by CABE-accredited assessors. The two levels of BfL (hard score and soft discussion) enabled several possible dynamics of its use. The former encourages a 'beat the minimum' approach, the latter can be seen as positive in fostering discussion.

There is no 'control' of CSA by Living Streets through restricted facilitation; Living Streets encourages all to use it, either independently via DIY audit, or professionally, where Living Streets consultants will conduct the Audit. In the DIY version, data collection, comparison and communication / reporting of results are facilitated only by written guidance, available from Living Streets. In this case, the local people conducting the Audit are the data collectors, with their own background knowledge and the physicality of the location being the 'data'. In the professionally conducted version, the Living Streets

facilitators can be considered the 'data collectors' and local people taking part in the audit are as much part of the data source for them as is the physicality of the location. The design of the CSA is very much as a 'learn-to-observe' exercise, which is a non-adversarial mode of engaging people from across the stakeholder spectrum. The CSA is designed to be deployed at an early stage to understand an area's pedestrian environment better, but is not too 'technical' about it.

MTH users had autonomy over how it was deployed. In effect, the Healthcheck is a data collection and SWOT analysis process that leads to the narrowing down of options, but one in which every stage is conducted by the partnership, and consulted on with a range of stakeholders. Its credibility and acceptability is rooted in the full engagement of the community in the process. In any given Healthcheck there is likely to be a range of sampling methods reflecting the specific locality's needs and through the data collection methods deployed, and this is decided in consultation with the Healthcheck partners.

Finally, because LEQS is the basis of national surveys and standards, with public consequences hinging on the results, and also because it is a proprietary tool, its deployment is highly controlled to maintain credibility and control. It is only ever trained surveyors who use it, and the sampling techniques are sophisticated to give as representative a sample as possible, effectively, deploying a quota sampling approach.

3.3. Conclusion

This chapter delineated the research setting by exploring relevant literature around public space governing and by setting out a definition of a popular non-monetary expression of value; what is, in this research, designated multi-criteria tools (MCTs). It describes the research setting for understanding how the construction of value takes place and how to theorise it. To do so, the research has to lead to result in the construction of a theory-based model to describe and explain value construction in public space governing as mediated by MCTs.

The next Chapter sets out the methodology for the research, which involves drawing on a range of theories and empirical data simultaneously to achieve this aim.

Chapter 4 Methodology

Recapitulation

The aims of this research are to understand how meaning-making is managed in governing, and also, to build a theory-based explanation for empirical observations of public space governing as the management of meaning, in the case of multi-criteria tools. Insights generated may result in a framework that can act as a heuristic to enable practitioners to work in a more self-aware manner, taking into account both political and technical aspects.

In the preceding chapter, the case way made for the use of multi-criteria tools (MCTs) in public space governing present a good opportunity for addressing the research question. This is because MCTs are non-monetary expression of values. They are the means by which MCT users, and particularly, MCT owners, express themselves, and in so doing, exert their preferences over others, i.e. managing the values of those others by attenuating their meaning construction. Conveniently, MCTs are everywhere in built environment and local governing, reflecting the importance of communicative function of government, as well as the very complexity of the built environment.

It is important to emphasise that 'to explain' here means 'to make intelligible' rather than 'to (dis)confirm adherence to universal causal laws'. The background to this distinction was discussed in Chapter 2, and the approach taken in this research is in line with social science research whose aim is to better equip actors to deepen and to make more sophisticated their understanding of how social phenomena come to be. Indeed, the research is located right at the heart of the assumption of such an understanding of social science, which is that there are no 'universal causal laws' governing societal interactions in which social actors are rational; instead, social actors tend to be rationalising as opposed to rational, and rationalising in turn means that they participate in a process of 'making sense' of a social situation as a way of guiding their intentional actions within that situation. This research studies how this 'rationalising' happens in public space

governing. It looks at how MCTs help actors attenuate their own and others' rationalising processes.

This chapter sets out the methodology to address the research aim, to "theorise in order to explain the attenuation of meaning construction in public space governing," and to answer the research question, "How is value managed in public space governance?"

Structure of this chapter

This chapter has four Parts.

The first outlines the methodological approach, which has been described as 'Garfinkel-Eisenhardt' as it is based on a hybrid of Garfinkel's (1967) documentary method that provides overall shape of how the research proceeds, which are iterations between theory and data, and Eisenhardt's (1989) method of theory-building from empirical data, which describes in detail those iterations. This part describes how the conduct of the research starts with theory and data simultaneously and justifies this approach. The second part deals with the conduct of the research, which describes both theoretical and empirical aspects in parallel. This part discusses the following steps: choosing a research setting and selection of sensemaking as the template with which to 'operationalise' or 'instrumentalise' a constructivist paradigm, defining the field of observation, collecting and analysing data as an iterative process, and deciding how to present the findings. Part 3 looks the scope of the research and the implications on the methodology, and Part 4 discusses the difficulties encountered in the research.

4.1. Part 1 Methodological approach: theory-building

As discussed in Chapter 1, studying the management of value in public space governing, which is a very high level and general description, we needed a focusing device, a research setting. This was provided by MCTs; they were the 'field of observation'. However, because there has been no prior conceptualisation in literature of what MCTs do, no widely accepted way of either discussing what they do or even agreement on what they are, I needed to build one. Abductive reasoning was deployed. I drew from 'below',

from observations on the ground of what MCTs do and inducting a conceptualisation. I also drew from 'above', from high level and abstract theory, from 'sensemaking' which is couched in a constructivist paradigm. So the inductive process was not completely freeform, but guided by sensemaking and its assumptions. See "Figure 1.2: Mutually modifying and iterative approach" in Chapter 1. The overarching feature of the methodology is the continued systematic movement between empirical observation and the theoretical framework, which mutually inform the other. In this research, this takes into account high level paradigmatic concerns of a contructivist paradigm as well as intermediate level frameworks based in a constructivist paradigm and developed for other areas of inquiry. Of these intermediate level frameworks, the primary precedent taken here is the heuristic of 'sensemaking', a decision that will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Nevertheless, other frameworks also provide inspiration and are discussed briefly in Part 2 below.

Garfinkel-Eisenhardt: start with theory and data simultaneously

This bottom-up from the empirical and top-down from a constructivist paradigm pincer-movement of a research approach, draws on firstly, Garfinkel's (1967) documentary method, as stated in Chapter 1, and secondly, practical steps based on Eisenhardt's (1989) proposed method for theory-building from case studies. The explanatory potential of sensemaking led to its deployment it as the basis of an 'a priori' if fragmented set of constructs that describes what MCTs do.

Given the exploratory and theory-building nature of the research, I adopted the 'documentary method' first described by Garfinkel (1967) and reported by Weick (1995).

 *"A specific observation becomes linked with a more general form or idea in the interest of (a clearer understanding of the observation), which then clarifies the meaning of the particular which then alters slightly the general, and so on. The abstract and the concrete inform and construct one another. Actions create the **conditions** for further action (Shotter, 1993, p. 156), the*

course of which remains vague prospectively, but clearer in retrospect"
(Weick 1995 p51).

FIGURE 4.1 THE CONCEPTUALISATION-OPERATIONALISATION CYCLE

This diagram shows standard research actions of conceptualisation and operationalisation, which happens in any research, and is effectively what Garfinkel is describing. The realm of theory is general and abstract, and the realm of empirical data specific and concrete.
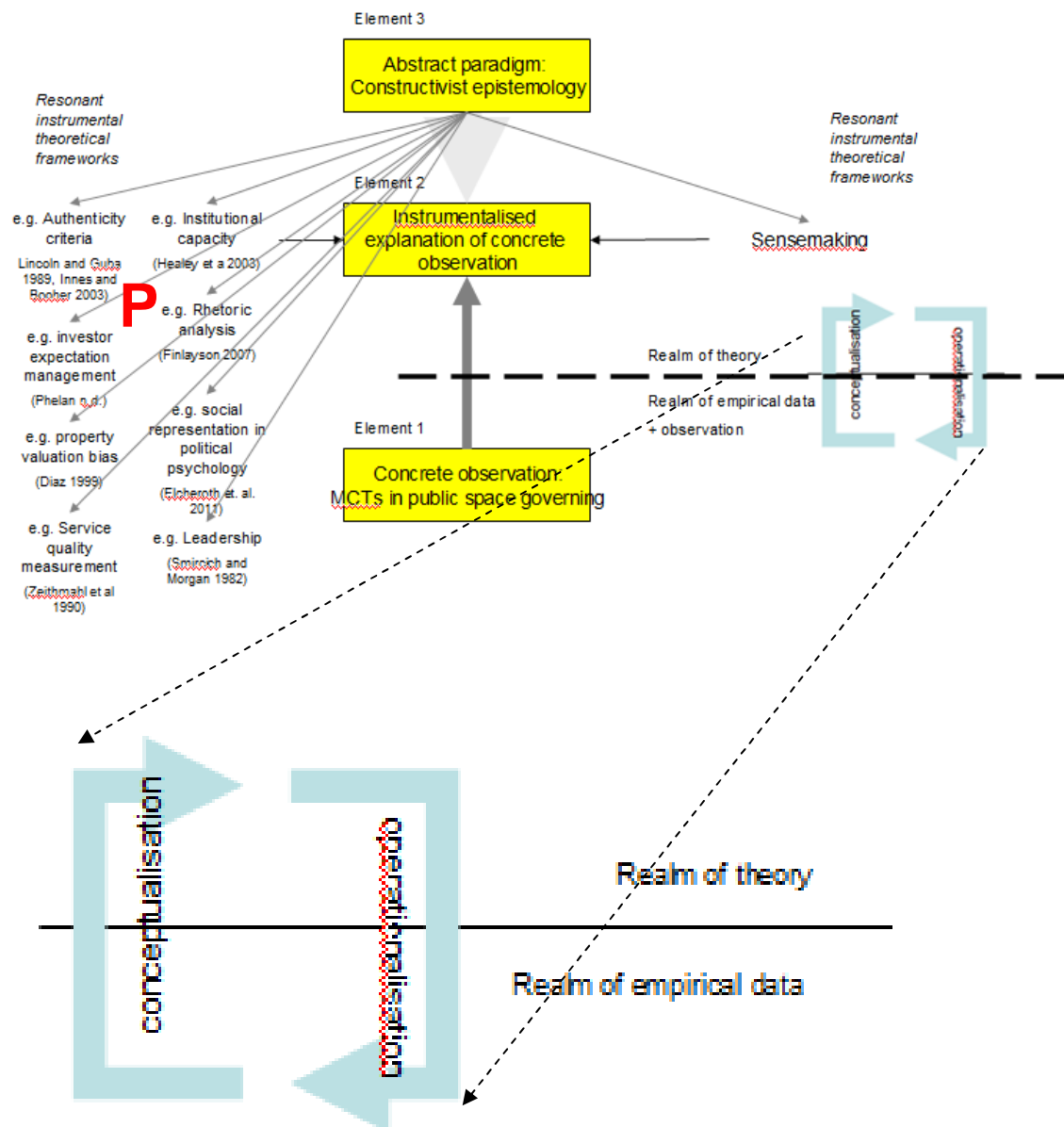
The methodology involved two sets of simultaneous actions. The first was to observe a broad range of what MCTs do in public space governance. This was the 'specific observation' visited upon the realm of data. The second

was to seek out, bring together and refine theories at the intermediate operational level, marked **'P'** in Figure 4.1 above, that are resonant with sensemaking, the preferred basis for a theoretical framework or the 'more general form or idea', to build develop a way for describing what MCTs do, how they work and to explain why they work. These will be discussed in Chapter 5. This is visited on the realm of theory. In this iterative process the primary data is 'confronted' with this the theoretical framework, which would 'clarify the meaning of the particular observation'.

FIGURE 4.2 CONCEPTUALISATION AND OPERATIONALISATION IN CONFIRMATORY OR HYPOTHESIS-TESTING RESEARCH

In classic hypothesis-testing research, the aim is (dis)confirmatory, to (dis)confirm that if A then B, by modelling A and B as A' and B'. If the conceptualisation and operationalisation operations (i.e. a and b) are valid, and conclusions can be drawn about relationship between A and B. RED CROSS denotes the where conclusion of research lies.
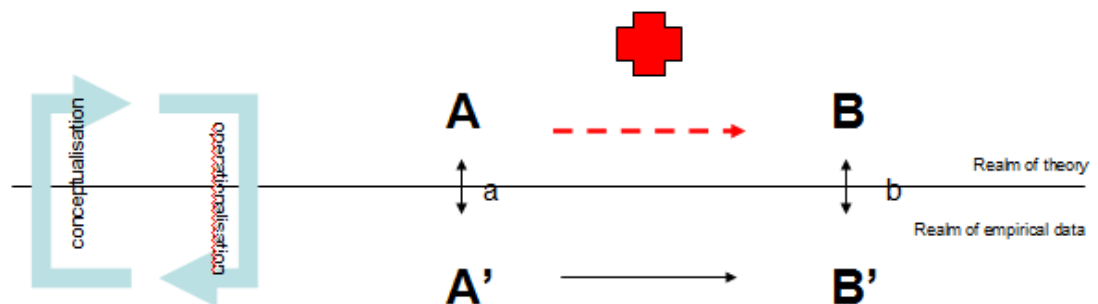
The aim of this research is to be able to describe what MCTs do. It involves theory-building in the interest of making what MCTs do 'intelligible', so as to better understand how the construction of value or meaning in a multi-actor interactive governing situation can be understood and thus managed by those involved.

When we develop A and B in the mould of sensemaking, we see that we can create a narrative that is coherent both with the interpretivist paradigm (A* and B*) as well as the empirical observations (A* and B*).

A and B*: abstract interpretivist theory*

In searching for a theoretical basis, we apply an interpretivist paradigm of knowledge, denoted by A* and B* below, and we hypothesise that this can be operationalised via the heuristic of sensemaking (Weick 1995). This 'intermediate' rather than 'abstract' theoretical level is depicted by **A and B** below. Operationalisation between abstract and intermediate theoretical levels is denoted by the blue dotted arrows.

A and B: intermediate theoretical heuristic in the mould of sensemaking

The key output of the research is denoted by the 'A and B' level (marked by the RED CROSS). This is the intermediate theoretical heuristic that explains the observations at A' and B' via an interpretivist paradigm (A* and B*). The heuristic can explain the empirical observations of A'' s impact on B', which shows that A' has plausible impact on B'. A' and B' thus give empirical grounding to this research's development of A and B.

A' and B': empirical observations

We see that A' gives insight into A; A is a plausible way of conceptualising the observed features of A'. Similarly, when we develop B, we see that B' gives insights into plausibility of B as a model of how governing proceeds.

A*   B*   High level abstract theory / paradigm

Point 5

Conceptualisation

operationalisation

A   B

Realm of theory

Realm of empirical data

A'   B'

impact on

MCTs   governing
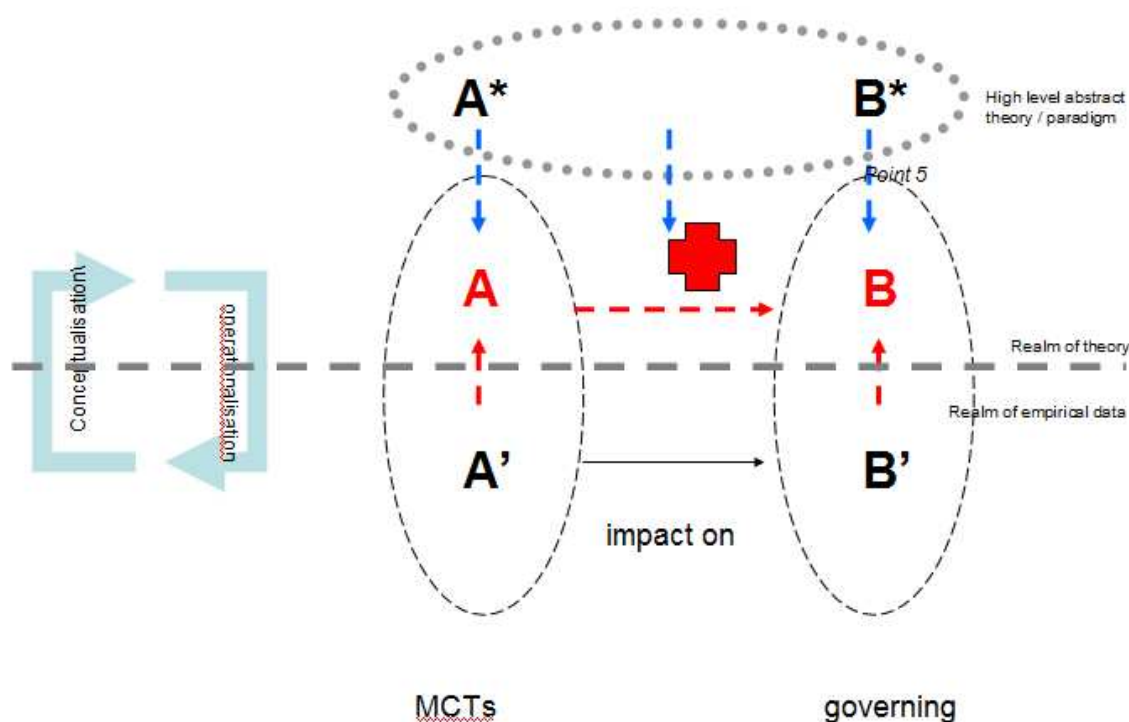
<u>Ensuring robustness of theory built</u>

This project deploys criteria standards of robustness common to confirmatory interpretivist research (Lincoln and Guba's 1989), but makes them not tests of plausibility of the confirmation, but safeguards of robustness of the theory that is built; that is, the plausibility of theory built. Lincoln and Guba (1989) discussed a number of 'trustworthiness of process' criteria for constructivist evaluation and discussed the use of criteria that were 'parallel' to classic positivistic criteria for the soundness.

These are:
- Confirmability which mirrors internal validity in positivist research.
- Credibility, objectivity.
- Transferability, generalisability and
- Dependability, reliability.

These form the basis for testing every inference made in constructing 'B'.

CONFIRMABILITY

'Confirmability' is concerned with "assuring that data, interpretations and outcomes of inquiries are … not simply figments of the evaluator's imagination (Lincoln and Guba 1989 p243). Its positivist parallel is 'objectivity', but this cannot apply directly to the conduct of a constructivist approach as it does not claim to be independent of the object of inquiry. Confirmability can be achieved through the trackability of results back to the raw data. This means that the evidence from individual interviewees should all strengthen the narratives constructed. This makes for robust framework building. This is evident in the use of quotes in Chapters 6, 7a and 7b, where possible. In Chapters 7a and 7b, references are made to the relevant theoretical antecedent, where they exist.

CREDIBILITY

'Credibility' is a measure of the 'truth value' of a constructivist inquiry. In contrast to its parallel positivist criteria of 'internal validity' which is the assessment of isomorphism between findings and an objective reality, 'credibility' seeks the isomorphism between constructed realities of different stakeholders (Lincoln and Guba 1989).

Triangulation where possible

This is achieved by adhering to the basic principle of triangulation and ensuring that triangulation is carried down through every level of narrative constructed, and between levels of narrative. "Every method is a different line of sight directed towards the same point, observing social and symbolic reality. By combining several lines of sight, researchers obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality; a richer, more complete array of symbols and theoretical concepts; and a means of verifying many of these elements" (Berg 2007).

There are four main ways of triangulation: data, theory, researcher / investigator, and research method (Berg 2007). All of these are self-explanatory, but it is mainly data and theory triangulation, and a hybrid type, that are deployed here, since researcher triangulation is not possible with

only one researcher, and resource limitations prevent research method triangulation. The logic behind each type of triangulation reflects the logics behind Eisenhardt's (1989) theory-building methodology.

To be precise, triangulation here includes data-data, data-theory and theory-theory types, given that the research involved both seeking answers to the open-ended question of 'how MCTs work', and also the sharpening of the sensemaking-based theoretical model to answer that very question and to explain it.

Data-data

'Data-data triangulation' here involved seeking to build a coherent account of the 'constructed realities' from different data sources, here, both different MCTs in different governing situations, and within each situation, different interviewees with different interest positions.

Theory-theory

'Theory-theory triangulation' was highly relied upon, and this reflects Eisenhardt's (1989) requirement of enfolding a range of similar and dissimilar theories. What was notable in this research was involving theories from different disciplinary traditions, and to build on their striking corroboration.

Data-theory

'Data-theory triangulation' was created by the pincer-movement shape of the research approach, as illustrated in **Figure 1.1**. The resulting constructivist explanation for 'how MCTs work' in the constructivist terms of 'how MCTs help governing actors attenuate meaning construction in public space governing, and also the operational prescriptive framework that sits alongside it, is coherent with both theory and empirical data. On the 'theory' side, there is both the high level paradigm of a constructivist epistemology as well as the intermediate levels of theoretical frameworks from other areas of study. On the 'data' side, there is evidence drawn from the research setting of 'how MCTs work'.

TRANSFERABILITY

This refers to the applicability of the research result to other similar situations. This 'transfer' is not mechanically achieved. In any case, constructivists often take the position that their research findings are context-specific rather than universal, so a mechanical generalisability is not an ambition, nor is the sort of predictive power positivist research results claim for themselves (Lincoln and Guba 1989). However the plausibility of the applicability of abstract is a useful indicator of whether the findings are likely to be transferable, but testing this is beyond the scope of the research. This is not a test applicable to every step of theory building, but the final chapter proposes a number of ways in which the research findings may be transferable and thus useful.

DEPENDABILITY

Dependability, like reliability in the positivist paradigm, is "concerned with the stability of the data over time" given by the qualities of "consistency, predictability, dependability, stability" (Lincoln and Guba 1989 p235) because experimental replicability is impossible in the social sciences. By definition, theory is general compared to concrete empirical observations; it is general description of something in the real world. Theories are only useful if they can be stable for at least a reasonable while, at least until they can be tested and either confirmed or disconfirmed. The variety of different governing situations from which the empirical data is drawn helps safeguard dependability of the resulting theory. "Consistency, predictability, dependability, stability" should characterise the theoretical framework constructed. Patterns of data that are the basis of new framework terms should be observed across a wide range of Solutions.

Justification for this approach

Such an approach involved both exploration and verification, and was appropriate at this early stage of knowledge development on the subject of MCT use in public space governing allowing the crafting of a plausible and increasingly sophisticated explanation of MCT functions. This is a 'naturalistic' approach and just like the way we acquire knowledge everyday,

the process is not linear, but cyclically and mutually causal, between knowledge acquisition and confirmation it against observations.

With such an approach, the operations *on* the data are not so much its 'analysis' that follows from its 'collection', which is classic 'scientific' terminology. Rather, with the help of the initial skeleton 'theoretical framework', I effectively 'sought out evidence' of the impact of MCTs on the construction and re-construction of meanings about public space, and then sought to develop coherent and plausible explanations for the observations of MCT impacts found in the data that also worked with the theory. In turn, close reading of the text allows further insights and the formulation of more sophisticated explanations of how and why MCTs work. These insights either strengthen, weaken or modify theory. The possibility of modifying theory is central to replication logic (Yin 1984 in Eisenhardt 1989). "… cases which confirm emergent relationships enhance confidence in the validity of the relationships. Cases which disconfirm the relationships often can provide an opportunity to refine and extend the theory" (Eisenhardt 1989 p542).

Theoretical bases from which to start

The theoretical bases are drawn from a range of sources, which triangulate each other, although they are all 'knitted around' an essentially constructivist approach, which is operationalised by social psychology and in particular, Weick's (1995) sensemaking. The state of knowledge about MCTs and what they do is still partial and fragmented, so the framework is necessarily so. Eisenhardt (1989) recognises that any "(a priori constructs) are tentative in this type of research" (Eisenhardt 1989 p536). The 'theorisation' in this research will fill in the gaps in this incomplete and speculative framework, and refining or 'sharpening' it, as Eisenhardt (1989) says, and make it more sophisticated (Lincoln and Guba 1989).

Empirical bases from which to start

MCTs were selected for reasons already discussed: they are the non-monetary expression of value, they present many opportunities for observation, they lay bare a range of governing interactions. These will be

given by observations of MCTs at work, and these were identified via discussions with practitioners and then preliminary interviews with a mix of MCT owners and users to assess the breadth of use of the MCT and the potential to provide insights.

<u>Scope and limitations of this approach</u>

While this is 'theory-building' research, follow up research based on the resulting theoretical framework may focus on confirming various aspects of this.

As already discussed, triangulation of interpretations of data is not possible between researchers as there is only one researcher. However, there is possibility of strong triangulation between elements of data, and between data and theory, and between theory and theory to make findings credible.

4.2. Part 2 Conduct of the research

Research is simply 'disciplined inquiry', about which is possible to submit for public inspection and verification "both the raw materials entering into the argument and the logical processes by which they were compressed and rearranged to make the conclusion credible" (Cronbach and Suppes 1969 in Lincoln and Guba 1989 p44). So reporting the research process is seen as 'capturing' of a number of revolutions in this continual cycle of inquiry. What is captured is then presented, unpacked or unrolled or flattened into an extended linear form of a thesis to explain how the 'cycle' within public space governing is affected by MCTs.

In line with the methodological approach set out above, all steps discussed here will involve operations in both the theoretical and the empirical spheres, where relevant. This Part sets out the iterations between the two spheres as shown by the pale blue angular arrows in Figures 3a, 3b and 3c.

Within this schema, a more conventional set of stages is used to describe how the research was actually done.

'Choosing the research setting and seeking a way to operationalise a constructivist epistemology' is equivalent to deciding on a theoretical framework for observing the data and also simply, the object of observation. We may think of this as 'structuring the field of observation' or the equivalent of 'sampling'.

However, in this research, we are also testing the very plausibility of that operationalisation, rather than using the operationalisation simply as a means for setting up a testing of a hypothesis. How does this work? How can an empirically-grounded but theoretically inspired operationalisation be tested for plausibility? It is through testing the triangulated 'conceptualisation' across different detailed levels of data, and along the sequence of incidents that form a narrative. Plausibility and coherence, therefore, are ultimately founded on what philosophers call 'folk psychology', which is also the basis of intelligibility of social situations. If operationalisations are to be plausible, therefore, conceptualisations need to be coherent. Both plausibility and coherence are tested by multiple iterations between concepts of what MCTs do, and operationalised observations of data to check if such a conceptualisation makes sense, and back to modifying the concept again, and so on (**See Figure 4.4**).

FIGURE 4.4 HOW THE RESEARCH PROCEEDED

realm of observation | realm of theory

Measuring value to death in practice. Why not manage value?

C3 Decision to research this empirically, focusing on the use of MCTs as research setting.

conceptualisation

operationalisation

Need to take an interpretivist approach to research.

In order to study the construction of meaning and its management.

C4

Conduct empirical research: structure field of observation by **identifying MCTs and Solution Networks.**

Extract Solutions – depicted as shifts from A to B1, to A to B2 – from raw interview texts.

Search for a way of operationalising / instrumentalising the management of value. This is really an aim of interpretivist research. To describe and increase understanding of what MCTs do in the management of value.

Choose sensemaking as the mould for understanding the mechanics of the management of value. *This gives us basic CYCLICAL model and the 2x2 fix/move-belief/action categorisation.*

A6.2
Break down Solutions further to make **Analytical Steps**, based on consideration of belief-action cycle stages (belief, private action, public action).

Refine understanding of contributions of MCT to **individual actor's belief, private action, public action sub-steps**, where known.

A6.1
Assess and edit to reduce 'Solutions' to **Key Stories**, as a presentation and focusing device.

A6.2a
Annotate description of impact of MCT on each Actor for each Analytical sub-step of B, PR, PU describe how MCTs impact, and why MCT works.

A6.3
Revisit Key Stories raw text according to whether MCTs affect belief, PR or PU stages of cycle each Actor of each Analytical sub-step.

Articulate impact of MCT on governing situation for each Analytical Step.

Consider Key Stories data against the **6 Conditions** that drive cycle, and their states of the framework.

Restate the data across all solution networks, in terms of the full detailed framework.

Modifying theory, extending theory-based operational framework.

In order to set up this testing, three general stages of a research methodology apply:

- Stage 1: 'defining the field of observation'
- Stage 2: 'collecting and processing of data', and
- Stage 3: 'presenting the analysis and findings'.

FIGURE 4.41 THREE GENERAL STAGES OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Key:

Stage 1: 'defining the field of observation'

Stage 2: 'collecting and processing of data'

Stage 3: 'presenting the analysis and findings'.

'Defining the field of observation' is the equivalent to a sampling approach and developing a sampling frame. 'Collecting and processing of data' reflects the collecting and analysis of data, but the 'making' of data involves organising and cutting data into manageable units, and both analysis and synthesis, rather than pure analysis followed by synthesis at the 'findings' stage. Collection and making happens iteratively and simultaneously. For example, semi-structured interviews (deployed here) involve exploratory conversations with the interviewees, in exchanges best described as

'dramaturgical' in nature (Berg 2007). Finally, 'presentation of analysis and findings' itself is not purely reporting or writing up; part of the challenge has been to make this research understandable to others, which in turn, confirms its validity 'in the world'.

Choose research setting (MCTs) and seek operationalisation (sensemaking)

Choosing the research setting of MCTs and selecting 'sensemaking' as the operationalisation of a constructivist paradigm are dealt with in this first step. This stage may be equivalent to deciding on a theoretical framework for observing the data.

Choosing the research setting: MCTs selected as setting

The selection of MCTs as the research setting has already been discussed at length in the preceding chapter, and is a foundational move in making the abstract research interest explorable with empirics. They provide an opportunity to build theory about their own actions in public space governing, and in so doing, also provide a picture of governing itself, in constructivist terms.

Seeking operationalisation template: Sensemaking

On the 'theory' side, the preceding discussion points to sensemaking. The discussion in Chapter 2 implies that theory needs to be drawn from those already taking an interpretivist approach. However applying such a paradigm still requires operationalisation. It was therefore necessary to seek or design such an operationalisation. The operational deployment of sensemaking in this research is discussed in Chapter 5, but here, the steps taken to select sensemaking are set out.

Sensemaking was selected as **the interpretivist operationalisation** around which to build an explanatory framework, focusing on meaning construction, or meaning-making. Sensemaking is an explanatory approach that assumes people privilege the drive to make stable and acceptable sense of the signals they receive from their environment. Sensemaking was selected for its

explanatory capacity and prescriptive potential with regard to public space governing after a review of a range of possible candidate frameworks.

OTHER FRAMEWORKS REVIEWED DEALT WITH SOME OF THESE ASPECTS OF A CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH, BUT NOT ALL

As discussed, the search for frameworks was guided by the features of a constructivist approach identified in Chapter 2. We sought a theory that lent itself to operationalisation for empirical observation and the analysis and explanation of the range of ways in which MCTs attenuated meaning construction in public space governing.

Other approaches investigated as a theoretical basis for explaining MCTs in multi-lateral public space, but sensemaking was found to be the best fit in terms of what it operationalised – the process of meaning construction. These other approaches are discussed in Chapter 5. They also inform the development of the explanatory framework that is the result of this research. All these approaches are in the interpretivist mould and take as the aim of explanation 'intelligibility' rather than (dis)confirming 'causal relations' suggested by social scientific 'laws' (Rosenberg 1995), as discussed in Chapter 2. These provided varied relevant insights into how sensemaking could be extended, modified or sharpened, and are referred to where relevant in what follows.

These auxiliary theories were submitted to the theory-theory test to see how they worked with each other under the interpretivist umbrella, thus potentially enhancing the development of the explanatory framework. This is close to what Eisenhardt (1989) proposes can be achieved with 'enfolding literature' at the end, notably, of the theory-building sequence. The principle here is question here is whether theories in a wide range of disciplines corroborate, or resonate, in the manner of Wittgenstein's family resemblance (Bevir 1999, Clegg and Haugaard 2009). The resemblance led to theories in social psychology, political analysis and constructivist evaluation that seem to work with sensemaking, itself rooted in organisational behaviour and social psychology. Unlike Eisenhardt (1989) who seems to advocate no theory to

begin with, the present research started out from trying to link a range of theories in the idea of sensemaking,

ABOUT SENSEMAKING AND ITS EXTENSION TO CONSIDER PRIVATE AND PUBLIC ACTIONS

Sensemaking will be discussed at length in Chapter 5, but just briefly, 'sensemaking' describes the processes by which people give meaning to their experiences. A sensemaking approach is one that explains social phenomena with reference to what sense people make of the social or physical world, how they come to hold that sense, and how they therefore act on the world, thus changing it. Meaning or 'value' is not simply a result of thinking, but a result of thinking AND testing that thought with structures of knowledge already held or gained from observing the world. This cycle is continuous, and thoughts build on observation, but observation in turn build on thoughts, iteratively.

FIGURE 4.5 THINK-DO / BELIEF-ACTION CYCLE
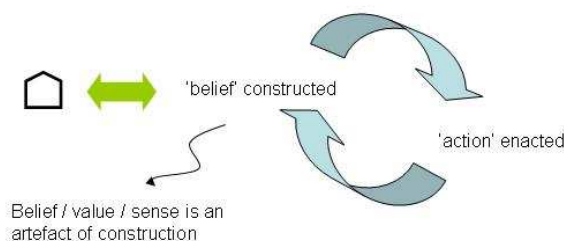
It is this cycle and its dynamics that allows an intelligible explanation of what MCTs do. It is in constructing this explanation that allows the designing and refining of a constructivist framework for future interrogation of multi-lateral built environment production. As briefly discussed in Chapter 1, a key proposed modification to the standard 'belief-action' cycle that Weick's sensemaking sets out that emerged in the course of this research, is the need to further distinguish 'action' into 'private' and 'public' actions. This is to enable the application of sensemaking thinking to decisions for collective, not just individual problems. 'Public actions' are overt actions which ought to be visible to the relevant stakeholders in any given instance of collective governing (i.e. problem solving, opportunity grasping to achieve societal

aims, Kooiman 2003). Otherwise, with reference to the sensemaking cycle, they are just thoughts, with nothing enacted in the societal sphere.

Stage 1: Structure the field of observation

Structuring the field of observation using the different types of MCTs was like deploying quotas in purposive sampling. Public space projects deploying selected MCTs (according to type) were longlisted, and eventually shortlisted. This is mainly an empirical stage, with hardly any theoretical element, although the idea of 'Solution Networks' comes from the conceptualisation of governing as solving societal problems. Nevertheless, the scoping already reflects preliminary ideas about what the theoretical frame might be like.

This section sets out how the particular MCTs were selected for observation. Since MCTs are so varied in design, and I wanted to make findings applicable across MCTs as a class of tools, it was necessary to ensure that data collection happened across a range of MCTs. The MCTs themselves, and following from that, Solution Networks deploying these MCTs, were effectively 'quotas' in the sampling frame for studying what MCTs do and how they do it. They were also analysed in their own right as reported in Chapter 3.

Review and selection of MCTs

Due to the underexplored nature of the field, the varied range of adoption levels of the MCTs, and the exploratory and abstract nature of the research, preliminary desktop investigations of the MCTs and some brief interviews with MCT 'owners' were done first.

DESKTOP REVIEW

The desktop review was straightforward: what was required was a broad sweep of MCTs that affect public space. MCTs are treated here as a 'subspecies' of both evaluation and consultation tools. An unpublished review carried out in 2004 by UCL for ODPM study formed the core of this preliminary review. In addition, direct experience of recent MCT use enabled

inroads into **interviews** with some MCT owners, who were themselves usually knowledgeable of similar tools in use. This early review encompassed thirty three MCTs as follows.

FIGURE 4.6 MCTs, MCT OWNERS AND BROAD SUBJECT MATTER

Name of MCT	MCT Owner	Subject matter
Street Excellence Framework	Addison and Associates	cleansing + non-highway
BORG	Groningen Municipality	cleansing + non-highway
LEQs - Local Environmental Quality Survey	ENCAMS	cleansing + non-highway
English Heritage Clutter Audit	English Heritage	cross-cutting
Building for Life	CABE / Building for Life	cross-cutting - place
Placecheck	UDG	cross-cutting - place
Spaceshaper	CABE	cross-cutting - place
DIY Streets	Sustrans	cross-cutting - place
Indicators of environmental exclusion	Brook Lyndhurst	cross-cutting - sustainable communities
UK sustainable development strategy indicators	DEFRA	cross-cutting - sustainable communities
Comprehensive Area Assessment	Audit Commission	cross-cutting -strategic management
Community Street Audit	Living Streets	highways + movement
Living Streets Clutter audit	Living Streets	highways + movement
PERS	TRL	highways + movement
Space Syntax	Space Syntax	highways + movement
British Standard Road Lighting documents	BSI	highways + movement
Cycle Audit and Cycle Review	IHT	highways + movement
Cycle Environment Review System?	TRL	highways + movement
Designing for Accessibility	CAE	highways + movement
Guidance on the use of tactile paving surfaces	DfT	highways + movement
HD42 Non-Motorised User Audits – Volume 5 Sections 2 Part 5. Design Manual for Roads and Bridges	Highways Agency	highways + movement
Inclusive Mobility A Guide to Best Practice on Access to Pedestrian and	DfT	highways + movement

Name of MCT	MCT Owner	Subject matter
Transport Infrastructure		
The Safety Audit of Highways	IHT	highways + movement
Green Flag Award	Civic Trust	parks and leisure
GreenSTAT - Parks questionnaire	GreenSpace	parks and leisure
GreenSTAT - Service questionnaire	GreenSpace	parks and leisure
Natural Green Space Standards	Natural England	parks and leisure
Standards for Open Space - SPG for London on play and informal recreation	GLA	parks and leisure
TAES	IDeA	parks and leisure
(Agora Observatory)	ATCM / MMU	town centre management
KPIs for town centres	ATCM	town centre management
Market Town Healthcheck	Action for Market Towns	town centre management
Town Centre Healthcheck	ATCM	town centre management

SELECTING MCTS TO CREATE A LONGLIST

These were selected based on the following criteria:

Criteria 1: Governance scenarios with a range of attributes, so that the results remain as transferable as possible across the class of policy tools called MCTs.

Criteria 1a: **Subject matter of MCT** (horizontal axis in Figure 4.6 below) – focused only on those looking at 'results' and 'mix of results and processes'. This is because there has been much work on the process performance management (efficiency measures for example) and far less on results and impact assessment ('outcome measures').

Criteria 1b: **Breadth of range of subject matter** and usually inversely proportional to the level of the technical sophistication (vertical axis in Figure 4.6 below) – the level of technical sophistication may affect the ability of stakeholders to take part and therefore the extent to which deliberative co-governing can occur. I want to examine whether the model of 'MCT as enabler for deliberation' works at all levels of technical sophistication. There

are five categories of rough disciplinary areas covered by MCTs, as the table below indicates.

Criteria 1c: Within this 'grid', MCTs that **apply to both green (i.e. designation parks) and non-green spaces** were selected. The object of research is the deliberation around public spaces using MCTs and we therefore wanted look at MCTs operating in a range of governing scenarios – wide and narrow participation, high and low level of technical sophistication, and within a range of governing regimes. The functional use issue is thus secondary as the above categories cut across all uses. Further, not limiting to green or non-green spaces enabled the inclusion of some established green space MCTs, one of which was finally included in the shortlist – Green Flag Awards. This is in line with the relatively loose definition of 'public space' adopted for this study. Thus, the MCTs themselves, and following from that, Solution Networks deploying these MCTs were effectively 'quotas' in a 'sampling frame'.

FIGURE 4.7 SCOPE OF SUBJECT MATTER IN RELATION TO OVERALL PUBLIC SPACE
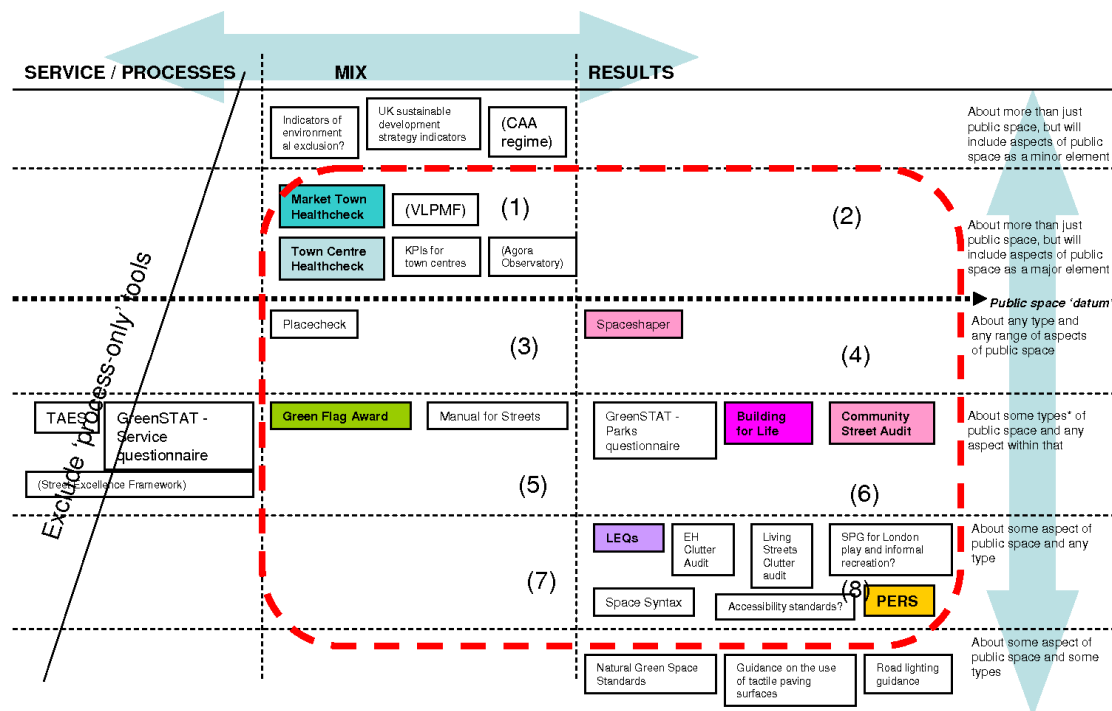
Criteria 1d: **Combination of communicators and audiences** – A broad mix is desired in each 'project' studied, for data triangulation reasons

discussed below. In short, this is to ensure there is balanced view about the same phenomena. There were in the end only 7 combinations of audiences, of which 4 are represented in the selected MCTs. Of the MCTs selected, the range of communicator-audience relations were as follows.

FIGURE 4.8 SHORTLISTED MCTS AND KEY COMMUNICATOR-AUDIENCE RELATIONSHIPS

Note: those in italics not included in the final analysis.

Name of MCT selected	Key communicators	Key audiences
LEQs - Local Environmental Quality Survey	local public managers	Central govt + investors
Building for Life	local public managers	developers + constructors
Spaceshaper	community, facilitator	multiple audiences
Community Street Audit	community, facilitator	multiple audiences
PERS	*local public managers*	*Managers*
Green Flag Award	*independent party*	*Managers*
Market Town Healthcheck	local public managers	Central govt + investors
Town Centre Healthcheck	*local public managers*	*Central govt + investors*

Placecheck and 'Street Excellence Framework' would have added to this variety. Placecheck's key communication relationship was "Community, no facilitator - Community + councillors", but there was no way of identifying a sufficient range of possible Solution Networks where this had been used. There seemed to have no users of the 'Street Excellence Framework' at all due to lack of promotion by owners.

Criteria 1e: **"What sort of communication problem was MCT designed to address? At least…"** classic Kanter and Summers (1987) classification of reasons for non-profit sector performance measurement (that is, communication about performance) which are the technical, the institutional and the managerial. The institutional function of an organisation concern legitimacy renewal and resource attraction so that it can continue its activity. Managerial functions revolve around structure and process corrections in the progress towards desired states, including spotting potential trouble so that corrective action can be taken, and internal resource allocations. Technical functions concern activity that produces an organisation's core products or services. Drawing on this, we selected eight MCTs some whose primary

communication aim were technical, some managerial and others institutional (here named political). In the end only data from four of these were used.

FIGURE 4.9 SHORTLISTED MCTS AND KEY COMMUNICATION AIMS

Note: those in italics not included in the final analysis.

Name of MCT	Key communication aim
LEQs - Local Environmental Quality Survey	technical / managerial
Building for Life	Political
Spaceshaper	Political
Community Street Audit	Managerial
PERS	*Technical*
Green Flag Award	*Managerial*
Market Town Healthcheck	Managerial
Town Centre Healthcheck	*Managerial*

Criteria 1f: **"How prescriptive was the application of the MCT?"** These were simply described as high, medium and low, where 'high' involved very stringent instructions and procedures for data collection and processing, with little room for interpretation, and 'low' involved minimal prescription beyond the basic dimensions within the tool. Some tools, such as the Market Town Healthcheck, did not have prescribed dimensions, but instead had guidelines for users to determine their own.

FIGURE 4.10 SHORTLISTED MCTS AND THE LEVEL OF PRESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION

Note: those in italics not included in the final analysis.

Name of MCT	Key communication aim
LEQs - Local Environmental Quality Survey	High
Building for Life	Medium
Spaceshaper	Medium
Community Street Audit	Low
PERS	*High*
Green Flag Award	*medium*
Market Town Healthcheck	low
Town Centre Healthcheck	*medium*

Criteria 2: The availability of data based on:

Criteria 2a: Geographic location of use: England, as discussed.

Criteria 2b: **Length of time used**: there is often a gap between the conception of an MCT and its use, and another gap between its use and being able to observe its impact, so it is preferable to study MCTs which are established. Of the eight shortlisted, the shortest period of use was one year (BfL and SPSH) and this made it difficult to gain as robust a picture of impact as desired. However, they were included because they are increasingly important MCTs whose impact has grown dramatically even over the course of the research (three years).

Criteria 2c: **Number of organisations using it** – this was estimated to ensure that the research findings would be widely useful, and that there are sufficient MCT Functions, Solutions and Solution Networks to provide data.

Criteria 2d: **Number of users / people with significant contact with it** – this was estimated to ensure sufficient MCT Functions, and to enable the triangulation of data around each Function, Solution and Solution Network.

INTERVIEWS WITH **MCT** OWNERS FOR SHORTLISTING **MCT**S

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with MCT owners and selected strategic level of the longlist to inform the shortlisting. Examples of interviewees include CABE for Building for Life and Spaceshaper and Living Streets for the Community Street Audit. These served to throw light on why the MCTs were created, what they were used for, the thinking behind the design of the tools, and importantly, to identify users of these MCTs who would have sufficient experience of them to approach for observations of MCTs in use.

FIGURE 4.11: INTERVIEWS WITH **MCT** OWNERS AND KEY STRATEGIC USERS (INDIVIDUALS ANONYMISED)

Interviewee identification	MCT	Organisation
P1	LEQs - Local Environmental Quality Survey	ENCAMS (now Keep Britain Tidy)
P2	Building for Life	CABE
P3	Building for Life	CABE
P4	Spaceshaper	CABE

Interviewee identification	MCT	Organisation
P5	Spaceshaper	Independent consultant
P6	Spaceshaper	Independent consultant
P7	Community Street Audit	Living Streets
P8	Community Street Audit	Formerly Living Streets
P9	PERS	TRL
P10	Green Flag Awards	Civic Trust / Green Flag Awards
P11	Green Flag Awards	Civic Trust
P12	Green Flag Awards	London Borough
P13	Market Town Healthcheck	Action for Market Towns
P14	Town Centre Healthcheck	ATCM
P15	Towards an Excellent Service (TAES)	IDeA
P16	GreenStat	GreenSpace
P17	Placecheck	Urban Design Group

From the MCT owner interviews and review of documents, eight MCTs (in green in Figure 5.6) were shortlisted as arenas from which to draw more detailed observations of MCTs as sensemaking management aids. These were spread very well across the grid in Diagram 3c.

Selecting projects for observation: Solution Networks

LEVEL OF OBSERVATION 1: SOLUTION NETWORKS

A 'Solution Network' is the project, space or service in which MCTs operate and whose components are the governance 'solutions'. While the boundaries of Solutions are not ready-made units for analysis, those of Solution Networks are.

Solution Networks were selected for study that deployed the MCTs shortlisted, based on suggestions made in the preliminary interviews. This ensured a spread of MCT Functions across the range of MCT designs. If the analogy of quota sampling is used, then the selection of Solution Networks is like quota criteria. The Solution Networks were simply identified by asking MCT owners what projects, spaces or services they know of might be rich sources of data, and whether users were responsive and if they could put me in touch. The only other criterion was that the range of Solution Networks

should give us some variation in types of public space covered, based on the LEQSE 14 land use types (see Figure 4.12). If this study is to be able to say anything useful about public space governance generally, and not just one sort of public space, variation will enable this.

Through this, we gained an idea of which MCTs and Solution Networks could be studied. While the MCT owners and key users suggested 29 potential Solution Networks across the eight MCTs.

Of these, eleven Solution Networks representing the eight MCTs were initially 'selected' as a longlist of Solution Networks **based on the possibility of access to sufficient and willing respondents.** However, subsequently, Town Centre Healthcheck and PERS were excluded due to the lack of response or change in level of response from Solution Network actors using these, leaving a still sufficiently broad range of six MCTs across nine Solution Networks (See Figure 4.12). This was an inefficient part of the data collection process as some Solution Networks with early promise could not be progressed due to difficult-to-manage issues such as key staff departures and non-responsiveness. This accounts for the five interviews carried out but results not used (See Figure 4.14)

FIGURE 4.12: SOLUTION NETWORKS SHORTLISTED, FOR WHICH DATA WAS COLLECTED, MADE AND REPORTED

Note: those in italics not included in the final analysis.

Key for final column: C = Collected, M = Made, R = Reported in this thesis in full

Solution Network reference	short description	Land use type	MCT studied	Collected, Made, Reported
A	Outer London Borough dealing with large residential areas of mixed tenure housing	High density public housing Public open spaces	CSA	C, M, R
B	Town in London commuter belt, district council is local authority.	Primary retail and commercial areas Watersides Public open spaces Other highways	MTH	C, M, R

Solution Network reference	short description	Land use type	MCT studied	Collected, Made, Reported
C	London Capital Standards	various	LEQS	C, M, R
D	City Council using Building for Life as basis for campaign and policy for better design	High density public housing High density social housing Low density private housing Low density social housing	BfL	C, M, R
E	District Council bordering on major city, strong history of industry now lost	Secondary retail and commercial areas	CSA	C, M, R
F	*Major parks and forestry-led regeneration programme not limited to any local authority.*	*Public open spaces*	*SPSH*	*C, M, R*
G	*Architecture training organisation using BfL principles to conduct training for housing development officers and planning officers*	*Low density private housing Low density social housing*	*BfL*	*C, M*
H	*Inner London Borough dealing with complex multi-modal transport interchange with transient communities and high levels of street activity*	*Secondary retail and commercial areas Transport facilities*	*SPSH*	*C, M*
I	*City Council using GFA principles as basis for parks management, assessment and training staff*	*Public open spaces*	*GFA*	*C*

Of the LEQSE land uses categories the ones in bold are represented; this is nine of the fourteen types land uses, and is only a very rough guide to ensure a range of area types.

FIGURE 4.13 REPRESENTED LAND USE TYPES (BOLD = REPRESENTED)

Primary retail and commercial areas
Secondary retail and commercial areas
Transport facilities
High density housing
Low density social housing
Low density private housing
Industry/warehousing/retail sheds
Main roads
Rural roads
Other highways
Public open spaces
Watersides
Motorways and trunk roads (including slip roads and interchanges)
Railway line sides

Stage 2: Collecting and processing data to build theory

Within the Solution Networks, semi-structured interviews were conducted with purposively selected stakeholders who represented a range of views. 'Collecting and making of data' involves capturing from and co-constructing data with interviewees, and organising and cutting data into manageable units. Collection and making happens iteratively and simultaneously. Eisenhardt (1989) recommends the overlapping of data collection, coding and data analysis, because this allows freedom to make adjustments. She argues that such adjustments are legitimate in theory-building because "investigators are trying to understand each case individually and in as much depth as is feasible" (p539). The interviews were stopped once the range of stories relevant MCTs were exhausted. The interviews were transcribed. The transcripts were read with the high level sensemaking in mind. Patterns that emerged in analysing the empirical text were 'inspired' by high level sensemaking principles. However, the data very quickly provided more details and nuances that enabled the fleshing out of the skeletal sensemaking framework.

<u>Collecting data</u>

The main data collection technique was semi-structured interviews, and this was applied to both primary data collection and also preliminary data

collection about the nature of MCTs, and for discovering what Solution Networks might be useable. Even these were already informed by unformed hunches of what the shape of theory might be, and this influences the types of questions put to the interviewees, shaping the discussions in the interviews.

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Interviews carried out in this research can be split into three groups:

1. first with MCT owners or key strategic users, including but not limited to the 6 MCTs eventually studied;
2. Second, with the MCT users within contexts given by the shortlisted Solution Networks.
3. Third, interviews that were conducted but the data was not used in the end at all. The table below summarises this.

FIGURE 4.14 INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

Total number of interviews	71
Number of interviews whose data used to inform main data set across eight Solution Networks	44
Number of interviews whose data used to give overview of MCT use. This usually with MCT owners of key strategic users	21
Number of interviews whose data was not used at all, because either, there were Solution Networks with more potential, or we had sufficient representation of that group of MCTs or Solution Networks.	7
Number of interviews whose data was not used at all because further respondents in the Solution Network ceased to be available	5

Interviews with MCT users were mainly for generating primary data, but they were also a major source of data on the design of MCTs, either from direct comments or through illustration of MCTs in use. Most interviews were conducted by VoIP, and directly recorded. These were usually of sufficient quality.

To gather primary data, 'semi-structured' interviews were selected as the data collection technique. A total of 46 interviews were conducted for primary data. These lasted between 20 and 60 minutes, depending on the responsiveness and availability of the interviewee.

INTERVIEWS FOR PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION

Resource constraints meant that that a single set of semi-structured interviews needed to yield sufficient and sufficiently rich data for understanding the problems of the particular governance scenario, the solutions that addressed those problems, in particular those solutions enhanced by MCTs, and the roles of MCTs themselves. Data was deemed sufficient when few further MCT Functions emerged from the texts; this usually meant between four and six interviews per Solution Network,

The semi-structured interview as a data collection method was selected because:

- interaction with interviewees was required to explain the nature of the research, whose abstract nature meant that a non-interactive mode of data collection such as open-ended questionnaires, could well yield very little useful data. Typically, this could result from both low response rate where there is no personal interaction, or more acutely here, the misunderstanding of the issues being discussed. Indeed, early plans to use a large scale questionnaire to identify Solution Networks were abandoned because of this.

- a high level of control of the one-to-one interview dynamic was very useful to draw out any unique areas of insight of individual participants. Further, interviewees can be persuaded to be more forthcoming on sensitive issues, of which are quite common in public space governing. While a focus group methodology might have yielded rich data and could arguably have been more economic, the issue of guardedness and 'only the loudest voices being heard' would have posed real problems, especially given the naturally adversarial positions of the set of stakeholders involved. In any case, the use of recorded telephone interviews in most cases resulted in the one-to-one interview being quite economic an option.

FIGURE 4.15: INTERVIEWS WITH MCT USERS

No in SN	Interviewee identification	Position	Organisation type	Solution Network (no)	MCT
1	1	Head of Major Projects	London Borough	A	CSA
2	2	Sustainable Transport officer	London Borough	A	CSA
3	3	Senior Transport Planner	London Borough	A	CSA
4	4	Active local resident	Local resident	A	CSA
5	5	Regeneration officer	London Borough Neighbourhood Renewal Project	A	CSA
6	6	Park Manager	London Borough	A	CSA
1	7	Principal Engineer, Highways	City Council	D	BfL
2	8	Head of Design	City Council	D	BfL
3	9	DC officer	City Council	D	BfL
4	10	Planning consultant	Planning Agent	D	BfL
5	11	Forward Planning officer	City Council	D	BfL
6	12	Councillor, portfolio for regeneration	City Council	D	BfL
7	13	Highway Engineer	City Council	D	BfL
1	14	*Former Director*	*Training Provider*	*G*	*BfL*
2	15	*Trainer*	*Training Provider*	*G*	*BfL*
3	16	*Trainer*	*Training Provider*	*G*	*BfL*
4	17	*'strategy coordinator' who procures training for housing groups active in the sub-region*	*Sub-regional partnership in a housing growth area.*	*G*	*BfL*
5	18	*senior developing manager, responsible for the project delivery of all new build projects – attended training*	*Housing Association*	*G*	*BfL*
6	19	*New Business Project Manager responsible for identifying new sites and development opportunities – attended training*	*Housing Association*	*G*	*BfL*
7	20	*senior planning officer and team leader in development control – attended training*	*District Council*	*G*	*BfL*
8	21	*Development control officer – attended training*	*District Council*	*G*	*BfL*
1	22	Senior officer in charge of cleansing	London Borough	C	LEQS

No in SN	Interviewee identification	Position	Organisation type	Solution Network (no)	MCT
2	23	Programme Manager	ENCAMS	C	LEQS
3	24	Officer in charge of cleansing and reporting on NI199	London Borough	C	LEQS
4	25	Former programme manager, currently working on national indicator	DEFRA	C	LEQS
5	26	Officer in charge of cleansing and reporting on national indicator	London Borough	C	LEQS
6	27	Liveability Manager	London Borough	C	LEQS
1	28	Regeneration Officer	District Council	E	CSA
2	29	local strategic partnership manager	District Council	E	CSA
3	30	Evaluation consultant	Evaluation consultant	E	CSA
4	31	LSP officer	District Council	E	CSA
5	32	Local resident	Local resident	E	CSA
6	33	CSA Facilitator	Living Streets	E	CSA
1	34	Consultant	Urban Design Consultants	H	SPSH
2	35	Transport Planner	London Borough	H	SPSH
3	36	Senior Transport Planner	London Borough	H	SPSH
4	37	SPSH Facilitator	Independent consultant	H	SPSH
1	38	Planner in charge of conservation of the natural and built environment	District Council	B	MTH
2	39	Chair of the Healthcheck organisation	Healthcheck organisation	B	MTH
3	40	Project Coordinator for Healthcheck	Healthcheck organisation	B	MTH
4	41	Councillor on District and County Councils	District / County Councils	B	MTH
1	42	Community Forester	Lead project sponsor and piecrust leaseholder	F	SPSH
2	43	Local resident	Local resident	F	SPSH
3	44	Project Development Officer	Lead project sponsor and piecrust	F	SPSH

No in SN	Interviewee identification	Position	Organisation type	Solution Network (no)	MCT
			leaseholder		
4	45	Evaluation consultant	Evaluation consultant	F	SPSH
5	46	SPSH facilitator	Independent consultant	F	SPSH

EXHAUSTING THE DATA COLLECTION / PATTERN SEEKING

In any case, the relatively unexplored nature of MCTs in public space governance meant that it was difficult to judge at the outset how many interviews in how many Solution Networks would be required to gain a picture of a 'fair' picture of 'what MCTs do'. In such exploratory circumstances, the technique selected to decide how many interviews to conduct is to 'exhaust' potential new MCT functions arising out of the interviews, which led to the overlap of data collection and making anyway. To minimise abortive work, a process of scheduling the interviews and data analysis was devised. This involved completing these two steps for each Solution Network before moving onto the next Solution Network. This way, it was possible to both ensure that a 'whole picture' of the governing scenario of a Solution Network was backing up a set of MCT functions, but also it would show up the point at which new MCT functions stop emerging.

The initial number of Solution Networks was limited to 9 due to access reasons, but was also judged to be a sufficiently long shortlist, and that it would be unlikely that all 9 would be pressed into use. As it turned out, interviews were conducted for all 9 Solution Networks, data making for 5 before the MCT Functions emerging were judged sufficiently exhausted.

The same principle of exhaustion also applied to how many interviews were required for each Solution Network. It was found that three could be sufficient, if they were done with actors with a range of different roles, with four or five being ideal for triangulation and six was definitely repetitive.

Finally, in the same vein, in terms of the presentation of data (in Chapter 6), it was judged that presented 5 Solution Networks was sufficient to provide the 'full' picture of what MCTs do. 2 of the Solution Networks for which data was 'made' were excluded on grounds of number of MCT Functions they provided and the range of Solutions they provided.

TRANSCRIPTION

Each set of interviews were transcribed professionally. Recordings were then emailed to professional transcriptionists, who extracted meaningful texts, which were close to word-for-word. They were pre-briefed on the research subject and instructed to transcribe word for word where in doubt of the meaning.

Processing data

'MAKING' DATA AS ANALYSING DATA: 'WHAT HAPPENED': CONSTRUCTING NARRATIVES AS A TEST OF COHERENCE

This stage is about iterations between constructing coherent narratives of 'what happened' in the use of MCTs, and explaining why, in terms of sensemaking. In explaining why in sensemaking terms, the plausibility of the explanation indicates the plausibility of a constructivist approach.

'Coherence' of narrative of each Solution Network is demonstrated in the 'Solution Maps' produced for each Solution Network.

These constructed narratives are reported in Chapter 6 briefly, in interest of reducing word count. In order to iterate between the constructed narrative of what happened and the explanation of why it happened, it was necessary to set out the narrative at levels of further detail.

FIGURE 4.16 'SOLUTION' OR 'DECISIVE SHIFT' IN PATH OR TRAJECTORY

realm of observation | realm of theory

Measuring value to death in practice. Why not manage value?

C3

Decision to research this empirically, focusing on the use of MCTs as research setting.

conceptualisation

operationalisation

C4

Conduct empirical research: structure field of observation by identifying MCTs and Solution Networks

Extract Solutions – depicted as shifts from A to B1, to A to B2 – from raw interview texts.

A6.2

Need to take an interpretivist approach to research.

In order to study the construction of meaning and its management.

Search for a way of operationalising / instrumentalising the management of value. This is really an aim of interpretivist research. To describe and increase understanding of what MCTs do in the management of value.

Choose sensemaking as the mould for understanding the mechanics of the management of value. *This gives us basic CYCLICAL model and the 2x2 fix/move-belief/action categorisation.*

The next level down from Solution Networks is that of the Solutions themselves. The raw text is analysed to uncover plausible Solutions. As discussed in Chapter 3, the idea of a governing 'solution' comes from Kooiman's (2003) conceptualising governing as **the solving of societal problems, the grasping of societal opportunities**. In 'a problem-solution scenario', a 'solution' refers to the less problematic and more desired state of things. In Chapter 3, the solution of a problem was designated as a shift from State B1 and the less problematic state B2. So 'governing' means those actions, tools, relations, images that will enable this shift in state. Chapter 5 will discuss the sensemaking viewpoint that allows the conceptualisation of this shift as a shift in the path of the governing situation, which is itself made of cycles of belief and action. Because this is the solving of societal, and not individual problems, the cycles and trajectories must ultimately refer to 'shared sense of a group of actors, together'. Even if some of the cycles may be mainly conducted by a particular actor, the enactment within (or at the end of) that cycle must be enacted, or at least, not opposed by the group. **So 'solutions' for the purposes of operationalisation were identified as being 'decisive shifts' in the 'governance paths'** identifiable from the data, as denoted by B1 to B2 in Chapter 3 (See **Figure 4.16** below). They may not add up to a single linear path within a Solution Network as there are

usually criss-crossing competing / complementary governance paths in a Network. The boundaries of some Solutions are also somewhat arbitrary, but they need to make narrative sense, and tell a reasonable self-explanatory story.

MCTs are hypothesised as modifying governing 'solutions' by influencing how meanings of those Solutions are constructed. They were hypothesised to do this in a variety of ways, at various points of the meaning construction process, which in turn has an impact on the 'path' which the governing situation took. The analysis of the data enabled the articulation of these ways.

**FIGURE 4.17 'ANALYTICAL STEP' WITHIN THE BELIEF-ACTION CYCLE**
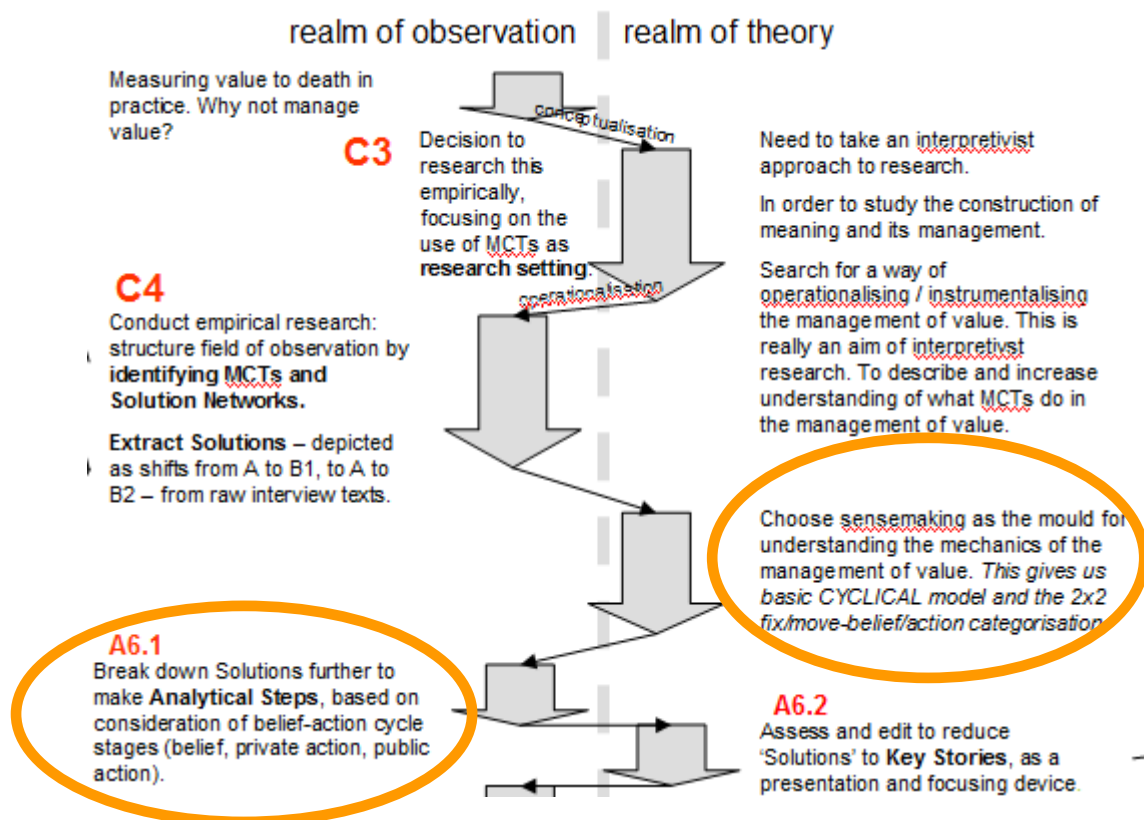
At this point, sensemaking is selected as the template approach for understanding the mechanics of meaning-making – the argument for this is set out in **Chapter 5**. With this, we revisit the data.

Solutions are still themselves too complex for applying sensemaking to. The data revealed that the nature change in governing situation is not straightforward. Governing actions are complex, multiple and overlapping, and enacted by a number of actors. So, the path shift is not simple, but fragmented and made of multiple little shifts and often with governance actors acting in many little ways that add up to one big one.

To get around this, it was necessary to break down solutions into sequential component sub-solutions, or, for analytical purposes, analytical 'Steps'. To define its boundaries, a Step should consist of at least one full 'belief-action' cycle for at least one of the sensemakers, that is, it should pass through the stage of 'public action' once (see **Figure 4.18**). While the boundaries of steps are arbitrary, there are no major implications on the results of the analysis. After the analysis, it became clear that some steps contained more than one full belief action cycle, but this did not matter as the analysis simply examines relationships between each cycle.

FIGURE 4.18 GOVERNING PATH SHIFT MADE OF MANY LITTLE SHIFTS, OR ANALYTICAL STEPS

Note: each pink arrow is one Step.
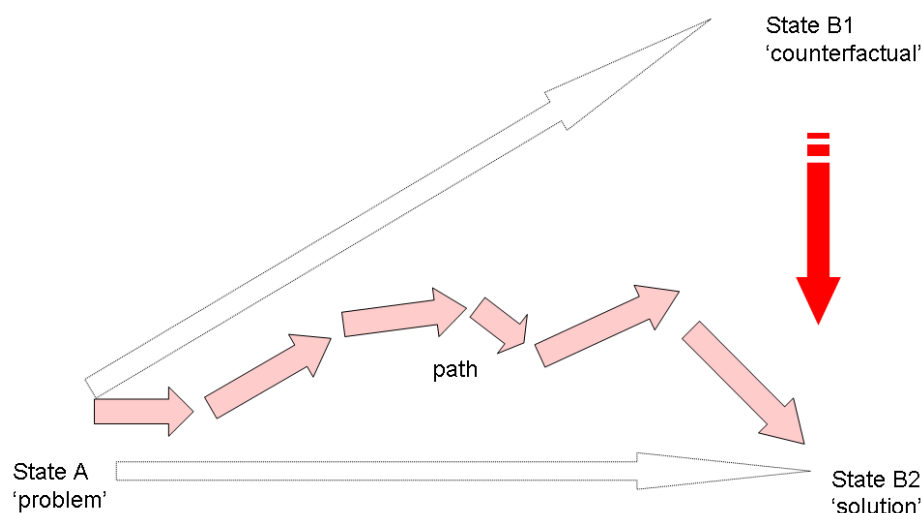
TEST OF COHERENCE

The explanation is tested for coherence in the description of each Solution Network, in each Solution, and in each set of Analytical Steps that make up the Solution. All of these are set out in **Chapter 6 and its appendices**. Coherence at these levels, and across the levels makes this sensemaking explanation plausible.
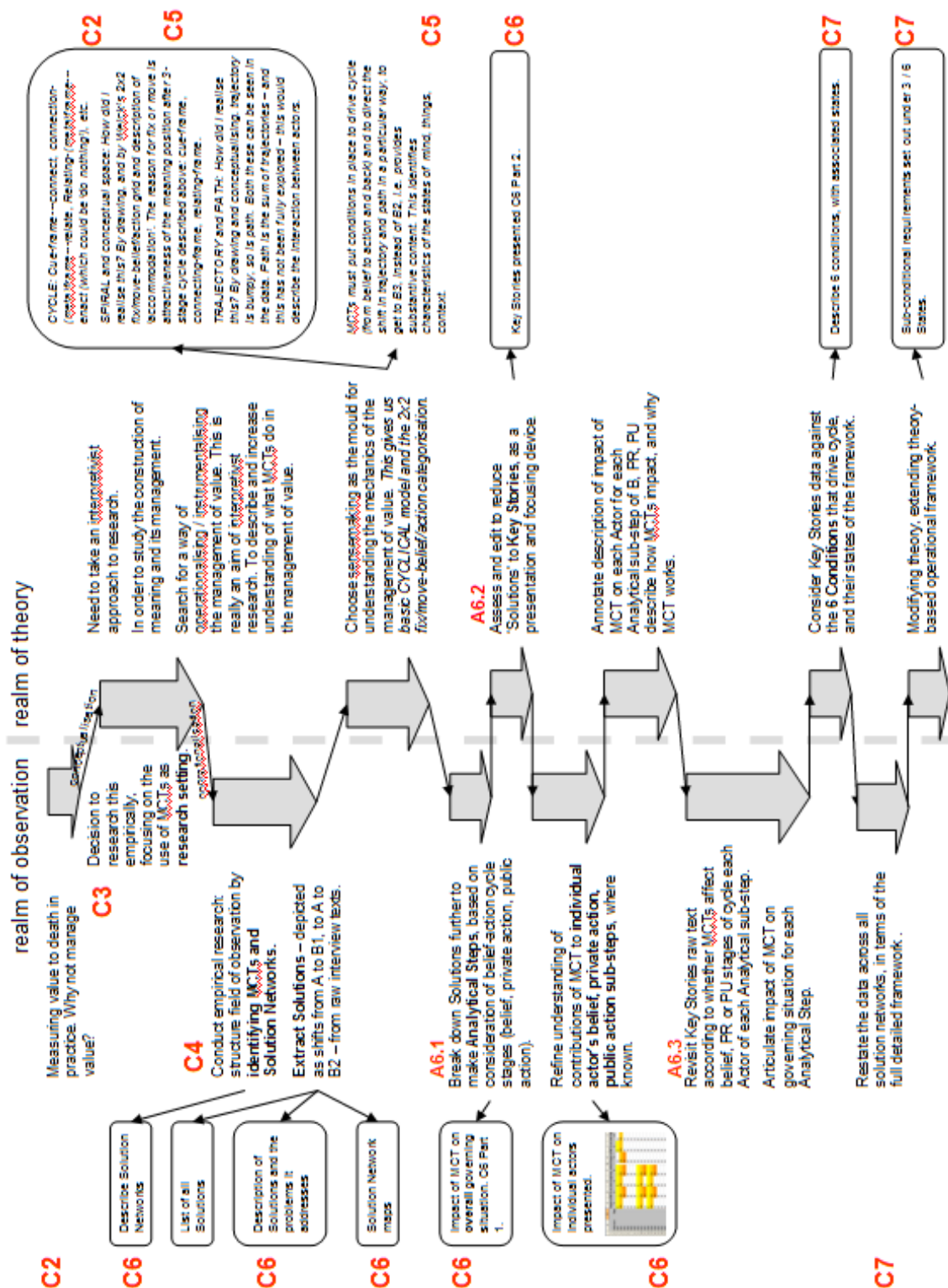
Stage 3: Present analysis and findings

Presentation is discussed here, because presentation is not separate from analysis. Presenting clearly is to make intelligible the nature of MCT function in governing public space. Presentation is not clearly separate from the data processing, nor does it come clearly after the processing; it is arguably the last step of the processing. The writing up of the findings, including the construction of the narratives at the different levels discussed, and once observed in the data and identified, the arguing out of how the conditions for sensemaking should be defined, directly inform the their very definition.

In Chapter 6, the findings/analyses are set out by 'case' or Solution Networks and then by **Key Stories** within which are analytical Steps. Four of the Key Stories are presented in detail. These descriptions are supplemented by Appendices and / or diagrams to show further detail or the logic of the analysis. Effectively, they are deploying a **'within-case' logic** (even though it is arguable what a 'case' is here), because the data is presented close to its 'as found' state, and close to how the interviewees themselves see it.

In Chapter 7a, the details of a model and framework that is the result of constructivist theorising how MCTs work via sensemaking is set out. Chapters 7a and 7b contain the findings/analyses set out by **'cross-case' logic**. This is driven by the concerns of the constructivist approach and led by the sensemaking framework. Thus, the description is set out according to the 6 stages of the sensemaking cycle, and the conditions that MCTs put in place and which are required for attenuation of meaning to happen.
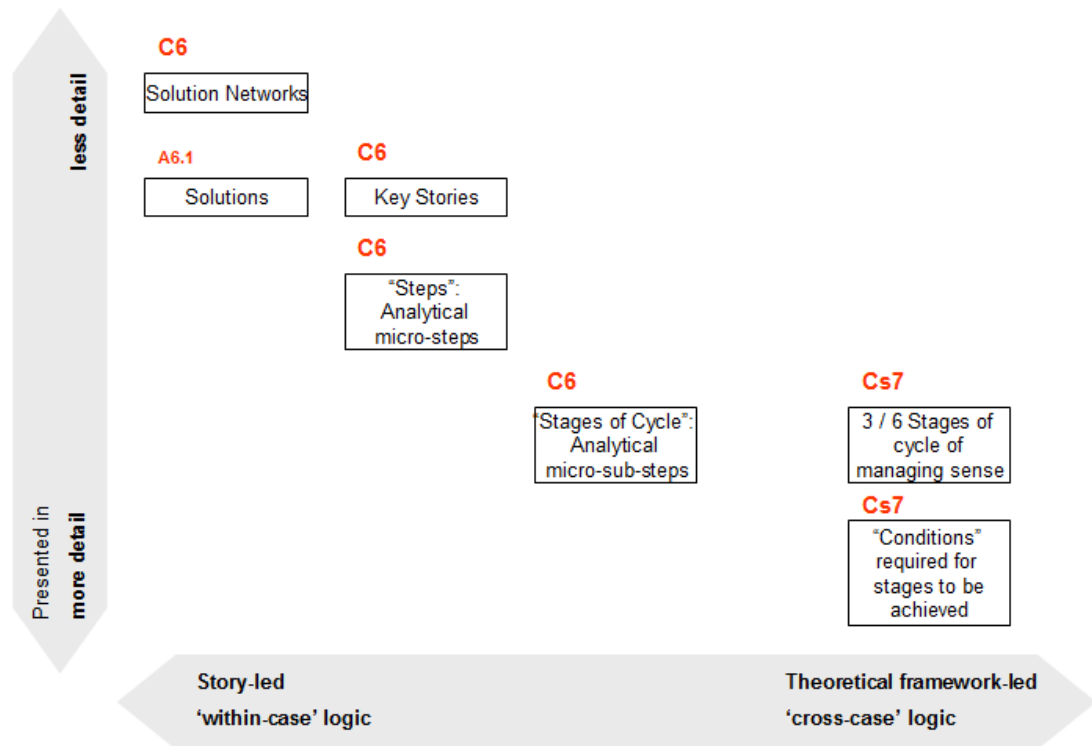
FIGURE 4.19 PRESENTING THE RESEARCH: EXPANDING FIGURE 4.4

Chapter numbers in which this information is presented are in red, and description of substantive data is set out in the 'outside' columns in the boxes with rounded corners.

realm of theory

realm of observation

C2 Measuring value to death in practice. Why not manage value?

C3 Decision to research this empirically, focusing on the use of MCTs as research setting.

Need to take an interpretivist approach to research.

In order to study the construction of meaning and its management.

Search for a way of operationalising / instrumentalising the management of value. This is really an aim of interpretivist research. To describe and increase understanding of what MCTs do in the management of value.

C4 Conduct empirical research; structure field of observation by identifying MCTs and Solution Networks.

Extract Solutions – depicted as shifts from A to B1, to A to B2 – from raw interview texts.

Choose sensemaking as the mould for understanding the mechanics of the management of value. *This gives us basic CYCLICAL model and the 2x2 fix/move-belief/action categorisation.*

C2 CYCLE: Cue/frame—connect, connection (value—value). Realise (realisation—enact (which could be 'do nothing'), etc.

SPIRAL and conceptual space: How did I realise this? By drawing, and by Weick's 2x2 fix/move-belief/action grid and description of 'accommodation'. The reason for fix or move is attractiveness of the meaning position after 3-stage cycle described above: cue-frame, connecting/frame, realising/frame.

TRAJECTORY and PATH: How did I realise this? By drawing and conceptualising: trajectory is bumpy, so is path. Both these can be seen in the data. Path is the sum of trajectories – and this has not been fully explored – this would describe the interaction between actors. **C5**

MCTs must put conditions in place to drive cycle (from belief to action and back) and to direct the shift in trajectory and path in a particular way, to get to B3, instead of B2, i.e. provides substantive content. This identifies characteristics of the states of mind, things, context. **C5**

A6.1 Break down Solutions further to make Analytical Steps, based on consideration of belief-action cycle stages (belief, private action, public action).

A6.2 Assess and edit to reduce 'Solutions' to Key Stories, as a presentation and focusing device.

Key Stories presented C6 Part 2. **C6**

Refine understanding of contributions of MCT to individual actor's belief, private action, public action sub-steps, where known.

Annotate description of impact of MCT on each Actor for each Analytical sub-step of B, PR, PU describe how MCTs impact, and why MCT works.

A6.3 Revisit Key Stories raw text according to whether MCTs affect belief, PR or PU stages of cycle each Actor of each Analytical sub-step.

Articulate impact of MCT on governing situation for each Analytical Step.

Consider Key Stories data against the 6 Conditions that drive cycle, and their states of the framework.

Describe 6 conditions, with associated states. **C7**

Restate the data across all solution networks, in terms of the full detailed framework.

Modifying theory, extending theory-based operational framework.

Sub-conditional requirements set out under 3 / 6 States. **C7**

C2 Describe Solution Networks

C6 List of all Solutions

C6 Description of Solutions and the problems it addresses

C6 Solution Network maps

C6 Impact of MCT on overall governing situation. C6 Part 1.

C6 Impact of MCT on individual actors presented.

C7

- 162 -

FIGURE 4.20 PRESENTATION OF THE THESIS ACCORDING TO MORE OR LESS DETAIL, AND WHETHER LOGIC IS MORE 'STORY-LED' OR 'THEORETICAL-FRAMEWORK LED'

'Story-led' is close to 'within-case' logic and close to how the situation was understood by interviewees. 'Theoretical-framework led' is close to 'cross-case' logic and driven by the analytical intent of the research.

Presentation and analysis of findings – 'within-case' and narrative logic

"Within-case analysis typically involves detailed case study write-ups for each site. These write-ups are often simply pure descriptions, but they are central to the generation of insight (Gersick, 1988; Pettigrew, 1988) because they help researchers to cope early in the analysis process with the often enormous volume of data" (Eisenhardt 1989 p540). In this thesis, reporting according to a within-case logic is summarised in Chapter 6. I avoid using 'within-case analysis' as a term, because it is difficult to be clear what is a 'case'; there are several levels of units of analysis, from Solution Networks, Solutions, Analytical Steps and possibly Key Stories.

FIGURE 4.21 KEY STORIES AS A PRESENTATION AND FOCUSING DEVICE
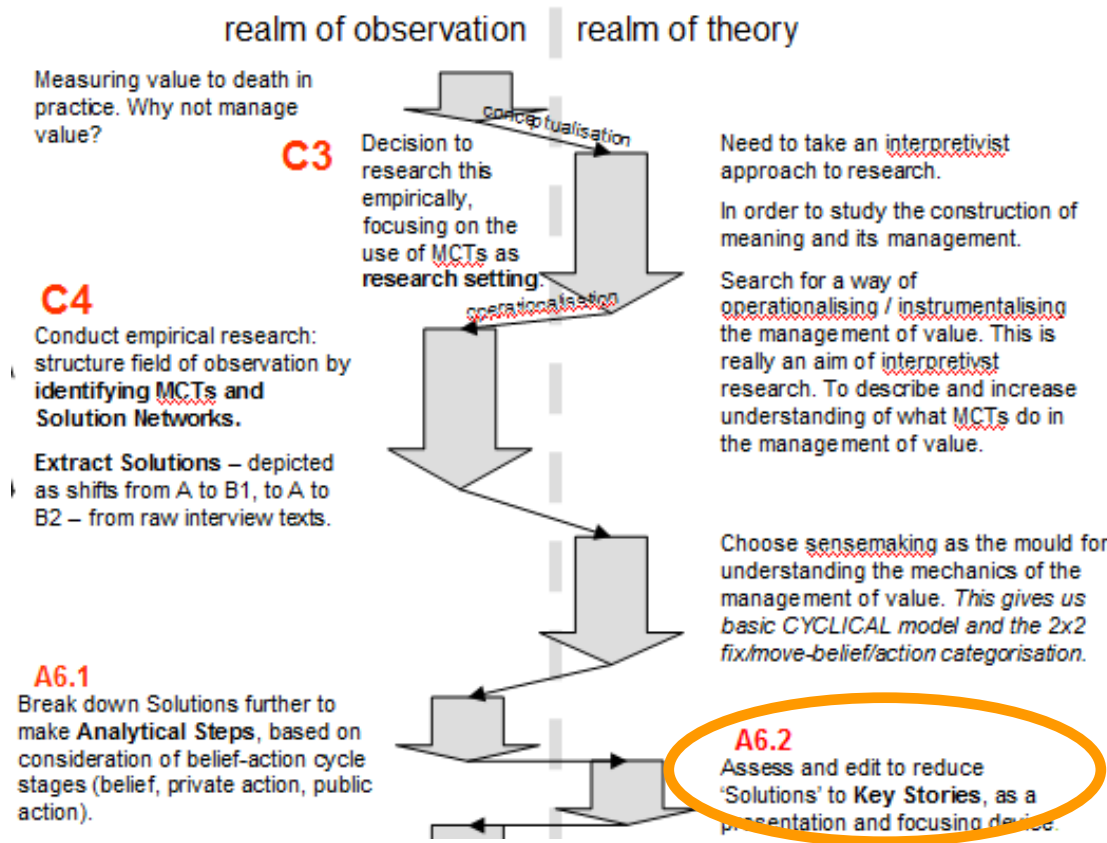
At this point, the data processing action is the regrouping of 'Solutions' and 'Analytical steps' to make Key Stories.

Key Stories emerged as the crafting of Analytical steps into the Stages of Cycle (belief, private action and public action) took place. Key Stories are selected Solution(s) and comprise the richest narratives, and may consist of more than one Solution. These made presentation more readable. There was only sufficient space to present four Key Stories in the main text, with the rest being fully presented in the **Appendix 6.2**. The 'making' of data turned raw data into 'analysis-ready' and 'report-ready' data. This 'ready' data is reported as narratives in Chapter 6. Data is deliberately cut to enable purchase with an explanation of MCT functions in sensemaking terms.

This stage is about explaining why it happened; that is, why MCTs affected public space governing in the way it did. The possibility of explaining

interviewees' reasoning in sensemaking terms is a test of plausibility. Since 'sensemaking' is founded on constructivist assumptions and features, and is an operationalisation of it that enables the explanation of observed phenomena in sensemaking terms, it follows that the proposed conceptualisation of 'public space governing as managing the making of sense' itself, makes sense.

TEST OF COHERENCE

The very possibility of writing Stories in the mould of belief-action cycle confirms the '**plausibility**' of a sensemaking explanation. The explanation was earlier tested in the description of each <u>Solution Network</u>, in each <u>Solution</u>, and in each set of <u>Analytical Steps</u> that make up the Solution. The Key Stories build on these, but must also be themselves coherent, while maintaining coherence at all other levels.

The instrumentality of sensemaking and of the new sensemaking-based explanation of what MCTs do in public space governing enables the revisiting of data for developing an even more detailed theorisation of public space governing in sensemaking terms, that is, governing as meaning management.

The building of the Key Stories is the within-case coherence testing the 'sophisticated' belief-action cycle which inscribes both sensemaking trajectory and governance path. At this point, analytical Steps that simply detailed the narrative were created for each Solution, which reflect the critical Conditions necessary for the going round of cycles.

THE USE OF KEY STORIES

'Key Stories' may be seen as the place where the operationalisation direction and conceptualisation direction meet. Once set out, they are reviewed for how each actor is impacted by each analytical micro-step. The 'description' of each impact begins to address 'how' MCTs work. 'Frames' (as in 'cues' and 'frames') begin to address 'why' MCTs work. The patterns that emerge between 'frame' and our theoretical categories of achieving belief, achieving

private action and achieving public action suggest what the substantive content of frames / 'whys' might be.

The use of Key Stories is like purposive sampling. The Key Stories were simply chosen by the quality of evidence they presented for articulating how MCTs may be said to attenuate the construction of meaning in a governing situation.

Since the purpose of the research is to explain MCTs by making how they work intelligible, and to see if it is possible to do so in terms of how they attenuate the construction of meaning, the question of whether MCTs are 'good' or 'bad', 'moral' or 'immoral', is not central to the research.

The methodology focused on seeking instances of MCT use via owners' knowledge of who used them. This unsurprising meant that mainly those who found it useful were happier to discuss this, and this likely meant that their experience of MCTs were not one they would rather forget. There was evidence, both in the SNs reported fully, and those not, that quite a lot of people were ambivalent, even hostile to the use of MCTs. In some cases, they were able to avoid further use, and in other cases, where MCT may be compulsory, they were not.

Also unsurprisingly, there were plenty of instances that were found where MCTs did NOT work; in fact, in every case presented, MCTs effectively 'did not work' for any stakeholder who lost out in any negotiation that deployed them, and these scenarios are explained by the framework as well.

The selection of Key Stories does not contradict those parts of the body of empirical data NOT deployed. Like any Story, editing takes place in the interest of coherence, but with care to enable dependability to be demonstrated; evidence is set out in the Appendices to Chapter 6.

ITERATIONS BETWEEN CONCEPTUALISATION AND OPERATIONALISATION

All of this were represented in Figure 4.4, but it can also be conceptually mapped onto the diagram of this research project as the RED DASHED ARROWS between B' and B and A and B, and as the BLUE DASHED ARROWS between B* and B. These test that what we observe in governing can be plausibly conceptualised by the theory-informed framework that we are proposing, the shape of which is a mutually causal cycle.

FIGURE 4.22 RECALLING POINTS 3, 4 AND 5

At 'Point 3': B' gives insights into plausibility of B as a model of how governing proceeds. RED DASHED ARROW - e.g. the key stories of governing are coherent when described in terms of shift in directions etc

A has plausible impact on B; RED DASHED ARROW - B as a model of governing as managing constructs has features that correspond with how MCTs are conceptualised to work, in turn corroborated with observations of how they DO work e.g. that dimensions or drawing attention to key issues makes people pay attention and evaluate THOSE issues.

B is further corroborated by literature. Here it is:, sensemaking, knowledge management and constructivist paradigm, denoted by A* and B* BLUE DASHED ARROWS

Given sensemaking's think-do cycle, however, the relationship between A and B at Point 4 is now conceptualised as a mutually explaining cycle.
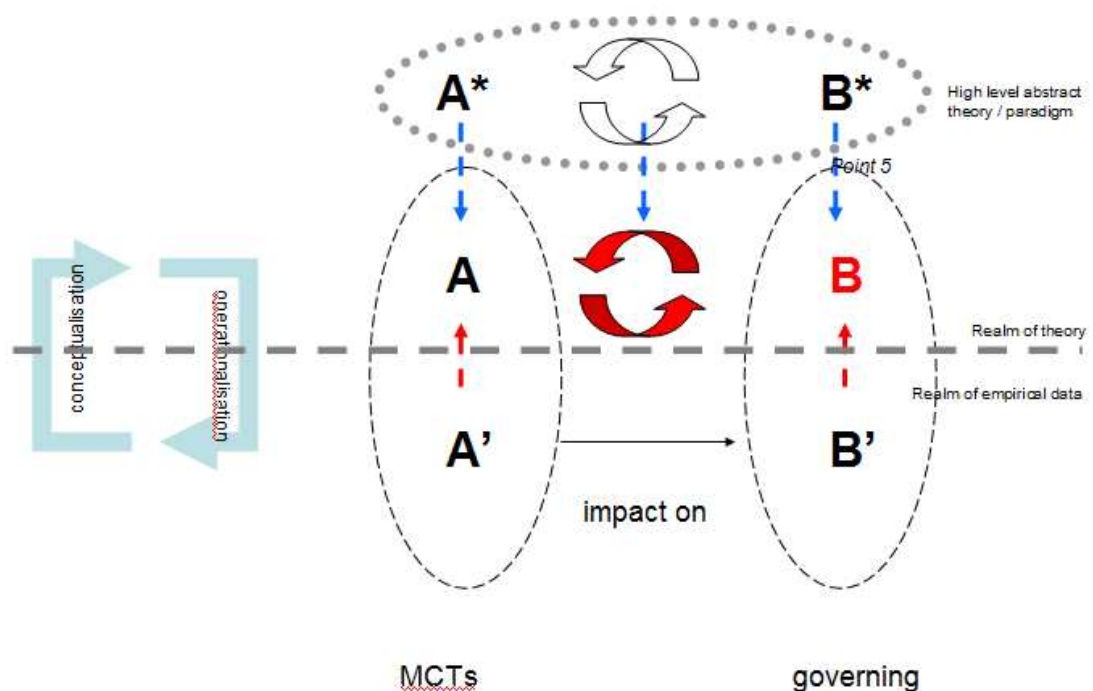
TEST OF CREDIBILITY

'Credibility' is a measure of the 'truth value' of an inquiry and is a meta-test applying to both the tests for coherence and plausibility. Here, it seeks isomorphism between constructed realities of different stakeholders (Lincoln and Guba 1989). The tests at this stage of constructing narratives are tests of credibility, specifically, data-data coherence and theory-data plausibility.
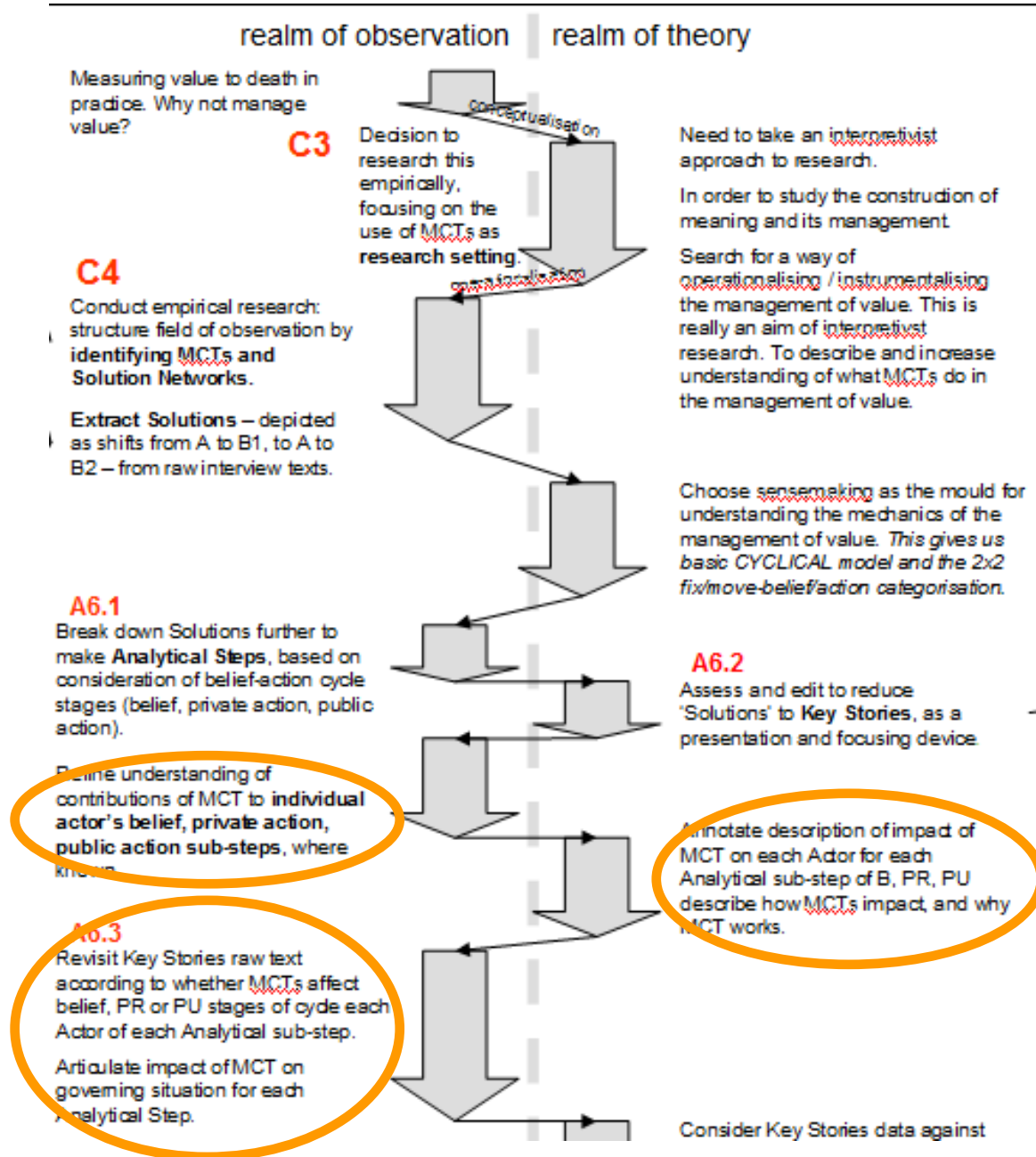
- Data-data coherence between levels: accounts of Solution Networks, Solutions, Key Stories and the description of analytical steps, do not contradict each other between each level. This is reported in Chapter 6, in which Solution Networks are coherent with Key Stories, Key Stories contain Solutions coherently and both Key Stories and Solutions contain Steps coherently. Coherence is a triangulating test of credibility comparing narrative credibility.

- Data-data coherence within levels: The sequential logic of narrative is intact within each level. This is manifest as the question: Does the story make sense and is it coherent? In Chapter 6, the questions are: Are Solutions themselves coherent? Are Key Stories coherent? Are the Steps narrative coherent?

- Theory explains data plausibly: At all levels, triangulation further happens with theory to produce new detailed terms for a framework. The central question is: Can each account be described in terms of concepts from the proposed theoretical framework? For example, can we describe a Solution in terms of a sequence of belief construction, private and public actions? Do we find evidence within the analytical Steps for expected framework conditions such as actors 'paying attention', or enactment of public action being based on projected cues and frames?

- Theory-theory credibility was drawn upon but also extended (B* to B BLUE ARROWS). These were established iteratively throughout the exercise of seeking coherent narratives. Testing for theory-theory credibility is not based on coherence but on 'family resemblance' (Wittgenstein 1964 in Clegg and Haugaard 2009) between constructs found in different theoretical frameworks.

The data reports fully on instances when MCTs did NOT work according to initiators' plans, for instance, in SNE, and also in those Solution Networks not fully reported, but these can be explained by the framework as well. Note, because the research question is to 'theorise' how MCTs work rather than 'conclusively test' the applicability of the sensemaking framework, the methodology focused on seeking instances of MCT use via owners' knowledge of who used them. This unsurprising meant that mainly those who found it useful were happier to discuss this. Nevertheless, examples were found where MCTs did NOT work. To fully test the resulting framework, a better balance between 'successes' and 'failures' would be useful in the future.

FIGURE 4.23 THE SEEKING OF MCT IMPACT ON EACH ANALYTICAL STEP

At this point, the data processing action was to examine the impact of MCT on governing situation for each Analytical Step and to summarise and these annotations into short descriptive texts (recorded in **Appendix 6.3**).

1 The CSA conducted, results made sense of

The CSA was committed to by council officers (Ac3 and Ac4), a public action. The CSA was conducted and provided cues for new insights and belief construction. The results made sense of within a presentation by the CSA consultants at a public meeting, which committed officers to these results, somewhat.

*2   Consideration of resulting beliefs and courses of action, including setting up Steering Group

The results of the CSA were considered and tested by council officers (Ac3 and Ac4) as basis for setting up projects for delivery and one way to deliver these was via a Steering Group arrangement, a fairly common way of involving a range of stakeholders.

FIGURE 4.25 KEY STORIES PRESENTED AS A 'SCORE' OF IMPACT ON INDIVDUAL STAKEHOLDER ROUPS

The data processing action was to revisit the Key Stories raw text according to whether MCTs affect Belief, private action (PR) and public action (PU) stages of cycle for individual actors.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1			Impact of MCTs on actor trajectory, where known				
2	Actor as r	Step	1	2	3	4	5
3	Ac1		dk	dk	dk	B	
4	Ac1		dk	dk	dk	dk	
5	Ac1		dk	dk	dk	dk	
6	Ac2		dk	dk	dk	dk	
7	Ac2		dk	dk	dk	dk	
8	Ac2		dk	dk	dk	dk	
9	Ac3		dk	dk	B	B	
10	Ac3		PR	PR	PR	dk	
11	Ac3		PU	PU	PU	PU	
12	Ac4		B	B	na	B	
13	Ac4		PR	PR	na	PR	
14	Ac4		PU	PU	na	PU	
15	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	
16	Ac5		dk	dk	PR	PR	
17	Ac5		dk	dk	PU	PU	

First, Key Story texts are revisited to determine what the impact of MCT is on each stakeholder group (Ac1 – Ac5 for example), and whether the MCT impacts on the situation in a way that leads to new belief, private action to evaluate belief, or public action to enact in a way that reduced dissonance in the belief-action cycle. The table can be read intuitively, where the narratives can be followed from left to right, while still be identified with particular actors.

TEST OF COHERENCE

As the operational model and framework is developed from the general sensemaking model and refined to take into account public and private actions, the narrative's coherence is tested against the stages in the cycle of sensemaking, which are **'belief', 'private action' and 'public action'**. These points in **Figure 4.25** of impact are then annotated for a more detailed description of impact of MCT on each Actor for each Analytical Step (example in **Figure 4.26** below). The annotations are tested for their compatibility within the sensemaking framework structure of elements and dynamics, and the short description of each Step is discussed in **Appendix 6.3**.

FIGURE 4.26 EXPLANATION OF EACH OF THE VALUES IN FIGURE 4.25

This involves the annotation of description of impact of MCT on each Actor for each stage in the sensemaking cycle of belief, private action and public action. This is based partly on the data, but draws on a sensemaking understanding of how MCTs work. The full set of explanations for all eight Key Stories is In **Appendix 6.2.**

Presentation and analysis of findings - 'cross-case' logic – condition by condition

Once the data was collected, it was possible to begin to 'alter the general' theory (Garfinkel 1967) by adding detail to the basic theoretical proposition that 'governance can be **modelled** as the management of sensemaking and that MCTs help actors exert influence over sensemaking. Here, the key action is to "compare systematically the… frame with the evidence from each case in order to assess how well or poorly it fits with case data" (Eisenhardt 1989 p541). As suggested by Eisenhardt (1989), the processes of "refining

the definition of the construct and building evidence which measures the construct in each case… occurs through constant comparison between data and constructs so that accumulating evidence from diverse sources converges on a single, well-defined construct" (p541). The process includes checking whether the relationship between data and construct is confirmed, "revised, disconfirmed or thrown out for insufficient evidence…. Cases which disconfirm the relationships often can provide an opportunity to refine and extend the theory" (Eisenhardt 1989 p542). She further points out that triangulated qualitative data is a way of establishing internal validity (Eisenhardt 1989). While the approach taken here agrees, it must be reemphasised that internal validity should be based on Bevir's (1998) conditional rather than causal explanation.

Bringing the primary data from the within-case analyses together with the speculative framework set out in Chapter 5 is the crux of the thesis: this generates, through confirmation, disconfirmation and extension of theory, explanations for how MCTs work. Mutual adjustments happen to both the framework and our understanding of MCT functions.

The present research is not just theory-building. It also set out to extend sensemaking as the theoretical basis for explaining MCTs so that 'how MCTs work' can be addressed.

This involves re-visiting data with constructed theory, to deepen understanding and refine theory. This stage is about going into the different levels of the constructed narratives and both testing existing theoretical framework (set out in Chapter 5) with the data cut in these ever more refined ways, and extending the framework with insights from the data to result in a more sophisticated theorisation of how MCTs work in public space governing.
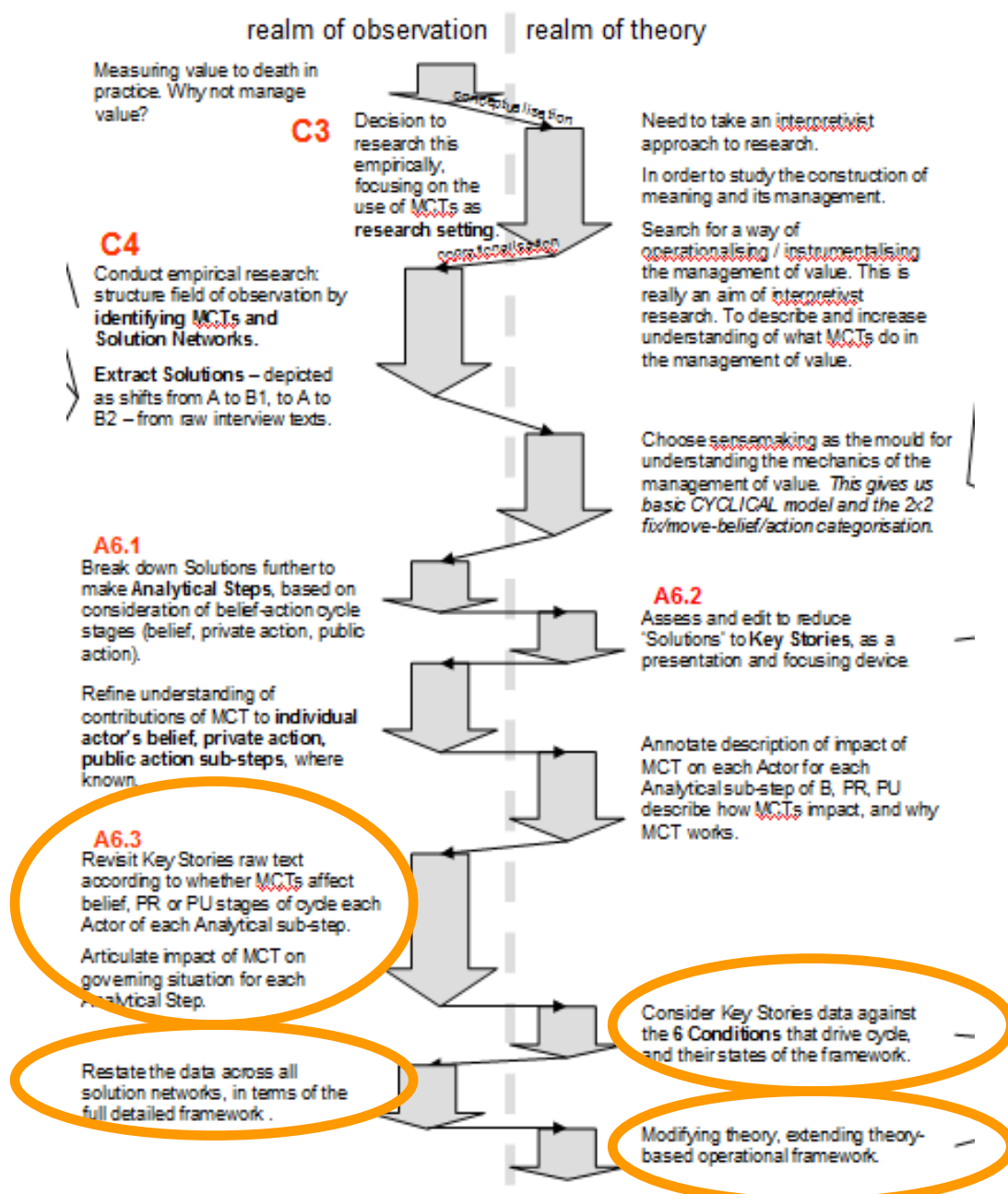
The data processing actions were:

- Consider Key Stories data against the 6 Conditions that drive cycle, and their states of the framework
- Restate the data across all solution networks, in terms of the full detailed framework
- Modify theory, extend theory-based operational framework.

This is set out in Chapters 7.

CONCLUSION: 'CONDITIONS' REQUIRED FOR SENSE TO BE MANAGED?

The constructed theory led me to the conceptualisation of 'what MCTs do' as the **'putting in place conditions** required to move the sensemaking / belief-action cycle forward, and to move the spirals in particular meaning directions'. So the re-analysis of the data sought to uncover what those conditions were.

To recapitulate: the shape of the arrow between A and B is a spiral, going through many iterations before it gets to B. It is a constructivist conceptualisation of public space governing and how it proceeds and is a mutually causal cycle. If so, the empirical observations made about public space governing (at B') should be conceptualisable (at B) in terms of:

- How governing actions affect the cycle? What 'conditions' do they put in place?
- Where in the cycle do actions and conditions have an effect?
- What the nature of the impact of actions and conditions is?
- What are the natures of the conditions need to be in place?
- What is the effort required on part of the actor to put this in place?

Answers to these questions take the form of a description of the 'conditions required' for the cycle to go around, and for the overall position of the cycle's paths to shift. These conditions are the explanations for why governing proceeds as they do.
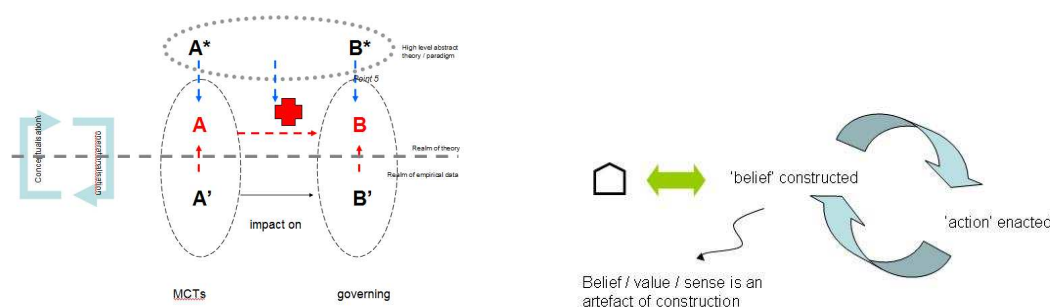
REACHING THE 'CONCLUSION' FOR THE PRESENT RESEARCH

As the six conditions in the constructed operational framework emerged, those narratives that were selected for presentation in full in the thesis body ('Key Stories', see below and Chapters 6, 7A and 7B), were revisited for re-analysis based on these six dimensions and their dynamical and substantive content relationships. This draws out further insights, while also feeding back into and modifying the framework itself.

TESTS OF CONFIRMABILITY, TRANSFERABILITY AND DEPENDABILITY

The confirmability, transferability and dependability of the theoretical framework and description constructed were ensured in the following ways. Confirmability was achieved by ensuring the trackability of results back to the raw data. The evidence from individual interviewees and from theory was used to strengthen the narratives constructed. This is evident in the use of quotes in Chapters 6 and 7, where possible. In Chapters 7, references are made to the relevant theoretical antecedent, where they exist. Transferability is not a test applicable to every step of theory building, but the final chapter proposes a number of ways in which the research findings may be transferable and thus useful. The variety of different governing situations and types of MCTs from which the empirical data is drawn helps safeguard dependability of the resulting theory. "Consistency, predictability, dependability, stability" of the theoretical framework constructed was revisited by checking that evidence of all the conditions found in the

theoretical framework were indeed observed across a wide range of Solutions.

RE-ENFOLDING LITERATURE

Reflections on how the new operational framework affects these are discussed in Chapters 7. Reflections close the operationalisation-conceptualisation loop and allow consideration on how this research contributes to relevant bodies of knowledge.

What emerged from this process is both new knowledge about what MCTs do, and also a plausible and useful way of thinking about and thus describing the role of MCTs in public space governing, and in fact, the wider public space governing itself. This may be called a 'sense-making' way whose construction arose from an oscillation between operationalisation and conceptualisation. The implications for a range of discourses are discussed in Chapter 8, locating the research firmly in a number of these.

SOME NOTES ON PRESENTATION

The data was rich, but space to present results limited. As a result, a decision was taken to mainly discuss findings in relation to a small number of **'Key Stories'** from each case, even though all the collected text was analysed. These are *solutions or groups of solutions* in which there is a concentration of rich data, either because people across the range of stakeholders mentioned it as important, or because it strongly corroborates how sensemaking works, or both. Those conclusions in form of the augmented sensemaking framework constructs were then illustrated by examples from the Key Stories, with a small number of exceptions.

Those parts of the body of empirical data NOT deployed may indeed not be amenable to explanation by the sensemaking-based theoretical framework presented in this research, but this is to be expected, and does not affect the robustness of the framework. This is because this research presents one of any number of plausible conceptualisations of 'what happens' when MCTs are used in public space governing. What is claimed for this

conceptualisation is that it produces more practically and theoretically relevant findings than a positivist one would do, and is a close fit to the observations and experiences of how MCTs are actually used.

Any observed social phenomenon could have any number of different explanations which could all be plausible. From a constructivist viewpoint, what matters is the pragmatic impact of the choice of explanation, since 'the truth' can in most cases, not be determined, and, in any case, would it matter?

4.3. Part 3: Scope of research – impact on and by methodology

The scope is given by parameters arising from the subject of research, from methodological needs, and from limited resources.

<u>Parameters set by the 'subject of research' – explanations for how MCTs work</u>

The research scope may be defined by parameters that arise from the need to explain how MCTs work in sensemaking terms.

The preliminary review examined 33 MCTs and it was not possible within resource limits to look at all of these in action. However, it was decided that it was important to look at MCTs as a 'class' policy tools for public space governing. The implication for methodology is that observations needed to take

MCTs were selected if they operated only on directly experience-able aspects of public space. So, for example, public space as a regional entity was excluded. MCTs were included whose primary data input was either primary information (i.e. gleaned from direct encounter with the public space) or secondary information (I.e. reported by actors – e.g. what local residents think). Selecting this experience-able scale enables observations of how MCTs can act as a frame for direct capturing of data from the ground, as well as the communicator of data already digested.

Methodology-driven parameters arise from a need to narrow down the field. A major methodological difficulty in making observations of MCTs 'on the ground' was that MCTs do not always do 'what it says on the tin'; they are not directly observable. Further, MCTs attenuating sensemaking may not be how their users think of them, so some interpretation of the data would be required. Bridging these gaps required two methodological actions.

First, selecting a set of 'cases' reflecting a range of MCTs and governing situation within which to observe multiple functions of MCTs at work, but within the context of each case, and as far as possible, seek to triangulate across multiple participants in each case regarding each instance of MCT at work. This 'structuring the field of observation' works like 'sampling frames' to ensure a range of MCT Functions are observed in a range of conditions, and conforms to Eisenhardt's

Second, there is a need to make the observations amenable to the theoretical framework. So the data made must be captured or 'made' in those sensemaking terms, to be discussed in Chapter 5. In fact, this linking of theory with data to explain it is actually an aim of the research.

Apart from the accessibility and availability afforded by the selection of MCTs generally, specific Solution Networks, either projects, a local service, or a space, were selected for data that was accessible. For example, there were people willing to speak, and could be contacted. The Solution Networks also had to have sufficient data availability, for example, that the MCT had been used for long enough, or that there were responsive stakeholders willing to engage with the issues.

Cases were restricted to England to avoid any complications of different policy regimes or legislation that might arise, however unlikely. It is also helped narrow the scope of MCTs and possible Solution Networks for study.

MCTs and Solutions were selected where the key MCT user was an organisation with direct hands on management of public space. This excludes most use of MCTs at a central or regional government level; the focus is local, whether the organisations were public, private or third sector.

Parameters set by limit of resources

The methodology selected had to gather sufficient data and deliver the research within the time available. Partly due also to the exploratory nature of the research, but also because of time limitations, the principle of 'collect data once, use many times' was adopted. This led to the use of indepth semi-structured interviews as the primary mode of data collection. This also provided nuanced and 'thick description' (Lincoln and Guba 1989) in a situation where there was no previous research on a very abstract subject, and thus no easily extracted readymade dimensions with which to capture data. A pilot of one Solution Network was carried out because of the initial lack of understanding of the type and scope of data, or number of interviews required was to be expected. This ensured that the 'right' data was collected once. Public space governing 'in England' was one limit imposed to enable ease of travel to case study sites. In the end, the majority of the interviews were conducted and recorded via VOiP, the major monetary investment being in transcriptionists instead. The researcher's background in qualitative research meant that an interpretive and qualitative approach to the research was sensible, although the data can be subject to future quantitative analysis.

4.4. Difficulties encountered in the research

The major problem faced in the research was the abstractness and cross-disciplinary nature of the conceptual linkages being proposed for study, including thinking about governing as simultaneously 'the management of sensemaking', 'the solving of societal problems' and 'the optimisation of societal value'. This was made more difficult by the sparse state of knowledge of MCTs and exploratory nature of the research; it is not building directly on any single and apparent body of knowledge, but many different bodies, so this meant that the boundaries of research actions needed a lot of

defining, and terms required invention or translation, for interviewees to even begin to understand what the interviewer was talking about. Most other problems for data collection and to a lesser extent, analysis, flowed from this.

The high level of abstractness involved necessitated a translation of theoretical concepts into a construct that could bridge the gap with people being interviewed, who were almost exclusively practitioners. While most public space managers recognise that their work involves a political aspect, most conceptualise the role of MCTs as a technical one: usually as a performance assessment or management tool, or a consultation tool for gathering data. Semi-structured interviews, with the possibility of explanation by interviewer to interviewee, and vice versa, were deployed. As expected, it was usually those interviewees with a more strategic management position who were able to engage at this level. Once data was collected it was necessary to interpret and remake that raw data through before it could be 'analysed'. The results of this are presented in Chapter 6 as Solutions, Analytical Steps and sub-Steps.

All in all, much effort was expended in bridging this 'abstract-concrete' gap.

The research sequence involved many iterations, and this has proved a major difficulty for making the thesis easily comprehensible. For example, Chapter 6 and 7 presents 'achieving' a state of value alignment not as an accomplished solution in a static nor ultimate state, nor indeed that the 'solution' is objectively real in any sense. Instead it is simply a (constructed) snapshot of a point in a flow of events and incidents we have taken to help constructors make sense of things. This is true both of this research (where the researcher is capturing this to communicate to the audience for the research a particular view of what's happening with the subject of the research) and of the actual MCT use and governance communication itself (where the governance communicator is capturing the snapshot to communicate to other stakeholders a particular meaning of which he is trying to convince them to adopt). The researcher, construct explanations of what

MCTs do in public space governance solutions, and she does so in sensemaking terms. These explanations are the content of Chapters 7.

Chapter 5 Sensemaking: Building from theory: Searching the literature for a basis for a model of how MCTs work

5.1. Introduction

The research question can be phrased thus, "How does managing the construction of meaning happen and how can sensemaking help articulate this?" **The aims of this chapter** are to articulate and make the case for sensemaking as the **core constructivist operationalisation** around which to build an explanatory framework. As discussed in Chapter 4, a number of approaches to explaining how and why MCTs work from a range of disciplinary areas were initially reviewed. While sensemaking was selected, for reasons to be elaborated in the present chapter, these other frameworks suggest or provide partial articulation, from different angles, of how MCTs work. This enriches and fleshes out the framework being built in this research that is based on sensemaking, which is a heuristic that allows us to describe governing as managing sense.

Structure of this chapter

The present chapter focuses on seeking the theoretical basis for articulating governing as managing meaning.

Part 1 discusses the provenance of sensemaking (Weick 1995), the main approach adopted. Sensemaking describes how meaning is constructed. It provides a template for explaining how and why MCTs work in the governing of public space.

Part 2 discusses why sensemaking is the preferred basic skeleton framework to address the research question and off which to hang auxiliary theories. It makes the argument for sensemaking as the theoretical core for this research, including the consideration of other frameworks, which become the auxiliary theories for explicating public space governing and attenuating meaning construction.

Part 3 sets out the speculative skeleton model, which is an extended version of sensemaking and associated constructs derived from theory. This gives us a framework of terms with which to confront empirical data with. It allows an

explanation of the impact of MCT on sensemaking and public space governing. Associated theories are drawn upon, related to and extends sensemaking to make it useful for the present research.

5.2. Part 1 Introducing sensemaking

ABOUT SENSEMAKING

'Sensemaking' is a type of explanation for why particular meanings or values 'happen' and become 'facts' (Weick 1995). The reasons why are rehearsed below, but it is first necessary to discuss sensemaking, its qualities and provenance. Weick (1995) notes that sensemaking is not a fully formed theory but "a developing set of ideas with explanatory possibility" (pxi). Mills et al (2010) labelled it a heuristic, and this is the label most often used to describe both sensemaking itself in this research, and the resulting framework that is developed in this thesis.

'Sensemaking' describes the processes by which people give meaning to their experiences. A sensemaking approach is one that explains social phenomena with reference to what sense people make of the social or physical world, how they come to hold that sense, and how they therefore act on the world, thus changing it. Meaning or 'value' is not simply a result of thinking, but a result of thinking AND testing that thought with structures of knowledge already held or gained from observing the world, and the very dynamics of the cycle and the trajectory it inscribes in the conceptual space. This cycle is continuous, and thoughts build on observation, but observation in turn build on thoughts, iteratively. In the one direction of this cycle, sensemaking describes how people make sense of 'the world', that is how people construct beliefs about the world. Then, in the other direction, it describes how 'the world' is affected by what sense people make of it, that is, how people enact actions.

FIGURE 5.1 THE CYCLE OF BELIEF AND ACTION, OR 'STATE OF MIND' AND 'STATE OF THINGS', OR 'THINK-AND-DO'
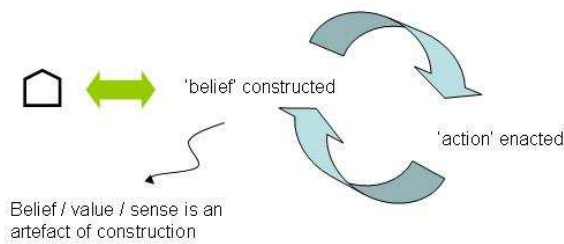
Sensemaking provides explanation defined in the interpretivist mode – explanation is about 'making social action intelligible' rather that the demonstration of adherence of social actions to laws concerning causal relations (Rosenberg 1995). These are fundamentally different definitions of what explanation is. Sensemaking actually articulates the very mechanics of constructivist explanation, so that explanation is shaped as 'mutual causality shaped as a cycle' rather than 'linear causality' in accordance to universal laws.

Arguably, anything we 'know' is known through the process of sensemaking. Any intentional actions arise from the sense made, and our actions based on that sense. Furthermore, people actively construct meaning, rather than passively accepting meaning, where 'meaning' is the state of belief when there is a stable relation between it and the associated state of the world. So a sensemaking-based concept of governing should focus on managing how people know, and thus, act.

How does managing happen and how can sensemaking help articulate this, or not, as the case may be?

First, it happens through a series of communicative and multi-way interactions between actors in which sense is made and what is 'known' is made known.

Secondly, as we have seen, sensemaking rejects the linear explanatory model of a 'thought' causing an 'action' and is instead, grounded in social psychological insight that people tend to seek states that give them self-enhancement, self-efficacy and self-consistency, people will choose to construct and hold on to a coherent and emotionally affirmative combination of thoughts, or state of mind, and actions, or state of things which contributes to a stable sense of self (Weick 1995, Ross et al 2010). This means that all of these describe an attractive state that actors will seek, because such a state literally makes sense. The momentum in sensemaking's micro-cycle of beliefs and actions is created by the cognitive motivations of actors, which is ultimately that search for a stable sense of self (Weick 1995). It is this that allows us to explain that managing the construction of value or meaning involves setting up meanings *positions* that are attractive because they are associated with a stable sense of self, and influencing others' cyclical trajectories to move to those positions.

Thirdly, however, sensemaking only provides one part of the theoretical basis needed to describe what MCTs do in public space governing. The scope of our explanation therefore needs to defined, and possibly extended to take into account how sensemaking can explain the enactment of actions for public as well as for private ends; making sense itself may or may not result in action that matters in the public realm. Whether something does actually get enacted in the public realm would depend on whether circumstances are favourable to that action and whether actors have the power or capacity to make those circumstances favourable[4]. This raises the question of definition and scope of sensemaking: whether power wielded coercively is a *type* of sense made, or whether the exertion of coercive power lies outside the frame of sensemaking explanation. The former definition is adopted here: **that the exertion of coercive power lies within the scope of 'sensemaking'** because the successful exertion of power only works if it can be made sense of, even if the sense is that of disagreement.

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[4] However, this does not mean that there no consequences in non-action; non-action is a type of action. Lukes (1974) argued that 'power' may be exerted through 'non-action'.

This is in line with the work of, for example, Lincoln and Guba (1989) who insist on "catalytic" and "tactical authenticities', and Flyvbjerg 1998, 2001) who strongly advocates the explicit inclusion rather than the implicit elision of questions of 'power' in the conduct of social science. Thus 'enactment', a key characteristic of 'sensemaking' could be defined as **"'actions that create meaning in the world' whether by being expressed, or even if the action is inhibited, abandoned, checked or redirected"** (Weick 1995), and even if some level of coercion is present.

Fourth, sensemaking never comprises a single clean cycle, but a host of simultaneous overlapping cycles, around complementary or competing issues. Some of these cycles will **create meta-meanings, that is, meanings about (primary) meanings at hand,** that enable judgments to be made about primary meanings and therefore dictate what primary meanings are acceptable, and which are not.

Sensemaking provides direct access to the ideas in social psychology as this is one area of scholarship that underpins and in this research, allows the extension of the principles of sensemaking to cover multiple influential interactions. Indeed, Weick's (1995) sensemaking approach is essentially rooted in social psychology; his most important book 'Sensemaking in Organizations' constitutes a selective meta-analysis of a range of relevant theories and descriptions from a range of psychological studies, and brings them together in such a way that enables their application to the question of how people makes sense of the world. This, in turn, is useful as a means of explaining a whole range of social situations. So sensemaking is founded on the same assumptions as social psychology. This is particularly useful when the limits of sensemaking as an explanatory framework are reached, for example, when looking at decisions and actions of groups. Social psychology, in particular the study of social conflict and of group behaviour, extends the explanation of the more volitional modes of influencing actor behaviour as well as the more coercive modes characterised by the use of rewards and sanctions.

The social psychology literature is shot through with discussions of 'naïve realism', or 'naïve positivism' (Bevir 2006) which is the tendency of psychological beings to assume that what one "'sees' through the prism of one's expectations, needs, and knowledge structures, (is in fact) objective reality" (Ross et. al. 2010 p6). Social psychological literature discusses at length the social implications and manifestations of naïve realism. Recognising that seeking objective reality, particularly concerning social situations, is not only difficult but not particularly useful, is the raison d'etre of a constructivist understanding of the social world. Essentially, therefore, social psychology, in this instance, informs a 'constructivist' view of the world, and sensemaking.

5.3. Part 2: Why sensemaking?

This part explores indepth, why sensemaking was selected as the basic explanatory framework for how MCTs attenuate meaning construction in public space governing. Other theoretical frameworks were considered for explaining what MCTs do, but sensemaking was found to be the most suitable 'template'.

First, **sensemaking can explain intersubjective decision-making, and is thus useful for analysing non-hierarchical governing**, especially where the communicative role of government is important. Public space governing involves its diverse range of stakeholders actively and can be characterised as 'non-hierarchical' (for example, Pierre and Peters 2005, Mayntz 2003). It is a situation in which many decisions are arrived at intersubjectively and 'communicatively'. Applying a constructivist lens, it has been argued that any understanding of social reality generally is an "accomplishment (that) is not achieved by individuals thinking alone but by people acting together" (Elcheroth et al 2011 p733). Since "sensemaking is grounded in both individual and social activity," (Weick 1995, p6), it is able to explain situations where meaning is based is being created *with* others. Sensemaking focuses on the reporting and therefore constructing of meaning. Since non-hierarchical governance involves a wider range of governing actors than traditional top-down governance, it requires more 'performance reporting'

and a focus on the communicative role of government, as briefly introduced in Chapter One. Through this connection, sensemaking comes in useful in explaining tools for communicating performance, and accountability.

Second, sensemaking is able to **deal with the 'change over time' aspect of value construction and enactment**. Indeed, as will be shown later, dynamics is inherent to the very possibility of making sense at all. As will be discussed later, the dynamical model of trajectory shift provides a coherent and useful explanation of how change in values held happen, whether 'naturally' or by design of the sensemaker himself or by someone else wishing to affect the sense made. Notably, 'dynamics' is the third key characteristic of governing situations (Kooiman 2003).

Third, sensemaking's explanatory focus is **on the reception of stimuli or signals by the recipient and how communicators produce 'meaning', rather than the substantive content of the signals themselves.** This means it can bridge the physical / social divide. More precisely, it focuses on how sensemakers actively notice and construct meaning from those signals available to him/her. This is useful because the source of the signal is irrelevant, be it another actor who is actively communicating, or simply a physical object the recipient has noticed. This is a very useful quality when, in a multiple stakeholder communicative situation about a physicality (i.e. public space), because no matter what the source of signals for making sense is, we are able to apply sensemaking to explain how actors respond to it. This feature allows sensemaking to bridge the physical-social divide and would be incredibly useful for rethinking the 'built environment-social sciences' relationship and also the gaps between professions. This feature locates sensemaking in relation to 'built environment' studies.

In established public space, the 'technical' is clearly something that has been enacted, sometimes a long time ago. Indeed, this whole study is about how public space is produced, or enacted. Because it is a complex thing, it can be said to be an artefact of multiple overlapping sensemaking, including enactment processes that has happened over a long period.

In sensemaking terms, the physicality of public spaces are simply another source of 'cues' or less often, 'frames' around which beliefs about them are formed. From an everyday use perspective, and also from a technological perspective, public space can be the physicality that enables or constrain sensemakers' actions, and thus change sense. However, as the data will show, while this is ubiquitous problem, apart from some key issues such as traffic, safety and cleanliness, these can be quite badly dealt with, and means of dealing with them are fragmented.

Fourth, sensemaking is **a way to operationalise value**; that is, it is a way to conceptualise the idea of value and allows us to work with it. Sensemaking theorises value, and provides us a readymade set of 'terms' and conditional relations based on social psychology with which to describe the construction of value, indeed, for how we operate at all in society and in the world. It could be said that sensemaking *animates* the concept of value. It shows us how value is constructed, how values inform action or vice versa, and explains why all of this happens like this. This close relationship to 'value' locates sensemaking in relation to the more mainstream idea of 'value' and 'valuation', which speak, in the area of public space, to property developers and owners in the form of property or development or land values, and more broadly, to politicians in the form of 'best value for money'.

Fifth, **sensemaking has been selected because of its 'family resemblance'** (Wittgenstein 1972 in Bevir 2010 and Wittgenstein 1967 in Clegg and Haugaard 2009) **to or resonance with a number of concepts found across social, political and management disciplines**, for example, the measurement of service quality (Zeithaml, Berry and Parasuraman 1990), the valuation of property (for example, Diaz 1999) and the political psychology of ethnic conflict (Elcheroth et al 2011). Sensemaking links these observations in the application of theory to abstract theory itself. For example, the idea of gap and match found in the five gap model of service quality (Zeithaml, Berry and Parasuraman 1990) can be related to the very basis of a constructivist epistemology – meaning is constructed in relation to other meanings, which is a key message of a constructivist epistemology (for

example Quine 1969 in Dancy 1985), that is the cue-frame relation. In sensemaking, the social psychological tendency is always to close the gap (fix the discrepancy) to achieve match (Weick 1995, Ross et at 2010). Since the gap is reliant on the relations between at least two elements that form that gap, and since those elements may arise from the environment around the sensemakers, or from what sensemakers know, interactions between sensemaker and between the sensemaker and the world will inevitably affect meaning. This clearly has links back to the insights of symbolic interactionism (Goffman 1951, Searle 1995).

In the next chapter, these interactions have been stylised into the cycle of belief and action, which is not a million miles from how Weick (1995) described sensemaking. This provides a coherent approach to explaining how and why people act in social situations. This potential of sensemaking to tie previously unrelated concepts together via the social psychology of meaning-making within the context of public space governance will either be confirmed, redefined, refined or thrown out by the present research. The thesis will return to this question in Chapter 8. While locating the ultimate explanation in a sense of self image is of course arguable, sensemaking nevertheless provides a broad-based theoretical frame with which to investigate how people understand the role of MCTs public space governing. This breadth is reassuring because it suggests the viability of the basic premises of sensemaking and promises satisfactory and plausible explanations for what MCTs do. Indeed, Eisenhardt (1989) recognises the value of similarity of models across different areas of study. It is useful because insightful concepts from these areas may be applied to the explanation of MCTs within a broad sensemaking approach.

Sixth, sensemaking has **the potential for providing the foundations of and inroads into prescription in public space governing**, which is also how it enables the link between theory and practice. The sensemaking 'model' of cyclical mutual causality is a powerful, novel and relatively easily communicated explanatory template for what happens in non-hierarchical and often deliberative governing such as that in public space. Sensemaking

models governance as a process made of two iterative and mutually conditional causal acts changing the 'shape' of explanation from being about 'cause and effect' described by dependent and independent variables, to being about 'mutual causality or conditionality between belief and action'. This is important for describing what MCTS do What this does for prescription is that it allows governing actors to 'see' where and how interventions to 'shape sensemaking' can be made, and whether they are likely to be successful.

Seventh, the explanations that sensemaking provides is **based on the constructivist or interpretivist model of the world**, which takes 'meaning' into account. This at once meets the initiating objection that kicked off this research which was the researchers' observation that a mainstream positivist approach deployed by actors did not adequately allow explanation of what MCTs are or do, and that if value is constructable, why not manage its construction? Sensemaking describes how construction of value or meaning happens, and so can potentially suggest how it can be managed. Sensemaking is an operationalisation of a interpretivist paradigm which allows insight into 'how people come to know'.

Finally, sensemaking **was deduced to have explanatory capacity across the range of likely roles MCTs** had, judging from preliminary observations. Of a range of other possible constructivist explanatory frameworks, for example, approaches to urban management (for example, Healey et al 1999, 2003), rhetorical analysis (for example, Finlayson 2007), expectation management (for example Phelan n.d.) and knowledge management (for example, Choo 2002), none appeared to address the range of emerging observations as sensemaking did. In part, this is because of sensemaking's abstract nature. Indeed, many of these other approaches were subsumed in a meta-framework provided by sensemaking, thus extending its explanatory capacity. So 'sensemaking' is able to be a unifying framework, a coherent 'base map' that sets out the coherent relationships between various building blocks of meaning. It has the potential to be a base model onto which we can plot very precisely where each MCT impact is. Sensemaking also provides

the theoretical relations of how MCTs work in each of these, and why. One possible criticism is that sensemaking is too broad an umbrella concept for it to be useful for explanation (Kilduff 1996). This will largely depend on 'what explanation needs to be'.

<u>Associated theories that can enhance a sensemaking-based explanation, but remain non-core</u>

A large number of constructivist frameworks were explored before settling on sensemaking, although most of them did continue to inform the theory-building. Sensemaking was selected over these others for four reasons.

First, as already hinted at above, sensemaking provides a template **that would enable the instrumentalisation** (or operationalisation) of value and of 'meaning construction'; that is, it "engages methods directly" (Yanow 2006 p17). The research sought to elaborate a non-positivist way of knowing and seeing built environment production in pursuit of increasing this 'way of knowing's' instrumentality. It does so by seeking to develop a heuristic for this way of knowing, a heuristic that approaches the high levels of usability that positivistic heuristic enjoy in practice (e.g. via measurement, key performance indicators, and so on). This is important because in part, positivistic approaches work because they appear to succinctly convey complex issues, appearing objective. The requirement for instrumentality of any template (or the potential for it) meant that while conceptual contributions to an explanation were made by, amongst others, Kooiman's (2003) definition of governance as the solution of societal problems and the classic definition of policy impact is denoted by a shift 'from counterfactual to actual' state of affairs (e.g. Hill 1997), many of the relevant discussions regarding 'meaning construction' were in areas that did not lend themselves to easy operationalisation. For example, 'interpretivism as a paradigm in the policy sciences' (for example, Yanow and Schwartz-Shea 2006, Hajer and Wagenaar 2003), deliberative democracy (for example, Dryzek 2000, Elster 1998) and the exercise of power (for example, Clegg and Haugaard 2009, Flyvbjerg 1998). In discussing decentred governing in political theory Bevir and Rhodes (2002) begin a move towards operationalisation by identifying

'micro-practices' as the source of knowledge about the world, rather than grand essentialist foundations, but their primary focus was description rather than empirical observation or prescription. In a disciplinary area closer to public space governing, communicative planning (for example, Healey et. al. 1999, 2003, Innes and Booher 2003) provide the beginnings of the possibility of operationalisation. The former, for example, focused on institutional capacity, identifying four dimensions in **Figure 5.2** below, that make this up. In contrast to these, sensemaking's articulation of the process of meaning construction is clearly operational and sets out constructs, and importantly, the relationships between them.

FIGURE 5.2 DIMENSIONS OF INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY (ADAPTED FROM HEALEY ET AL 1999, 2003)

Intellectual capital – knowledge resources

- **Range** of knowledge resources, explicit and tacit, systematised and experiential, to which participants have access
- **Frames** – The frames of reference which shape conceptions of issues, problems, opportunities and interventions, including conceptions of space
- **Integration of spheres** – the extent to which the range and frames are shared among stakeholders,
- **Openness and learning** – the capacity to absorb new ideas and learn from them

Social capital (trust and social understanding) – relational resources

- **Range of stakeholders** involved.
- The **morphology** of their social networks, in terms of the density (or 'thickness') of network interconnections and their 'route structure'.
- **Integration of networks** – institutional 'thickness'
- **Power to act** - The location of the power to act, the relations of power between actors and the interaction with wider authoritative, allocative and ideological structuring forces.

Political capital - the capacity to act collectively to develop local qualities and capture **external** attention and resources

- **Opportunity structure**
- **Institutional arenas** used and developed by stakeholders to take advantage of opportunities.
- **Repertoire** of mobilization techniques
- **Change agents**

Second, sensemaking focuses on the mechanics of meaning construction, which is exactly what this research wants to deepen an understanding of. It names the elements and levers for the 'how' construction happens and also uses social psychology as basis of the 'why'. It deals with elements of meaning (for example, cues and frames), and it is able to describe dynamics of meaning construction. Much of the literature does discuss how construction of meaning happens, but do not focus on the mechanics. These literatures may for example explore what meaning is (Graeber 2001). They may discuss some qualities of the process of 'construction of meaning', for instance, Elcheroth et al's (2011) discuss the qualities of meaning construction in the context of 'social representations' as a meaning-construction-focused approach to rethink the field of political psychology. The 'social', as opposed to 'individual' focus of this thinking is important for dealing with the 'publicness' of actions. Elcheroth et al (2011) note that social representations involve shared knowledge, are a meta-knowledge, is enacted communication, and is therefore world-making. Flyvbjerg (1998) discusses the qualities of meaning construction in terms of the relationship between rationality and power, providing 10 'propositions' (see **Figure 5.3**). Both Elcheroth et al (2011) and Flyvbjerg (1998) describe qualities or tendencies of meaning construction, but does not systematise a description of the mechanics of meaning construction.

FIGURE 5.3 10 PROPOSITIONS FOR THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RATIONALITY AND POWER, AND WHICH CHARACTERISE MEANING CONSTRUCTION IN A GOVERNING SITUATION (FLYVBJERG 1998)

1. Power defines reality
2. Rationality is context-dependent, the context of rationality is power, and power blurs the dividing line between rationality and rationalisation.
3. Rationalisation presented as rationality is a principal strategy in the exercise of power.
4. The greater the power, the less the rationality
5. Stable power reations are more typical of politics, administration, and planning than antagonistic confrontations
6. Power relations are constantly being produced and reproduced
7. The rationality of power has deeper historical roots than the power of rationality.
8. In open confrontation, rationality yields to power
9. Rationality-power relations are more characteristic of stable power raltinship than of confrontations.
10. The power of rationality is embedded in stable power relations rather than confrontations.

Other literature on meaning construction focus on the normative qualities of the process of construction of meaning, for example, Lincoln and Guba (1989) in the context of programme and policy evaluation, describe parallel criteria, which hints at those qualities that may make the constructed meaning more credible and acceptable, and authenticity criteria, which provide the normative quality in evaluation. These include: fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity and tactical authenticity. Notably, in the area of communicative planning, Innes and Booher (2003) also speak of 'authenticity', defining this as the possibility for stakeholders to have dialogue which is reciprocal, build relationships (educative), increases learning (ontological, educative), and is creative.

Discussing interpretivist research methodologies, Yanow (2006) perhaps comes closest to suggesting an overarching model of the process of meaning construction, which she calls 'interpretive moments' in the course of an inquiry process. She identified four moments. First, the initial experiential interpretation, which, in our framework is both the purchase on the cue itself, and the initial reckoning of that cue. Second, the sensemaker seeks to make sense of the cue by putting it against a frame previously held. This is 'connection' and precipitates a belief. The third moment is found in the analysis and the 'writing up' of accessed and generated data, where writing is a way of world making, a way of 'relating' (Follett 1924 in Weick 1995)

belief to an action, or a way of testing a belief against action. Finally, in the reading (or hearing) of the report or the inquiry result, the meaning is finally constructed.

In contrast, sensemaking actually articulates the meaning making process in terms of connections between the elements of cues and frames, and in terms of the tendencies within dynamics of the process, and explains why it proceeds as it does. It is a good fit for understanding how public space governing proceeds, and the role of MCTs in it, and why MCTs work.

Thirdly, the contexts from which some of the frameworks arise are not sufficiently similar to public space governing for wholesale borrowing. In the five gaps model of service quality (Zeithmahl et al 1990), the dimensions reflect the barest prescriptive minimum. It does provide 'operationalisation' and a description of the mechanics of 'making sense' (of service quality). Put differently, while its method draws on a constructivist principle, the definitions of the dimensions are suitable mainly for quality assessment in a simple 'service', provided in a narrow transactional context. Diaz (1999) examines the property valuation process, which is essentially a value construction process, but this context lacks the multi-lateral politics of public space governing. It is a highly prescribed and rule-based process, although its sub-steps are subject to judgment of the professional. Lincoln and Guba (1989) in discussing how evaluation deals with meaning and action, provide a good starting template, but they do not discuss the mechanisms of construction, except in the context of evaluation. Further, evaluation is where evaluators control these mechanisms, and evaluation is not similar enough to public space governing.

Finally, there is a difference in scope addressed by these frameworks and our need to describe how governing works. Some frameworks reviewed focus on one specific part of the mechanics, but not the whole of the construction process. Finlayson (2007) for instance, focuses on the analysis of rhetoric and how arguments are constructed, which takes place at the 'connection' between cue and frame. Healey et al (1999, 2003) couches the

meaning construction process in terms of institutional capacity, thereby really focusing on capacity of actors to either understand or enact particular actions. Smircich and Morgan (1982) provide acute insight into the constructivist notion of leadership, which is where followers devolve meaning construction to their leader. This focuses on the 'construction' process itself. Sensemaking, in contrast, covers the same scope as the research aim, which is the understand how meaning construction happens in public space governing, and why it happens.

Nevertheless, as the exploration in this research progressed, it was clear that sensemaking would make a meta-skeleton, while many of these other theories put flesh on that skeleton.

5.4.   Part 3: The basic sensemaking framework

In this part, sensemaking is described graphically. The sensemaking model enables theory to reach out / be exposed to be confronted by data, the main approach of this study. The general shape of the model is discussed. The concept of 'conditions' is developed that explain how and why sensemaking happens. These conditions need to be in place for sense to be made. What conditions are actually put in place by MCTs will be inducted from the empirical data in Chapter 6.

A potentially problematic gap within sensemaking, as it stands, is its focus on explaining how individuals make sense for themselves, even if sensemakers inevitably draw on cues and knowledge from others, and make sense in relation to others' positions. Governing is about making sense for and with the collective of 'relevant stakeholders' within a given governing context. Consideration of 'public' sensemaking is necessary because governing is a public, or societal activity, and the possibility of public action is central to governing. Can, and how can sensemaking, be extended to take into account both these 'private' and 'public' aspects of governing? How can the sensemaking cycle explain shifts in governing path (discussed in Chapter 3), or changes in governance situations. Put another way, the cycles of

sensemaking should be able to provide a basis of an elaborated account of how public space governing situations play out.

Part 3 below, therefore, sets out the cyclical model, with a sensemaking account building up from the smallest element, a picture of, first, how people make sense of the governing situation, how they influence others' sensemaking with or without the aid of an MCT, and ultimately, how this affects the way a governance situation plays out. This account of the model will set out a number of relevant concepts drawn from a range of literature that are necessary for the reader to make sense in the rest of the thesis. The model here is skeletal. The empirical data that will confirm and refine the 'sketch model' presented in the present chapter. However, an attempt to extend the model to deal with the shift in governing path is left until the end of Chapter 6, after an initial analysis of the empirical data. In that section, the solving of societal (that is, collective) problems will be addressed by sensemaking.

Unit of meaning: cue and frame

'Sensemaking' describes the processes by which people ascribe sense to what they experience or observe. According to sensemaking, the most basic concepts in this process are 'cues' or sensory signals reaching the person from the environment, and 'frames', knowledge that the person already holds gained, perhaps, from past experience. When cues are apprehended by frames in a person's mind, then he gains some understanding of what the cue means.

'Cues' are "simple, familiar structures that are 'seeds' from which people develop a larger sense of what may be occurring" (Weick 1995 p50). 'Frames' are that which "enable people to locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences in their lives and world" (Weick 1995 p109). A 'belief' arises when a cue and frame are put into contact with each other, and connect. 'Beliefs' are artefacts of contact between cues and frames. "A cue in a frame is what makes sense, not the cue alone or the frame alone" (Weick 1995 p110). "Frames tend to be past moments of socialization and cues tend to be

present moments of experience. If a person can construct a relation between these two moments, meaning is created" (Weick 1995 p111). Frames can also be projected or imagined future moments.

Note that the term 'belief' here is used idiosyncratically by Weick, simply to mean the knowledge of something, a particular state of mind, rather than a "mental acceptance of and conviction in the truth, actuality, or validity of something" (The Free Dictionary, nd). For that, a state of mind needs to be tested.

Cycles

In relation to trying to understand meaning-making of people's actions, we 'test' our beliefs against past experience or some other form of yardstick, however vague. We can call this a 'test', after Hillier et al's (1972) 'conjecture-test' model, where 'conjecture' is the 'belief' discussed earlier, and 'test' is the revisiting of observable features, or gathering further cues. Alternatively, to use Follett's (1924 in Weick 1995) terminology, this involves 'relating' the belief back to another look at the cue.

Expressed graphically, sensemaking is at its most basic, a **cycle**.

Sensemaking requires the sensemaker to actively evaluate the state of mind for consistency with an observed state of things. Actions both come out of and fuel beliefs (Weick 1995). It has been argued that we should not be talking about 'results' (Follett 1924 in Weick 1995). Instead, we should speak about 'relatings' between belief and action, between the 'state of mind' and the 'state of things'. This can be conceptualised as a cycle of belief (the state of mind) and action (the state of things) and is the most basic process of meaning making; sensemaking works by 'relating' beliefs and actions iteratively. What happens when cue and frame come into contact to make meaning requires the active 'invention' of the sensemaker. "… arguments … are actions themselves and not merely comments upon actions …" (Finlayson 2007, p 559 – 560). "… as we perform a certain action, our thought towards it changes and that changes our activity" (Follett 1924 in

Weick 1995 p33). Discussing social representations, in other words, 'meanings that are shared with others', Elcheroth et al (2011 p733-734) note that they are "about doing as much as thinking. They are enacted knowledge and hence are shaped by those factors which constrain our social practices. Social representations do not just reflect social reality but they constitute that social reality… they determine what forms of actions are thinkable and unthinkable." What can or cannot be enacted is a constraint on what can become a belief at all. In other words, mere thoughts that cannot be tested by enactment will gain little currency, and will have little impact on the world. So, the ability to enact to test is very important to the establishment of meaning. This applies whether that action is private or public, as Elcheroth et al (2011) argue.

Returning to beliefs for a moment, they could be thought of as artefacts of contact[5] between cues and frames. Sensemaking involves enabling that contact, as well as enabling its 'relating' with action. This is incidentally very similar to what has been called the "conjecture-test" model used by designers to develop design solutions (Hillier et al 1972), Garfinkel's (1967) documentary method, which applies this to the process of research (and which this research itself deploys), and indeed, Weick's (1995) description of sensemaking that applies to what happens in an individual sensemaker's mind. So put another way, what happens in the 'relating' is that a belief is tested against reality, so that its 'truth value' may be judged.

FIGURE 5.4: THE CYCLE OF BELIEF AND ACTION, OR 'STATE OF MIND' AND 'STATE OF THINGS', OR 'THINK-AND-DO'

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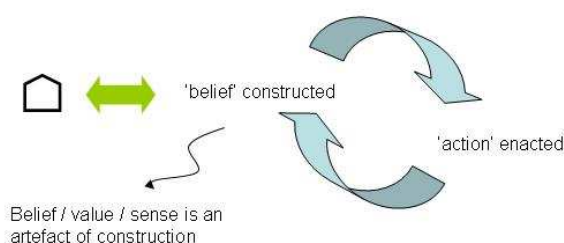
[5] Perhaps analogous to 'market price' as 'transaction artefact'

The more consistent a state of mind is with the state of actions, the more stable it will be, the less the sensemaker will have to attend to it and the more psychologically attractive it is as a state of meaning. It must be noted here that, as the state of 'hurting stalemate' shows (De Dreu 2010), it is possible to have a belief of 'low acceptability' and still be stuck in a stable belief-action cycle which the sensemaker has now capacity to change. However, in accordance with a sensemaker's need for self-enhancement discussed earlier, for stability to happen and a state of meaning, the belief has to be acceptable.

The continual iteration between 'beliefs' and 'actions' produce a belief-action cycle, in a mechanism defined here as 'sensemaking'. Actions make beliefs, but beliefs also cause actions, in a continual cycle of mutual causation. Unlike the more classical form of explanation, of 'if A then B', this describes a causal link that is not linear. Beliefs and actions, that is, what we think and what we do, and correspondingly, our state of mind, and the state of things in the world, are inseparable where explaining human social activity is concerned. The form is 'if A then B then A1 then B1 then A2 then B2' and so on. So that 'value', 'meaning', and anything that matters to people should be considered from, not only in belief terms, or in terms of observable actions, but in the inextricable relationship between beliefs and actions, what we think and what we do (Weick 1995). So, using a sensemaking lens changes the 'shape' of explanation from being about 'cause and effect' described by dependent and independent variables, to being about 'mutual causality between belief and action' described by narratives.

To refine that, Bevir (1999) provides a useful differentiation between 'causal' and 'conditional' explanation. "Causal explanation is the form appropriate to the natural sciences. It appear in case where the occurrence of one thing makes the occurrence of another thing necessary because of the operation of physical laws. Conditional explanation is defined in contrast to causal explanation as the form appropriate to rational action. It appears in cases where one thing does not necessitate another but merely gives someone a reason to act in a way that brings about the other" (p11). For the present

study, we work with the phraseology of **conditions** being the explanation for effects, as we are dealing with conditional and not causal explanations, although 'cause' as a term is sometimes deployed in its everyday sense.

So, sense, or meaning, or value, is the artefact that results from this belief-action / conjecture-test cycle. Sense is tested belief. This cycle is something that happens imperceptibly quickly. The cycle happens in all our heads all the time, about absolutely everything we experience and gain knowledge about. This simple model is the basis of a lot of knowledge management work (for example, Choo 2002). According to Weick (1995) this cycle is continual and never ever stops. Of course, new cues arrive all the time and impact on our senses. Cues which, if we notice them, may well cause us to revise our beliefs, and once we have tested them, possibly also the meaning we hold.

Trajectories and shift in trajectories

In the sensemaking model, the 'cycle' does not operate in a vacuum; it operates in a multi-dimensional field of conceptual space, and the location in that field denotes 'meaning'. So, if we also make time a dimension in that field, over time, with new cues, the cycle becomes a spiral as it inscribes in the conceptual field, a trajectory of meaning-making, and ending up at a different 'meaning position'.

The cycles becoming trajectories which are spiral in shape has resonance with concepts of how dynamics work in the complex systems literature (Kooiman 2003). All trajectories are subject to changes in direction as circumstances change, but some shifts are decisive, permanently shifting trajectories.

A trajectory can be seen as an inscription in the conceptual space. It captures what Weick (1995 p32) called "ongoing codetermination". Follett (1924 in Weick 1995) argued that there is strictly no such thing as the 'result of process', only a moment in process. So, words, thoughts, cause-effect, stimulus-response, and subject-object are simply descriptions of moments in

a process. "To explore a different moment is to reshuffle the meaning of all those supposed 'products' culled from inspection of a different moment" (Weick 1995 p33). Actors' 'meaning states' alternate in an unstable interactive cycle between acting on concrete particulars ('actions') and holding abstract explanations ('beliefs') of those actions. In all of this, cues and frames generated by contact with particulars (concrete actions) and explanations (abstract beliefs) also come into contact with each other because of actors either expressing beliefs or enacting actions that create such relationships.

Different cues will (or at least, may) cause a different trajectory, and thus a different meaning position. So might different frames, and different criteria for tests. It follows, therefore, that introducing different cues, frames or test criteria will influence the meaning precipitated in the end, and that it is possible for someone else to do this intentionally or something in the environment or indeed, in the sensemaker's memory suddenly recalled, to introduce these.

Putting this into a less abstract form, then: Changing one's mind about the meaning of a situation, for example, "Oh I thought this was good, but I don't think it's very good anymore, after I have seen other ones", constitutes a revised belief position after that new input regarding the state of things.

FIGURE 5.5: THE SPIRAL-SHAPED TRAJECTORY INSCRIBED BY CYCLES OVER TIME
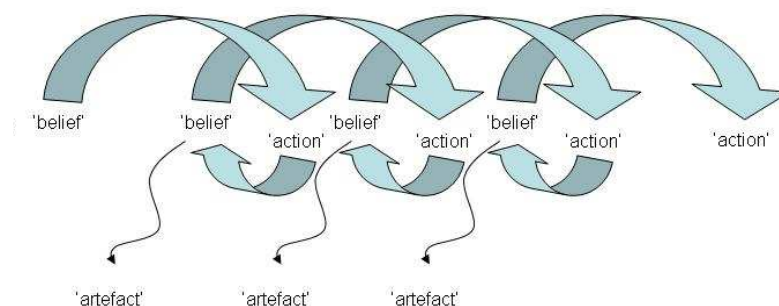
Meaning, a well as belief, is artefactual. So when we do explore a moment, however, what we gain is a 'meaning' of that moment. Thus, each of these meanings might be seen as stages in a sequence of the shift in meaning or value or sense made.

Intentional shifts and rationales

At this point, it is necessary to bring in a discussion of the dynamics of both the cycle and the spiral. Weick (1995) states that people as psychological beings and sensemakers, have a tendency to want to 'make sense' of their world. For example, people have a tendency to seek a plausible explanation that can be quickly arrived at rather than a perfectly correct explanation which may take much longer. The desire to 'make sense' actually drives the sense decisions made, and drives the cycles and trajectories.

In mechanistic terms, this effectively means that people tend to seek both acceptable meanings, that is, to avoid dissonance, and to achieve stable cycles. Dissonance happens when the belief and its test does not lead to sense that is satisfactory. Either the cycle did not stabilise because the meaning was not accepted, or a cycle quickly stabilised because the meaning was accepted. So, dissonance makes the cycle continue, and this inevitably, over time, inscribes a spiral, as new cues, frames and criteria arrive. This describes the dynamics of a cycle.

Intentions, motivation and cognition

Central to applying the sensemaking model to governing, is that the deliberate actions taken by governing actors to influence the positions of other actors can be seen as seeking to shift the trajectory of other individuals and groups, in a particular direction that results in primary meanings desired by the communicator. In other words, to manage the sensemaking of others to achieve particular 'artefacts of meaning'.

Bevir (1999) argues that it is valid to attribute effects or actions to intentions, even if intentions are attenuated or influenced by other non-intentional

factors. In practice, it is a mix of intentioned and non-intentioned factors are in play.

In the present study, the consideration given these issues by psychologists and political analysts are drawn upon. For example, the division between 'motivation' and 'cognitive' explanations rooted in psychology are two different 'frames' of explanation, where 'motive' effectively drives intention, whereas the cognitive deals with the unintentional processing effects that human decision-making and attribution are subject to (see, for example, Ross et al 2010). When different frames of analysis are applied, one set of data can yield completely different explanations or answers, so in addressing the research question of 'how MCTs work', it is quite important to specify precisely what theoretical frame is being applied. The dilemma here was that both the motivational and cognitive frames had important and interlocking roles to play in any reasonably holistic explanation. Weick's (1995) sensemaking goes some way to addressing the problem of 'motivation' or 'cognitive', by eliding it and placing the explanation in the realm of epistemology: how do actors know it, not what is really there.

The social psychological literature supports this. Since individuals' sensemaking cycles re-iterate, effectively go around and trajectories shift because sensemakers tend to seek a stable sense of self (Weick 1995, Ross et al 2010) in the face of changing circumstances and new cues, sensemakers choose meaning positions that allow themselves maintain a positive cognitive and affective state (Weick 1995). So, decisions are made based on what actors believe to be right, not what is technically correct.

Once we take this view, the time and place of valuation becomes important, as the particular situational factors that can influence the sense made will need to be considered. This fits with Bevir's (2010) '*local* rationality'. It is whatever combination of explanations that is available to the sensemaker and takes precedence *at the moment of valuation*, which, at a different moment of valuation, can take on a different set of explanations. It is not just local and vernacular, but *situated in time and place of valuation.*

Despite a foundation in social psychology, this study's focal concern differs from that of the psychologists. So governance actions studied here are those that are therefore, not couched in the psychologist's motivational or cognitive terms, but as that which is 'sensible'. This approach starts with intentions of the sensemaker, his / her motivations. So actions can cause intentioned shift in the trajectory of a sensemaker's sense, effectively, a 'change of mind', but this does not ignore the fact that unintentional 'cognitive' effects can creep into what is subsequently held up as the 'intentional reason' for doing something. The concept of 'sensible' further incorporates any influence into a consideration of a 'local situated instance of sensemaking', and as Weick's (1995) work suggests, is sufficiently plausible and useful explanation for explanations for organisational, and in the case of this research, societal interactions.

For the purposes of the present research, the literature was searched for a theoretical foundations for 'sensible' explanations drawn from a mix of cognitive / structural motivational / intentional or situational frames, which can inform sensemaker about why people do or think what they do in a multi-stakeholdered governing situation. All of these are commonly understandable, and therefore useful explanations.

<u>The centrality of meta-meanings to motivated processing, hence shifts</u>

These rationales may be characterised as meta-meanings, or meanings about meanings because each explanation is of course, a meaning about the meanings that people generated concerning the governance situation and which dictate what primary meanings are attractive or not, and in so doing, shape or redirect sensemaking paths.

As discussed, what drives the individual's sensemaking cycle to re-iterate and effectively go around is the tendency of individual sensemakers to seek a stable sense of self (Weick 1995, Ross et al 2010). This manifests itself as the tendency for sensemakers to choose meanings about meanings, that is, positions of belief-and-action that allow themselves maintain a positive cognitive and affective state about the self (Weick 1995). The assessment of

primary meanings produces 'meta-meanings', that is, meanings about meanings.

So, explanations are given by meta-meanings, which explain attractiveness. The idea of 'meta-meaning' suggests itself in the fact that anything apart from pure signal or cue, is itself a frame, and most beliefs we have are compounded by capturing cues which are themselves already meanings. This means that most of the meanings we hold are themselves meta-meanings, or meanings about other meanings. So 'meta-meaning' is a critical explanatory concept which incorporates situational, motivational and cognitive aspects. Individually these are explanations. Working together, they generate the conditions, which ultimately, sensemakers explain to themselves and others in the terms of 'meta-meaning'. A meta-meaning which becomes an explanation for a trajectory shift to its conceptual position must have a meta-value that is attractive for the valuer. So attractive (or repulsive) meta-meanings cause shifts in trajectory as sensemakers move their meaning positions to seek a meaning position with better acceptability of belief and greater stability of in their sensemaking cycle.

This next section sets out a review of a number of organisational, policy analysis and governance texts, from which a range of common meta-meanings is distilled: reasonableness, educative authenticity, morality, emotion, identification with other actors, trust in relevant other actors, power / empowerment, structural impact / institutionalisation, informational influence / trust in data itself and also factors that promise the possibility of a resolution / stability of the shared sensemaking cycle. All these package up motivational and cognitive, reason-driven, structural or personality factors.

Rationales for shifts

A number of rationale categories that can explain shifts in trajectories or paths were derived from the range of literature above, to create a tentative framework for confronting data with. These are the types of explanations which are mainly motives for intentional decisions, but do not entirely exclude explanations for unintentional ones. These are the critical values of meta-

meanings for explaining stabilisation of belief-action cycles are discussed below. Note that the literature from which these rationales are drawn overlap with those reviewed when selecting a suitable overarching framework, discussed earlier in this chapter.

- Reasonableness: 'Reasonableness' is the appearance of rationality. This is in line with the sensemaker's drive for, among other things, self-consistency (Weick 1995), and is recognised as the appeal of 'logos' in classical rhetoric (Finlayson 2007). In public space governance, many situations are too complex for technical rationality to be applied by all decision makers, yet there is a need for multiple stakeholder involvement in decision-making. So, 'reasonableness' is the meta-meaning that satisfies most stakeholders' desire for rationality.

- Educative authenticity: The concept of 'educative authenticity' is a criterion identified by Lincoln and Guba (1989) for assessing the quality of constructivist evaluation, that is, evaluation that is co-constructed between the evaluators and evaluands. This is a measure of success because constructivist evaluation aims to ultimately change the way evaluatees behave, rather than simply come to a clear picture of what evaluatees already do. So educative authenticity is a measure of whether evaluatees have found out more about and appreciated their co-evaluatees; that is, fellow stakeholders. In this research, educative authenticity was theorised to be desirable in public space governance. From the social psychological "motivated information processing perspective", a motivation affecting negotiation which is related to, but not covering identical ground to educative authenticity is **epistemic motivation** (De Dreu and Carnevale 2003). This has to do with understanding the task and one's opponent, to obtain and maintain cognitive consistency, and to reduce dissonance. Such motivation moderate the impact of naïve realism and the information processing biases it engenders. It takes into account similar

considerations as Elcheroth et al's (2011) idea of meta-knowledge, discussed at length below.

- Morality: Desiring to see oneself as moral is a fundamental psychological need (Weick 1995, Ross et al 2010). In classic rhetoric, 'ethos' along with 'pathos' (the emotional) and 'logos' (the rational), are the three basic 'appeals' on which a persuasive argument turns (Finlayson 2007). In situations where there are negotiations, a result of a process that is "procedurally just" (Hogg 2010) is more likely to be an acceptable meaning than one that is not. In governance contexts, this is typically achieved in terms of qualities such as transparency of processes, 'fair access' to decision-making arenas and an ability to contribute. Lincoln and Guba (1989) has 'fairness' as one of their five authenticity criteria.

- <u>Emotion</u>: Emotion is conspicuous by its absence, although it is clear that they can influence the construction of meaning significantly (Liljander and Strandvik 1997) Emotion is absent because the focus is in the area of public policy where the basis of decision-making is supposed to be 'rational', rather than emotive.

- <u>Relational based on identification or non-identification with a group</u>: The "normative power of the group" has been a major theme in social psychology (Ross et al 2010). Hogg (2010) discussed three processes of influence by which to explain why people conformed to group behaviour. The first is informational influence, where people conform because they accept information from another as evidence about reality, especially under circumstances where 'objective' tests against reality are not conclusive. In these cases, people make social comparisons instead. The second is normative influence, which states that people conform to the positive expectations of others because people need social approval, want to cultivate acceptance and avoid censure. However, third, and most pertinent here is the idea of 'referent informational influence', that is,

people conform because they feel that they belong to a particular group, whose norms of behaviour become standards for their own. De Dreu and Carnevale (2003), in their "motivated information processing perspective" which comes from social conflict studies, one of four classes of motivation is **'social motivation'**, which has to do with outcomes, and its distribution between conflict parties.

- An important perspective on the mechanics of inter-sensemaker relations regarding the channel of knowledge was provided by Elcheroth et al (2011), who argued that "… the critical factor in what we do is often less what we think ourselves than what we think others are thinking…. In this sense, we need to pay as much attention to meta-knowledge (and even meta-meta-knowledge—what we know about others knowledge of us) as to simple knowledge" (p733). In other words, it is important to know about what others think about the object, knowing what others know about you, knowing what others know about you. This suggests that the control of who knows what about who else and what they know is key in influence in multi-issue multi-stakeholder interactions. This is an important 'critical lever point' when it comes to explaining or controlling what sense is made. While not quite a source of explanation, it is a channel, which can often then become a source of explanation, especially if the valuer has no access to those source 'further behind' or deeper.

- <u>Relational based on trust in other actors:</u> Trust is the lack of fear of being exploited (De Dreu 2010), and its antithesis, greed, are reasons that shape the understanding of inter-actor relations, and thus drive decision and action. **Impression motivation** (De Dreu and Carnevale 2003) remains an important consideration here, as it trust is based on impression and is the focus of Phelan's (nd) concerns with impression management. This has to do with "the motivation to produce and maintain a certain impression for others, including the adversary" (De Dreu and Carnevale 2003). There are resonances between this and the **'social capacity'** of Healey et al (1999), but also Lichterman's (2009) 'social capacity'. This is clearly resonant with the idea of the maintenance of

relations based on trust and relates to Elcheroth et al's (2011) meta-knowledge, or meta-meta knowledge well.

- Power or empowerment: The concept of power and empowerment is notoriously difficult to pin down even though it is a "cluster of social phenomena central to the constitution of social order" and is a "central concept of the social sciences" (Clegg and Haugaard 2009 p4). It is "not a singular concept" but one that "nevertheless shares a single essence" (Lukes 1974 in Clegg and Haugaard 2009 p4). "Rather, 'power' refers to 'a cluster of concepts with overlapping characteristics; concepts of power have a 'family resemblance' that makes each member recognisable as a member" (Wittgenstein 1964 in Clegg and Haugaard 2009). For Wittgenstein, "concepts premised on family resemblances are not problematic with regard to usage; they simply defy singular essentialist definitions" (Clegg and Haugaard 2009 p4). A "motivated information processing perspective's" **power motivation** (De Dreu and Carnevale 2003) provides the antecedents and consequences of power motive. Those with high power motives are less likely to make conciliatory moves. This augments Healey et al's (1999) **mobilisation capacity**. Lincoln and Guba (1989) recognise that **'tactical authenticity'** is an important quality criteria in an evaluation. Tactical authenticity means that evaluatees are empowered, so that they can act if they want to, on either producing the evaluation, or in response to its findings.

- Structural: 'Institutionalisation' as a rationale for an attractive interests position has many roots, including in Weick's (1995) 'traditions' and 'ideology'. It describes the attraction of the default position or process. As an explanation, it moves away from the 'motivational' towards the cognitive and situational.

- Resolution to act / impetus, or the promise of stability itself (Weick 1995), or indeed, the threat of instability, catalyses action. Lincoln and Guba's

(1989) catalytic authenticity suggest this is a good thing when it results in a shift to a 'better' meaning position. This is a feature of the perception of the situation, of the opportunity, capacity, interests combination, and any perception is itself a function of attention paid to these possibilities, or not.

Each of these rationales reflect some 'end' value and can be called upon, alone or in combination, to plausibly explain why particular primary meanings are acceptable (that is, become 'preferences'), are stable, why particular beliefs held or actions taken, and are aligned in particular ways. Not only that, these would also have taken into account the capacity of sensemakers themselves, the quality of the mediator, as well as the relationship with relevant others.

The table below demonstrates what dimensions were largely draw from which disciplinary approach. Each approach has its own focal tendencies, so Weick's (1995) sensemaking and Finlayson's (2007) rhetorical analysis focus on how the sensemaker justifies something to him / herself. The focus on Lincoln and Guba's (1989) work on evaluation and Healey et al (1999, 2003) on institutional capacity are on the object of evaluation or action. Finally, the social psychology literature (Hogg 2010, De Dreu 2010, Elcheroth et al 2011) zooms in on explanations built around relationships between sensemakers in a given situation.

FIGURE 5.6: DERIVATION OF RATIONALES

		Weick (1995)	Finlayson (2007)	Hogg (2010), De Dreu (2010), Elcheroth et al (2011)	Lincoln and Guba (1989)	Healey et al (1999, 2003)
	Self or other oriented	**Psychological: drive of self-image maintenance** - Construct - Accommodate to	**Rhetorical and argumentation:** Acceptability of argument, and appeals to basic psychological needs	**Imperative of relationships**, positive or negative	**Quality of process AND result** of the valuation that makes value attractive	**Qualities of capacity to enact** that explain why actors CAN do something, and therefore might
1 reasonableness	Self	Self-consistency, self-efficacy	logos	epistemic motivation	Ontological authenticity	Intellectual capacity
2 moral e.g. fairness	Self	Self-enhancement	ethos		Fairness Educative authenticity Tactical authenticity	
3 emotional	Self	Self-enhancement	pathos			
4 educative - knowledge about other	Self + other	self-efficacy		epistemic motivation	Educative authenticity	
5 relations governed by identification with	Self + other	Self-consistency, self-efficacy		Social motivation Impression motivation		Social capacity
6 relations governed by trust	Self + other	Self-consistency		Impression motivation	Credibility	Social capacity
7 power-led / empowering	Self + other	self-efficacy		Power motivation	Tactical authenticity	Mobilisation capacity
8 structure-led / institutionalisation	Self + other	Vocabularies of sensemaking e.g. traditions, ideologies				*Opportunity Structure*
9 Potential for (in)stability of sensemaking cycle	Self	Maintenance / destruction of existing stable meaning position due to natural inertia			Catalytic authenticity	

These explanations could refer to states of:

- Knowledge about primary interest **content**, for example, the reasonableness or morality of the outcome of public action.

- Knowledge about the possibility of achieving public actions that enact situations in the world that fulfil those interests, for example, **the possibility of stability of cycle**

- The way in which the knowledge is presented, for example, **trustworthiness of information**.

These reflect those sensemaking-based needs of sensemakers who seek:

- Acceptability of substantive content

- Expedience of achieving as stable a cycle as possible

- Satisfaction with the transactions and sensemaking processes through which the above was achieved.

Finally, the range of studies from which these are derived reflect a mix of the empirical and the theoretical. Weick (1995), Ross et al (2010), Hogg (2010), De Dreu (2010) and Lincoln and Guba (1989) to a lesser extent, are all reviews of a wide range of empirical studies in their sub-fields. Elcheroth et al (2011) and Healey et al (1999, 2003), reflect on their own empirical work in the area of political psychology and urban governance respectively. Finlayson (2007) and Clegg and Haugaard (2009) on the other hand, provides a mainly theoretical review of the ideas that have informed rhetorical analysis and discourses of power respectively. This mix of the empirical and theoretical in this review is important is because it avoids the danger of the present theory-building exercise becoming too removed from the ground. It is interesting to note the substantial overlap of concepts across these diverse studies of human societal behaviour, which helps this review and study to meet Eisenhardt's (1989) requirement for diverse literature sources for methodologically sound theory-building practice.

Triggers for a shift in trajectory

Let us move now to what initiates a shift in trajectory. Any number of external triggers can explain this. A change in the sense made may be achieved by breaking a stable belief-action cycle, and reforming it around different beliefs and actions. A shift in trajectory, whether intentioned or not, requires three steps:

- **destabilisation of** a sensemaking cycle. This involves introducing the impetus to punctuate an ongoing flow of experience in order to notice cues within it, and to make sense of it. Conditions that facilitate noticing of cues are: the need to deal with complexity, information overload, turbulence of context, unfamiliarity and discrepancy (Weick 1995). Equivocality means too many cues or issues competing for attention, complexity means issues related in too many ways and turbulence means that meanings change to quickly to easily make sense of.

- **making new meaning** by connecting cues and frames and relating beliefs and actions. This involves the introduction of either belief or action into an existing cycle that has qualities to become a new fixed point around which cycle gravitates. This new stable cycle around the fixed point is a new belief-and-action position. It is the attractiveness of a potential state of meaning that causes the shift. So a shift is effected by causing a change in the state of 'meta meanings' held by sensemakers. Making a shift happen simply involves the imparting of meta-meanings to primary meanings about public space governance, meta-meanings that meet the motivational needs of sensemakers. In other words, meta meanings that make a primary meaning attractive.

- **restabilisation** of the cycle at its 'new' location (Weick 1995) and (Kooiman 2003). This requires that the belief is at least acceptable.

FIGURE 5.7: SHIFTING INDIVIDUAL TRAJECTORIES
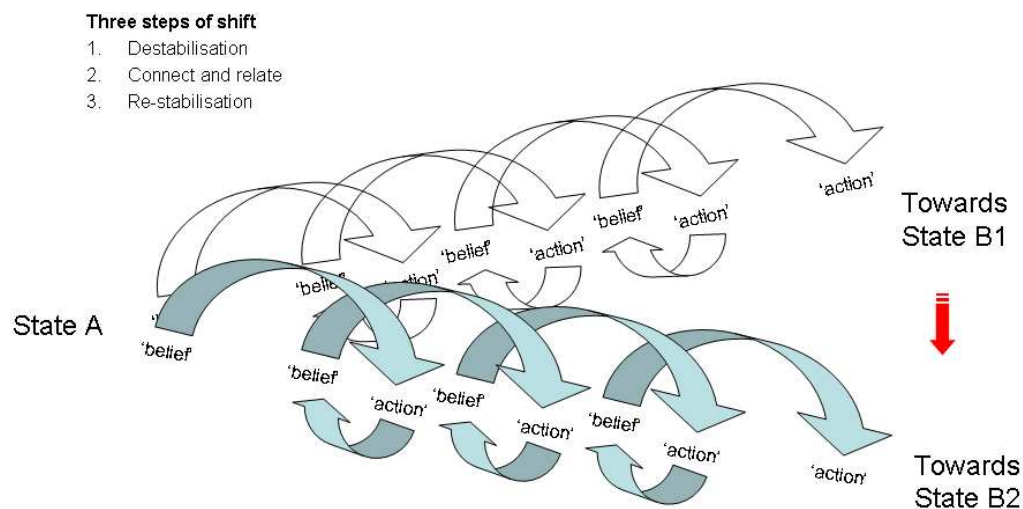
Fixed points to which trajectories accommodate

Where the dynamics of a trajectory shift is concerned, one feature of sensemaking is key, which is that 'beliefs' and 'what is observed or actual' accommodate to each other, depending on which is more 'fixed' in the mind of the sensemaker (Weick 1995). This single feature is the basis for explaining how trajectories can be shifted, and therefore, how people's minds and thus preferences are changed. 'Beliefs' become fixed by the various

conditions. Those conditions associated with attractiveness of a position that drive intentional action are based on these rationales.

In the context of organisations, Weick (1995) found "four ways in which people impose frames on ongoing flows and link frames with cues in the interest of meaning: belief-led 'argument' and 'expectation', and action-led 'commitment' and 'manipulation'"(Weick 1995 p135). These are categorised, first, by whether the initial impetus in on belief or a state of mind, or on action or a state of things. These four are typical sequences of stages that states of belief-and-action pass through (conceptually cutting across trajectory). These sequences describe are strategically-timed momentum-creating (destabilising) or conserving (stabilising) patterns that affect the sensemaking trajectory. These can become the basis of describing and explaining how MCTs act on the dynamics of a governance situation.

Argument begins when the sensemaker is introduced to a different possible belief. Faced with this new possibility which destabilises his/her meaning state, the sensemaker engages in "a process by which (he/she reasons his/her) way from one idea to the choice of another idea" (Brockriede 1974 in Weick 1995 p138), in order to find a new stable meaning state which may now have to take this new belief into account. The process is 'argumentation'. For a sensemaking process to qualify as 'argument', an explanation must be provided, against which the proposition can then be judged. Explanations then create sense "by connecting concrete experience (in the realm of action) and more general concepts (in the realm of belief)" (Brockriede 1974 in Weick 1995 p139). Bevir (2010) discusses the situation where, when new beliefs are introduced, argument-led sensemaking may be able to elaborate how this happens.

In the sensemaking pattern that begins with 'expectation', sensemakers tend towards making meaning that confirms expectations already held, because this accords with the psychological tendency to preserve stability, so leading to the phenomena of 'self-fulfilling prophecy'. A unit of meaning is formed "when a cue is connected to expectancy", acting as a frame (Weick 1995

p146). When an event is compared with an expectation, noticing becomes focused. "Events that conform to the expectancy and confirm it make sense. Cues that do not fit stand out. Explanations constructed to explain these discrepancies are what the situation means" (1995 Weick p148). An important point is that when events seem to diverge from expectations, both the expectation and the event itself can be adjusted (Rothbaum, Weiss, & Snyder 1982 in Weick 1995 p147). This happens in the interest of stable meaning being produced, which is, in many circumstances, a desirable state of affairs. This explains the phenomenon of the 'self-fulfilling prophecy'. Again, it is interesting to consider what this adds to Bevir's (2010) description of what happens when 'new belief' is encountered: when new knowledge challenges beliefs, existing beliefs have to make room for that new knowledge, thereby adjusted the belief landscape of an actor. So, in a situation of uncertainty, when events go as expected, then meaning that is in line with expectation is very quickly confirmed as *the* meaning of the situation. On the other hand, even when "events seem to diverge from expectations, both the expectation and (importantly), the event itself can be adjusted" (Rothbaum, Weiss, & Snyder 1982 in Weick 1995 p147); that is, meanings of events are often only loosely tied to the event, and it is secondary meanings such as expedience of achieving certainty, for example, that can determine which 'meaning' gets attached to which 'event'.

In the action-driven sensemaking pattern that begins with 'commitment', the clear and stable point is the previous action of 'public commitment' by the sensemaker, who then constructs meaning to justify, or acts to meet that commitment statement; not doing so would mean creating an unstable belief-action cycle that is not self-consistent. People try hard to build meaning around those actions to which their commitment is strongest (Weick 1995). "Once it becomes harder to change the behaviour than to change the beliefs about that behaviour, then beliefs are selectively mobilized to justify the act" (Weick 1995 p156). "Commitment focuses the social construction of reality on those actions that are high in … visibility and irrevocability" (Weick p162).

In action-driven sensemaking pattern that begins with 'manipulation', action on the state of things destabilises the belief-action cycle, so that sense will need to be reconstructed around the new state of things to be restabilised, and thus explainable. Bold actions on the world itself, rather than on the sensemaker's state of mind, as in 'argument', simplify the world and make it clear what is going on and what it means.

To summarise, arguments rely on relations of contradiction to test and strengthen or change the sense of value made, whereas expectations rely on relations of confirmation to do the same. Commitment ties beliefs and actions together by imparting meaning to actions already accomplished, and manipulation involves acting to change the environment, thereby changing the cues to which beliefs are then attached.

**FIGURE 5.8 WEICK'S FOUR BASIC TYPES OF DYNAMICS IN SENSEMAKING**

	Impact on belief	**Impact on action**
Fix	Sensemaking through expectation	Sensemaking through commitment
Move	Sensemaking through argument	Sensemaking through manipulation

FIGURE 5.9: BELIEF AND ACTION-DRIVEN DYNAMICS
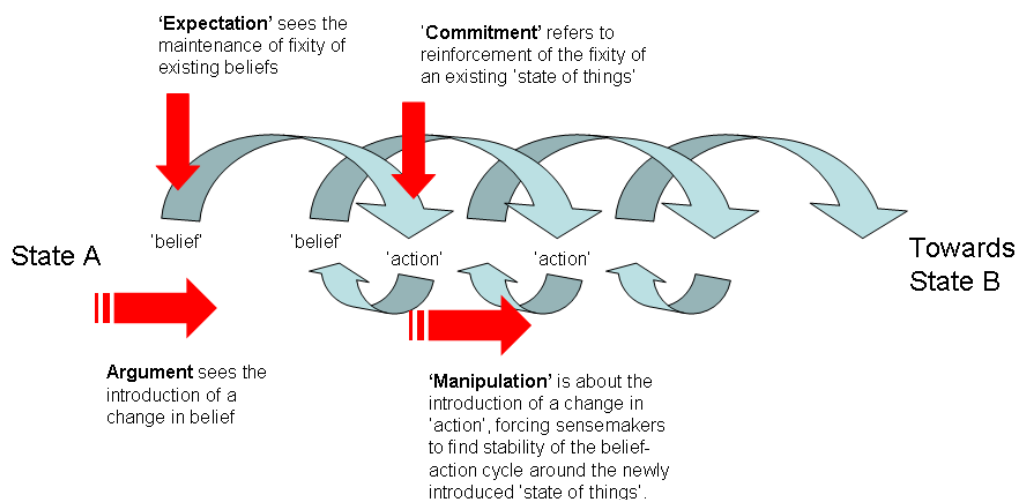
A very important implication is this. Since "perceptions and actions validate one another" (Weick 1995 p163), "an environment is just as likely to accommodate to an action as an action is likely to accommodate to an environment" (March and Olsen 1989 in Weick 1995 p163). So sensemakers can affect meaning by choosing their own constraints in the interest of sensemaking (Weick 1995). Actors' capacity for action has to do with "a peculiar capability of forming alternative models of reality, carrying with them emergent and creative features which do not exist in the original situation" (Lanzara 1983 in Weick 1995 p167). This was recognised elsewhere by Elcheroth et al (2011) by saying that social representations, which are public actions, are world-making; they can bring social reality into being.

FIGURE 5.10 THE CHANGES IN DIRECTION OF AN INDIVIDUAL'S SENSEMAKING TRAJECTORY
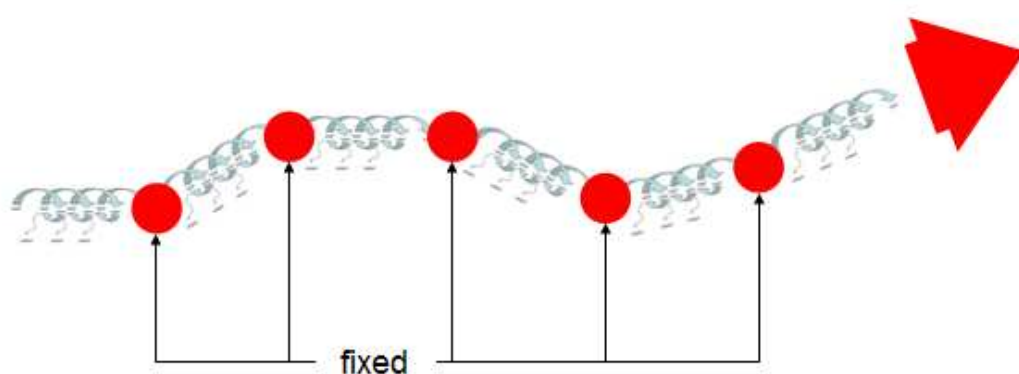
A sensemaking trajectory applies only to an individual sensemaker's sensemaking activity; the actions or considerations that explain it are **private.** Others do not have direct access to that individual's thoughts and feelings, only inasmuch as he / she is willing and able to express them, and even then, there is plenty of scope for miscommunication. This is an important point when we come to consider governance and its public nature.

Introducing the concept of 'condition'

The concept of **'conditions'** for shifts in trajectories and paths emerges to explain how and why sensemaking happens. These conditions need to be in place for sense to be made and managed, and the empirical data is gathered

and analysed on the assumption that MCTs attenuate the possibility of these conditions, and thus impact on sense made. We can surmise from this discussion that public space governing happens because 'conditions' are in place that enable cycles to go around, and trajectories and paths to shift direction and for sense to be made. The public nature of path shift requires its own special conditions of it to happen, which may be a function of the societal context, as well as others that is a function of actor capacity. For private sensemaking, the conditions contribute to the development of an 'interests' position. The sensible-ness of any interests position is given by a set of 'rationales' which include reasonableness, morality, emotional acceptability, educative authenticity, relationships that reinforce a sense of belonging or identification with group, relationships based on trust, seeking power / empowerment, and established institutional or structural patterns. For public sensemaking, the conditions are predicated on capacity and opportunity to take public action. These are discussed in Chapter 6, in Part 3, which extends the sensemaking model presented above.

Initial observations and literature suggest what some of the conditions might be. For example, if, according to Weick (1995) belief arises when a cue and frame come together, then the possibility and existence of **'connection'** between cue and frame is a condition for achieving a state of mind, a particular belief. The idea that **attention** is required to trigger cycles of sensemaking suggests that cognitive conditions for noticing are required (Weick 1995).

5.5.   Conclusion

Sensemaking as a framework and as described by Weick (1995), supplemented by deductions founded on an understanding of governing as the shift of sensemaking trajectories gets us this far. It allows the examination of sense made by and for the individual. What it does not yet do is allow the consideration of sense made by individuals and by collectives, for collectives.

If this skeleton model and the concepts that animate it, cycles, trajectories, shifts, rationales, triggers, paths, and conditions for shifts, are to be the basis for a detailed description of public governing, which is making sense by individual and by collectives, for collective – for urban public space is by definition, of collective concern – then this framework needs to be extended.

Sensemaking and the publicness of governing

At this point, I introduce the difficult question of how a sensemaking template can deal with public governing, introducing two points from which to begin thinking about this. Based on these two ideas, the discussion at the end of Chapter 6, after the consideration of the empirical data, will attempt to conceptualise *public* sensemaking.

FIGURE 5.10 HOW DOES THE TRAJECTORY OR SHIFT IN AN INDIVIDUAL'S TRAJECTORY, MAP ONTO A GOVERNING PATH SHIFT?
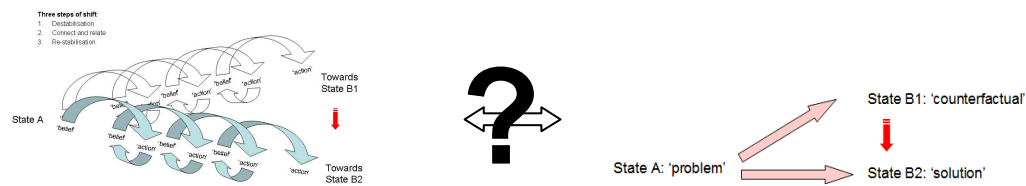
How can this gap between the individual trajectory shift and the collective governing shift be described and articulated in sensemaking terms?

<u>The need for capacity to shift governing path in line with our interests</u>

The first obvious that stands between changing one's mind, which is what a shift in an individual's trajectory is about, and a shift in a governing path, that is the change in a state of things that can potentially affect other people, is whether or not one can impose one's will on the situation, in which others may well hold different views, or some contextual limitation exists, for example, insufficient resources to enact the path shift. It is a question of capacity.

<u>The aim of governing path shift is at least the convergence of action, but not necessarily the convergence of belief</u>

The second, and less obvious thing is that, if everyone agreed, that is, if there was sufficient convergence of what people want, and if altogether there was sufficient capacity to enact the collective path shift, it could and probably would happen.

Some argue "a complex and de-centred (political) system, … the politics of network governance must … concern, in some measure, the forging of relationships between agents and the bringing about of a convergence of interests" (Finlayson 2007 p545), I disagree. It is **only the convergence of action** that is imperative, not the convergence of interests nor beliefs. This is deducible from the fact that it is possible for multiple actors to hold satisfactory but different meta-meanings regarding a common primary

meaning and action, which they then endorse. This is a minimum requirement for a governance path shift.

In other words, public actions need to be shared – no one must disagree so much as to halt the action and have the ability to do so, even if they might have preferred a different course of action. However, private actions do not; what meanings each individual holds does not have to be the same as others', so long as the meaning is not so unacceptable to lead to actor seeking to stop the public action. Private beliefs also do not have to be aligned.

To summarise: the general aim of governing is therefore to achieve *at least* convergence of actions from different trajectories to achieve an overall shift of path. This can be built on the idea that MCTs can be conceptualised as putting particular conditions in place to 'cause' particular shifts in trajectories in the interest of achieving the convergence of actions. What the empirical data will show, not only precisely what those conditions are, how they come about, and in what manner MCTs act to put those conditions in place, but also how this happens in situation that involves collective needs fulfilling and multi-lateral cooperation and bargaining.

Accordingly, the next chapter sets out the empirical data in a way that will allow its interrogation for the impact of MCTs in the shift in trajectory from A-B1 to A-B2 that is the conceptualisation of 'governing as the solution of societal / collective problems'. Reflection upon this interrogation leads to an attempt to extend the sensemaking intermediate operational theoretical model described above. This is set out in Part 3 of Chapter 6.

With reference to its aims, this chapter established from theory, that sensemaking is a plausible and useful operationalisation of constructivist paradigm, because, amongst other things, it enables us to provide a holistic account of how people construct meaning and how they act on those meanings. Sensemaking is the template for a meta-frame to hang other theories off. The framework developed here provides ways to attack /

confront data and to begin to make sense of it. Coherence in data-based sensemaking descriptions of MCT functions would confirm the usefulness of sensemaking for describing those functions, and by extension, the governing situation that they attenuate.

The next chapter will set out the empirical data framed by concepts set out in this chapter, and the search for what the conditions are, within the data. A further iterative analysis will then enable elaboration of these conditions in Chapters 7.

Chapter 6 Findings: Reporting the Key Stories

This chapter presents the findings in a way according to the logic of the empirical data, told as the stories, and then recasts it in a constructivist mould, courtesy of the skeleton frame provided by sensemaking. This is the theorisation that explains the attenuation of meaning.

The aims of this chapter are to:

- Introduce the empirical data intelligibly, in terms of Solution Networks and Solutions.
- Set out the construction of coherent Key Stories about how MCTs attenuate governing. This setting out is to be found under the sections on "Confrontation of data and theory: Analytical micro-steps and induction of possible conditions for cycle, trajectory and path shift"
- Demonstrate the coherence of the Key Stories and the confirmability, credibility, transferability and dependability of the micro-steps narrative explained in sensemaking terms.

The chapter sets out narratives of 'what happens' at three levels: first, at the level of the governing Solution Networks (SNs). This provides readers with the context for understanding what MCTs do. The SNs enable the capturing of data within specific contexts, as case studies or 'quota sampling' might. Second, at the level of the governing 'solutions' within each of the SNs. This couches narrative descriptions in the same terms by which Kooiman (2003) conceptualised governing, as the solving of societal problems. Within a selection or group of these, labelled 'Key Stories', which are richest in empirical detail, the narrative is further re-constructed under 'analytical micro-steps'. These begin explaining the Key Stories in sensemaking terms. This constitutes a move towards recasting the data according to the logic of a constructivist explanation, and enables the consideration of its confirmability, credibility, transferability and dependability.

Structure of the chapter

For purposes of narrative flow, the chapter has two big sections: Solution Networks and Key Stories. The Solutions that correspond to and address the Networks and Stories and are discussed in Section 1 of the present chapter.

FIGURE 6.1 PRESENTATION OF CHAPTER 6 DATA ACCORDING TO MORE OR LESS DETAIL
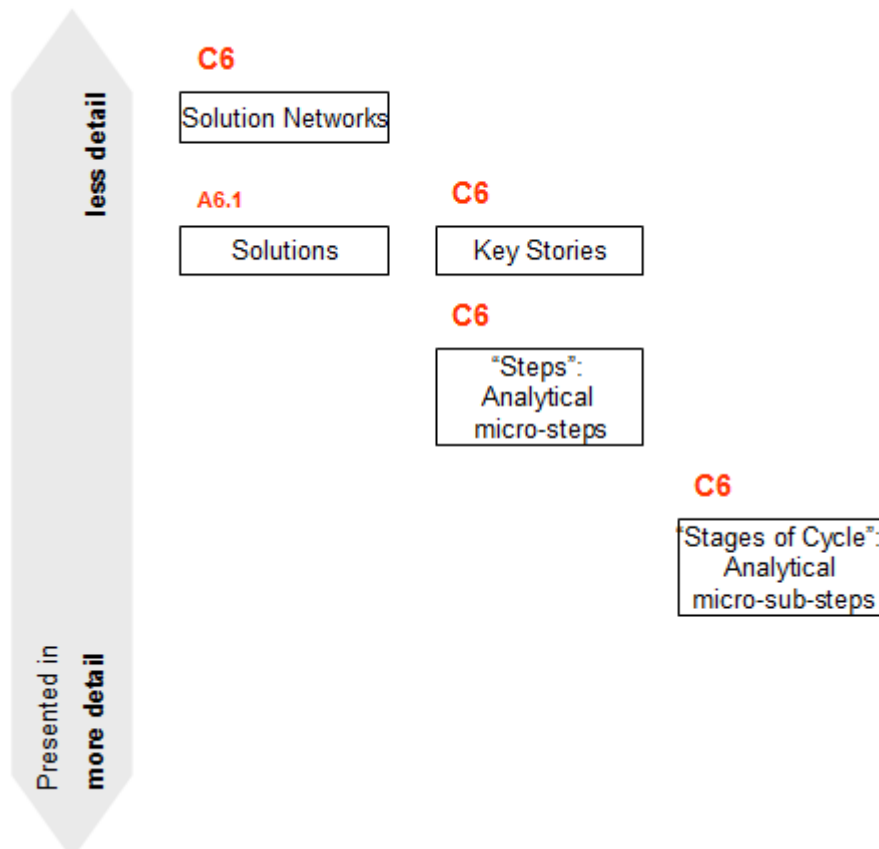
Under each Solution Network are the following sub-sections:

- A general description of the Network

- A description of actors involved

- How the MCT was used in this Solution Network

- Solutions are summarised in 'solution network map' showing the set of public space 'problems and opportunities' found within the data collected for this Network.

- A list of the Key Stories associated with this Network.

Under each of the 'Key Stories' the following issues are discussed:

- the analytical micro-steps associated with the Key Story

- Micro-sub-steps that articulate whether the sub-step involves belief, private or public action underpin this.

Note: A list of all Solutions is set out in **Appendix 6.1**.

6.1. *Part 1 Solution Networks*

Solution Network A

The Community Street Audit (CSA) was deployed in a mixed tenure housing area in outer London. The area suffered from fragmented public space design and delivery processes that had resulted in impermeability of the urban fabric for pedestrians and cyclists. There were a number of notable narratives that illustrated how the CSA impacted efforts to govern the public spaces in these areas. One was the story of how a footbridge across a canal got built as the result of deploying the CSA. Overall, the CSA's purchase on how the governance Solutions worked out were fragmented, hidden, but overall, influential over the path of the governance situation.

Actors: relevant stakeholders involved in this Solution Network

Ac1 - **Local stakeholders / users for change** - These include allotment holders and [ ] Close residents and anyone needing to cross the canal feeder – i.e. people for the footbridge

Ac2 - **Local stakeholders / users against change** - e.g. People from conservation area - against the bridge

Ac3 - **Council officers approaching delivery conservatively** – these officers acted to minimise risk at the expense of action.

Ac4 - **Council officers who were proactive and creative in catalysing delivery** – these officers formulated strategies and actions based on broad-based information about the problems on the ground, or on a common goal demonstrated by that information

Ac5 - **Partners of the council in delivery** e.g. funders, businesses in the area, housing associations. Their interest is in funding, supporting or enabling proposals.

How the MCT was used in this Solution Network

The use of the CSA was initiated through the time-limited Neighbourhood Renewal Project; the impetus lay with a small number of individual officers. The CSA was seen as a way of drawing in local expertise and initiating action on walking environment improvements. In technical terms, the aim

was to improve particular spaces for walking. However, the political focus was to get those technical projects initiated in a way that was more engaged with walking needs. Here, the political moves served to achieve the technical improvements.

Initially the CSA was deployed with Living Streets acting as consultant. They carried out a series of Street Audits across the area. The lack of any obviously key or coherent routes meant that the series of Audit walks were first identified through preliminary discussion with local people as the key but problematic routes. The outputs of the Street Audit, applied in a **politically and tactically astute manner** (for example, Solution 4), quickly led to the setting up the range of projects under an informal strategy of creating 'Walking Links'. These were loosely connected interventions in the area, the formal aspect of which was simply a **steering group** (Solution 1) consisting of council officers and other local stakeholders. This enabled some cross-disciplinary, cross departmental and cross interest **deliberation** (Solution 2) in both **attracting and investing** of resources (Solution 3).

Figure 6.1 Solution network map for SN A

Note: red line = Solution discussed; green background = where MCT was directly deployed. This applies to all Solution Network Maps.
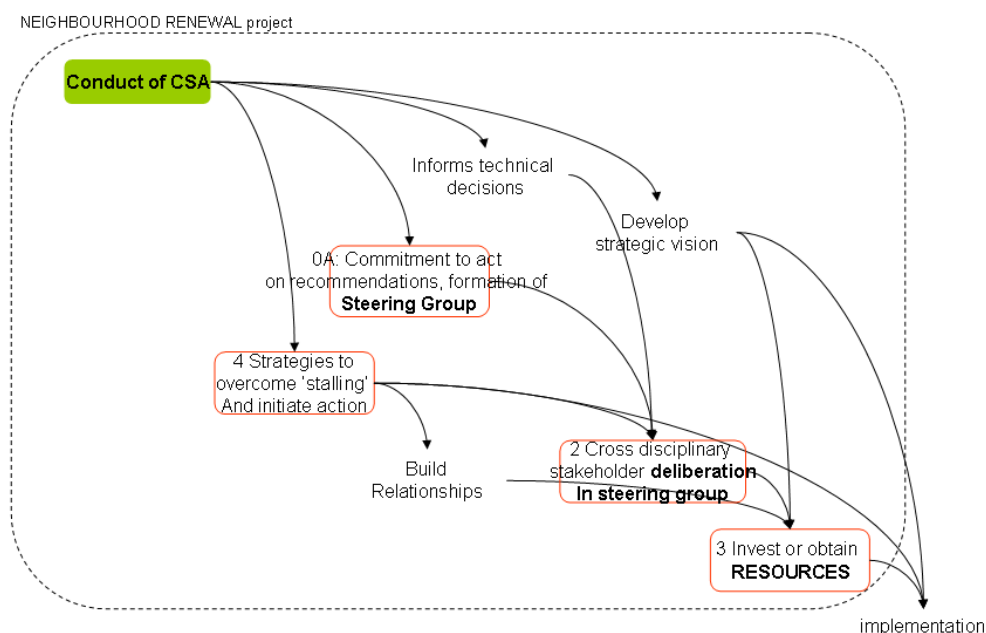
The Key Stories were labelled 'Steering Group Action' (1), which describes the setting up of a Steering Group to deliver projects suggested by the CSA use, establishing an arena for discussion and problem solving, and 'Building the Bridge' (2), which presents in detail a rich example of how the CSA result became the basic trusted reference point of normative proposals for solving one public space problem.

These Stories are discussed in dedicated sections below, Key Story 1 briefly and Key Story 2 in detail. The detail of Key Story 1 to be found in Part 2 below.

Solution Network B

This town had a number of public realm issues, mostly to do with access to the river close to its centre, and the quality of public spaces for the sorts of uses that would make the streets more lively. Notably, the town had for a number of years suffered from serious mistrust between a small but vocal group of residents and the district council. This was a major hurdle in making any public realm improvements as there were strong objections to any change. The Market Town Healthcheck (MTH) was deliberately deployed to circumvent these objections, which the district council saw as stemming from a small group of people.

Actors: relevant stakeholders involved in this Solution Network

Ac1 - **District Council officers** – These officers sought means of delivering improvements to public spaces, but in recent past had been hampered by vocal opposition and mistrust by small group of local people

Ac2 - **District Councillors** – Similarly, these sought improvements, but particularly important was local support for these improvements. Acted as fund-giving decision-makers at some points.

Ac3 - **County Council highways officers** – The county council was the highways authority, and from the little evidence in the data, seem to have historically steamrolled over local people and councillors, citing professional expertise. Acted as fund-giving decision-makers at some points.

Ac4 - **The vocal dissenters** – This was a small group who have been very publicly critical of the work of the local authority. They have obscured what other less vocal residents and business want to see happen.

Ac5 - **The MTH steering group** – This comprised a small core group of local residents who had the "willingness to be understanding and to understand the consensus". They were assisted for the main data gathering processing and reporting period by a part time paid environmental professional. It was hoped that this group of volunteers would have expanded as the MTH progressed, but this did not happen.

Ac6 - **The local public** – these were the people whose perceptions and needs formed the data that fed the MTH.

How the MCT was used in this Solution Network

In this Solution Network, the MTH was deployed by the district council via a group of local volunteers (the usual way in which MTH is deployed), to get a picture of how local people really saw their town, and gaining legitimacy for any proposals to improve public space that might follow on from that. The MTH results form a trustworthy and legitimate broad specification of what public space improvements are required. The holistic strategy it provides is a good basis on which to seek resources for this work.

FIGURE 6.2 SOLUTION NETWORK MAP FOR SN B
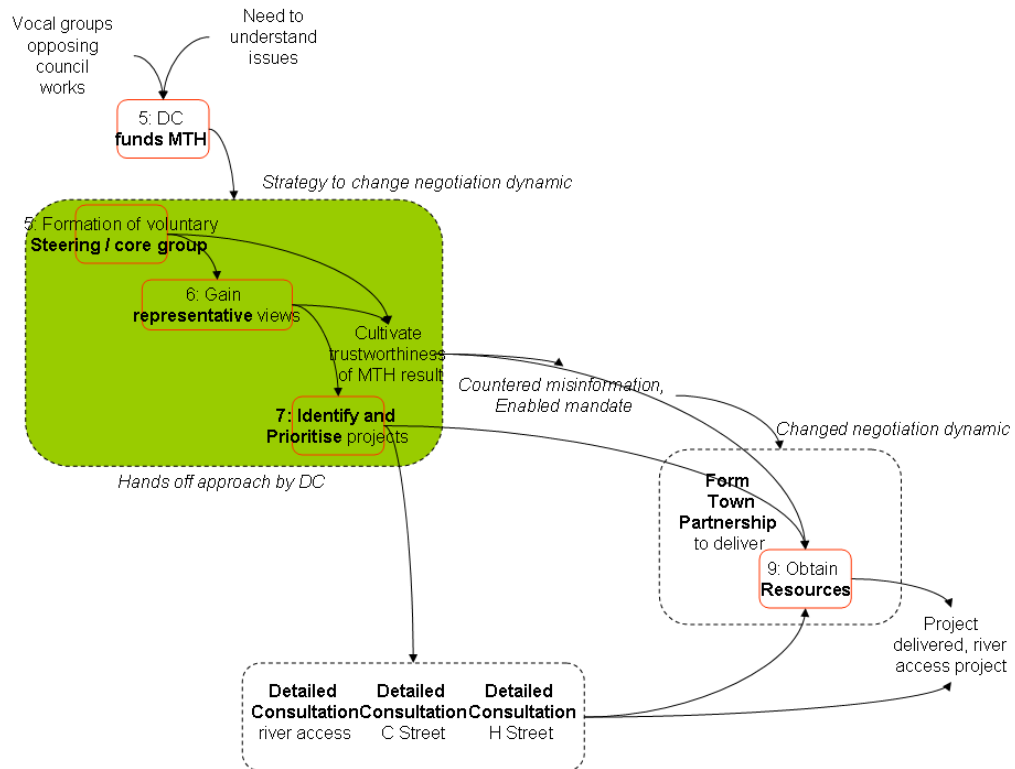
The associated Key Stories

The Key Stories were labelled 'Grasp opportunity to break stalemate' (3) and 'Trust built up regarding the MTH results and between actors' (4). The former discusses the effect knowledge and existence of MTH has on the decision of officers and councillors to affect an undesirable stalemate situation in the negotiation regarding public space improvements. The latter discusses how trust was built up regarding the MTH results, and also between actors (Ac1 and Ac2) which enabled the setting up of formal structures that then enabled further action built on those structures.

These Stories are discussed in dedicated sections below, Key Story 3 fully and Key Story 4 in brief. The detail of Key Story 4 to be found in Part 2 below.

Solution Network C

This solution network around the use of LEQS has probably the widest scope of what MCTs can do, among those Networks examined in the present study,

looking at a range of programmes, surveys and initiatives that use the LEQS as a 'data management platform' for local environmental quality data. **The initiative focused on here is 'Capital Standards',** but the re-establishment of the national cleanliness indicator National Indicator (NI) 195 and the creation of Voluntary Local Performance Management Framework (VLMPF) are touched on, as is the use of LEQS associated with some or all of these initiatives at the local authority level. All of these initiatives overlap.

Capital Standards began as an initiative of Ken Livingstone when he was Mayor of London. The aim of the programme was "to create a cleaner London, and have one 'Capital Standard', one standard of cleanliness". It is a subscription organisation with most of the London Boroughs paying annually to access what is effectively a package of business-to-business service built around the LEQS data management platform. These include independent surveying of public realm for NI195 reporting, access to various dissemination events and consultancy advice on how best to use LEQS data. All the Capital Standards services are built on the back of the LEQS tool.

<u>Actors: relevant stakeholders involved in this Solution Network</u>

Ac1 - Service deliverer (external) - Contractor(s) delivering cleansing services (e.g. Veolia) – focus here on cost and outputs by virtue of their contractual arrangements with procurer.

Ac1 - Service deliverer (internal) – e.g. parks department, housing department – focus here on cost and outputs by virtue of their contractual arrangements with procurer.

Ac2 - Local authority cleansing departments / member of London CS / service procurer – focus on LEQ outcomes. First, facing 'downwards' these are 'service procurers, and have a responsibility for managing contracts and contractors to ensure delivery. Second, facing 'sideways', they need to work fruitfully with other departments or even external agencies to deliver. Third, facing 'upwards' they also report to local councillors and to local people. Fourth, also facing 'upwards', they need to report performance to central government.

Ac3 - Local councillors – they will be interested in very localised performance and will be keen to see the electorate served.

Ac4 - Central government – DEFRA (Department of Food and Rural Affairs) or its representative govt office – DEFRA is concerned with the national picture of local environmental quality (LEQ), and are in charge of monitoring its delivery against national standards (previously BV199, or Best Value Performance Indicator 199, the forerunner of the National Indicators, and now NI195) which are based on LEQS principles.

Ac5 - London Capital Standards (LCS)– this is a membership organisation providing a range of LEQ data management, consultancy and knowledge transfer services to local authority cleansing departments in London. Initially championed by Ken Livingstone when he was Mayor of London, LCS provides independent and robust data collection and processing support for local authorities to fulfil statutory and other managerial performance management requirements.

Ac6 - ENCAMS (Environmental Campaigns, now Keep Britain Tidy)– consultants to and via LCS – this national organisation acts as a technical consultant to the LCS, and to the LAs via the LCS. ENCAMS originated the LEQS methodology and related consultancy tools, as well as various national standards for LEQ (all of which are related to LEQS).

Introducing the Solutions: How the MCT was used in this Solution Network

The LEQS is essentially used as strictly controlled methodology with which to collect, process and communicate information about local environmental quality. Various components of the LEQS are used, variously to do market research, to set benchmarks, to cross-map with other forms of data.

A number of distinct uses of LEQS data emerged, based loosely on a schema proposed by Kanter and Summers (1987):

- Managerial – seeking to understand performance in order to improve it – refocusing and prioritising actions (Solution 9)
- Institutional – performance reporting for securing support and resources - Extrapolate results and benchmarking for national performance reporting (Solution 8)

- Political – Communicating performance direct to principals, and market research to gauge preferences of the public.
- Learning / increasing capacity of managers to deal with data about local environmental quality (Solution 10)

FIGURE 6.3 SOLUTION NETWORK MAP FOR SN C
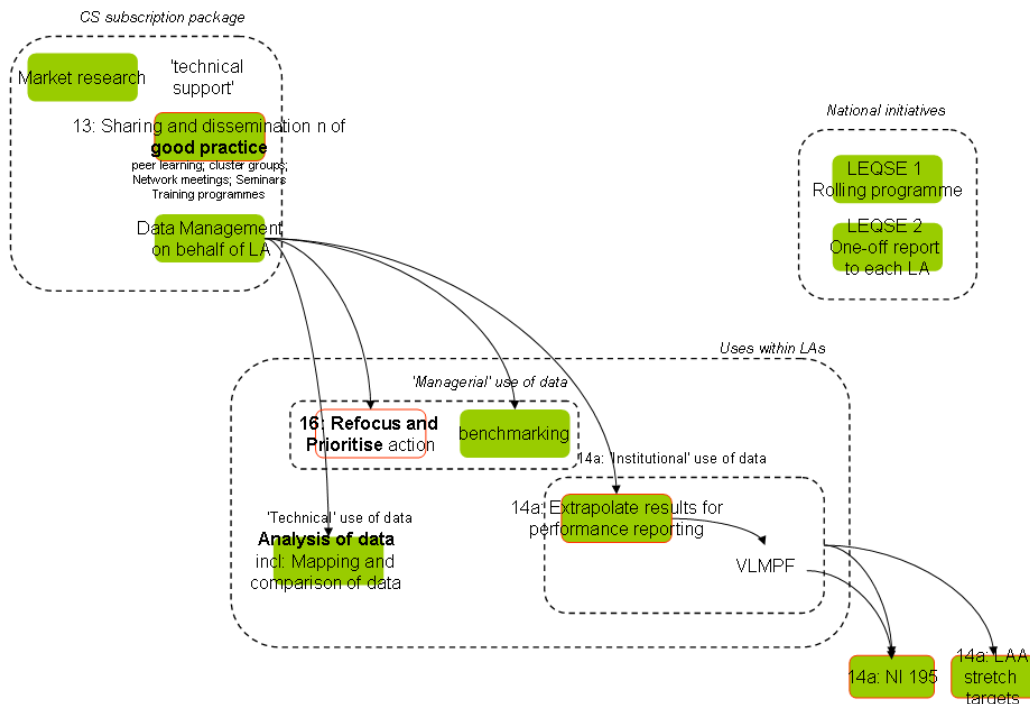
The associated Key Story

The Key Story was 'Innovative use and juxtaposition of data'. This story focused on the juxtaposition of cues and frames and what MCTs did to enable those, as well as how it then dealt with the consequences. It is the story that best shows the MCT more purely as a technological tool.

This Story is discussed in dedicated sections below, in brief, with detail to be found in Part 2.

Solution Network D

The City Council under study has run a campaign to promote better design for a number of years. The audience for this campaign are developers, but

also internal to the council: officers and elected members who have responsibility in delivering the built environment. Building for Life (BfL) has been used in a number of ways. First, BfL is used <u>to gain political support and commitment for better design</u>. The second way is <u>technical: to skill up officers and members</u> for dealing with design. A key 'place' in which BfL is deployed is within the planning system as a standard for assessing and driving up the quality of housing design. The reconfiguration of planning system to better deliver public space was seen as overarching solution to which BFL contributed because of the potential for controllable negotiative processes within, and one in which the authority held certain negotiating advantages, not least because design principles could be enshrined in policy.

<u>Actors: relevant stakeholders involved in this Solution Network</u>

Ac1 - Pro-design councillors and officers – campaigning and working to gain more control over design issues and quality issues.

Ac3 - Councillors – cannot always see the relevance of 'good design', and most don't have the skills to either recognise, critique and therefore negotiate on design issues.

Ac4 - Development control officers – can't see how to deliver on design, given the necessarily detailed, specific, knowledgeable, creative and negotiative deliberation required for delivering design, and the general, legalistic and risk averse nature of the development control process.

Ac5 - Highways officers – can't see the relevance of 'design', see design as outside their remit, can t see how to deliver on design

Ac6 - Developers – Developers see design mainly as a cost issue, although some are beginning to accept that there are also returns.

<u>Introducing the Solutions: How the MCT was used in this Solution Network</u>

Building for Life is essentially used as an incentive for planning applicants to design to a higher quality than they otherwise would have. It does so when

adopted either as guidance or policy by a planning authority. In order for this to happen, those officers and councillors wishing to see BfL adopted had to persuade others to support this adoption. BfL is used as evidence for its own potential success, as numerous demonstration assessments of past schemes are conducted to show members and even applicants the potential ease of use and usefulness of BfL.

FIGURE 6.4 SOLUTION NETWORK MAP FOR SN D
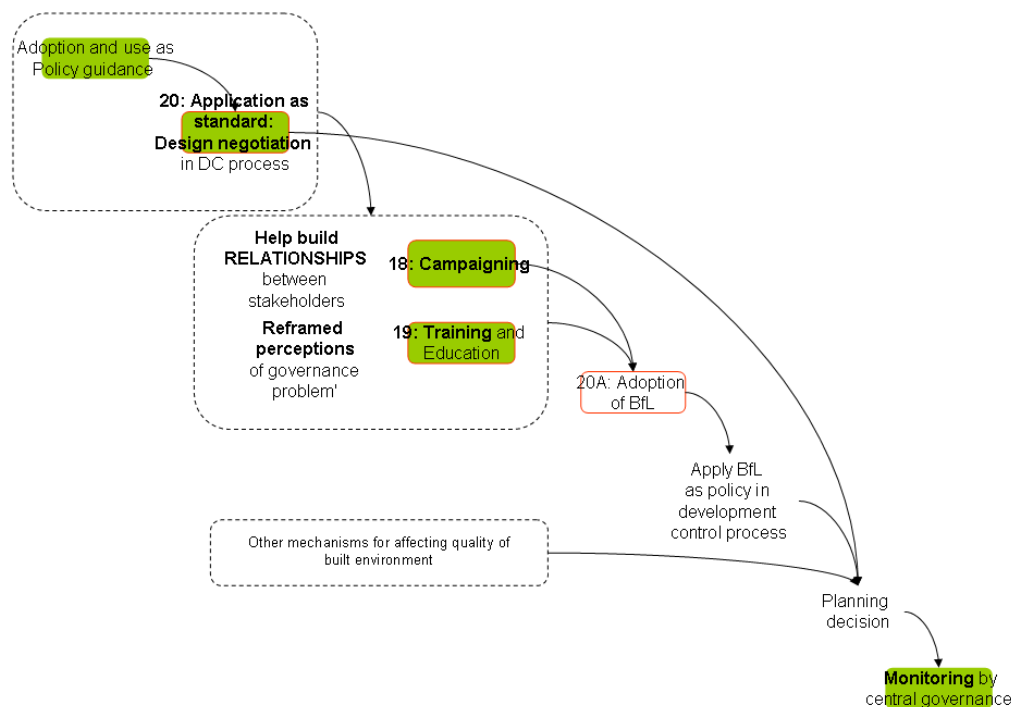
The associated Key Story

The Key Story was labelled 'Case for adopting BfL as policy' (6). This story is about how an MCT works based on the imaginability it enables regarding the issues of public space governance. The story also provides an example of how MCTs can work within the arena provided by a very formal process, the planning system.

This Story is discussed in dedicated section below.

Solution Network E

The area covered by this district council is part of a suburban commuter belt of a major city, and has a proud industrial heritage. The Local Strategic Partnership (LSP) was very active in real engagement about the range of local services in the whole district, ensuring that local voices were more supported than usual, and have a clear impact on decisions. The LSP was constituted of six Community Area Partnerships, which directly involve local people through a series of Steering Committees.

The public realm Project, to which the Community Street Audit (CSA) directly contributed, looked at public space issues in three localities in this area. This was one of a series of interconnected projects that were place-led and cut across what might be the traditional silos of local services. Among the principles championed by the LSP are:

- Delivering services where people live
- A holistic framework for consultation, not just delivery.

So the CSA was only one component in a much wider context of community involvement set up by the LSP in a move to "bring the service delivery people together with the community and they can share and plan a strategy" (IN31 r AC4). This enabled cross disciplinary, departmental and organisational working.

Actors: relevant stakeholders involved in this Solution Network

Ac1 - **Local people** – Local residents and businesses came with a relatively humble attitude, recognising that they knew very little. However, very soon, they were empowered by learning from CSA. They then became keen to have some control over what is delivered, down to the details. They need to convince the council officers to agree to their proposals.

Ac2 - **District councillors in Steering Group** – these were the elected members who represented the interests of the Council in the Group.

Ac3 - **Enabling officers (council regeneration department)** - Enabling officers are keen to facilitate local people to make decisions, particularly those in the LSP. Their focus is building channels of consultation between multiple levels of government.

Ac4 - **Enabling officers (LSP)** – as above – but very instrumental in the district in building a exceptionally joined up consultation network and investment programme

Ac5 - **Other officers may have very particular ideas of spending money** and have undisclosed reasons to do so. There is a certain lack of trust of local people, or at least the validity or feasibility of their demands. The classic power balance here is that officers are 'professionals', as opposed to 'lay persons' whether councillors or local people. This includes county highways officers and other officers in the district council.

Ac6 - **Funders (e.g. county council, THI etc)** - Funders that we know most about are the county council highways department. Not too much is known about their position, except that it must be to ensure money is best spent when value is added.

Introducing the Solutions: How the MCT was used in this Solution Network

The CSA is used here as a means of consultation, but it is also a means by which local people gain confidence and are empowered to act. Indeed, the interaction between the range of stakeholders fostered by the CSA leads to 'power to' for the stakeholders together as they are able to better understand each others' concerns and learn to act together.

FIGURE 6.5 SOLUTION NETWORK MAP FOR SN E
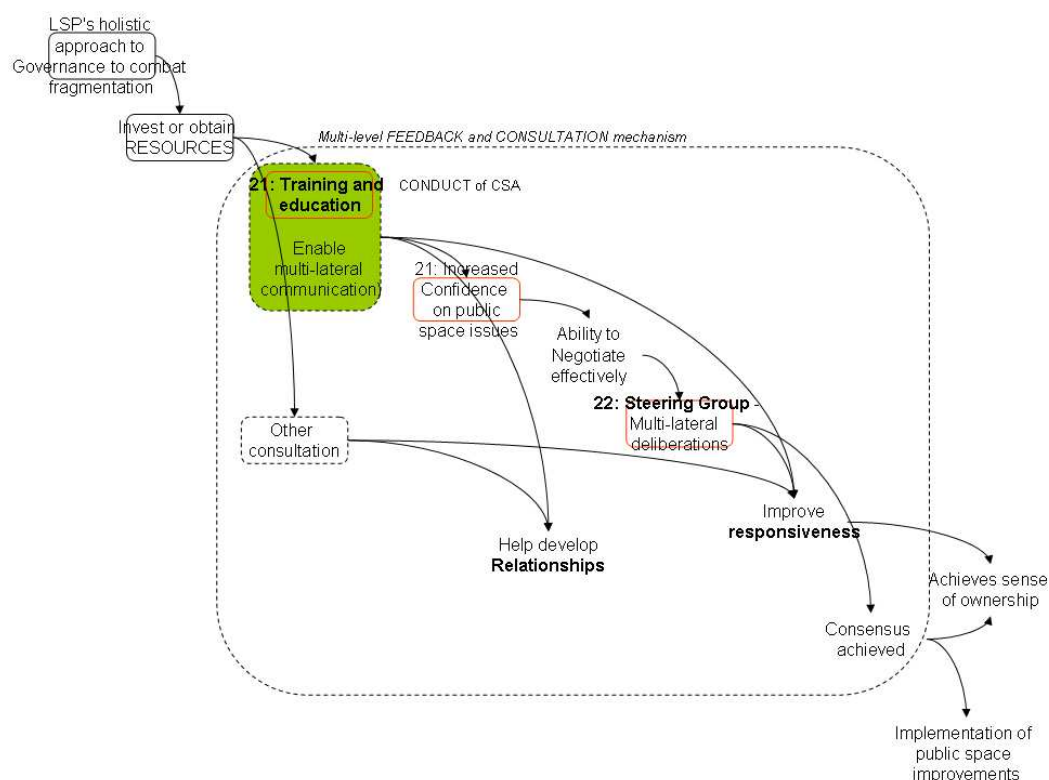
The associated Key Stories

The Key Stories were labelled 'Learning and relationship building in an interactive arena' (7) and 'Empowerment through increased knowledge' (8). Key Story 7 is about the possibilities of interactive arenas, especially the learning and relationship-building aspects of this. Key Story 8 is about the power of knowing and also the power of knowing about the possibilities opened up because of knowledge.

These Stories are discussed in dedicated sections below, Key Story 7 in detail and Key Story 8 briefly The detail of Key Story 8 to be found in Part 2 below.

6.2. Part 2 Key Stories

Key Story 1 'STEERING GROUP ACTION'

This is discussed briefly here, further information in **Appendix 6.3.**

Solution reference data

> Solution Network: A
>
> Solutions:
>
> 1: Commitment to act on the CSA recommendations, culminating in the formation of the Steering Group to deliver on them;
>
> 2: Achieved cross disciplinary stakeholder, less fragmented deliberations within steering group

This story demonstrated how CSA enabled purchase on issues and participation in decision-making by a much wider range of stakeholders within an interactive arena, and the importance of the arena. This key story includes both the setting up of the Group and the deliberation within the Group. The story is about how the CSA conduct led to the setting up of the Steering Group, and how the arena of the Steering Group worked with the results and recommendations of the CSA to enable governing paths otherwise not possible.

Impact of CSA on individual actors: summary table

FIGURE 6.6 PATTERN OF MCT IMPACT ON KS1: STEERING GROUP ACTION

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1			Impact of MCTs on actor trajectory, where known				
2		SN	A	A	A	A	
3		SOLUTION	1 / 2	1	1 / 2	2	
4		KEY STORY	1	n/a	1	1	
5	Actor as r	A. STEP	0	1	2	3	
6	Ac1		dk	dk	dk	B	
7	Ac1		dk	dk	dk	dk	
8	Ac1		dk	dk	dk	dk	
9	Ac2		dk	dk	dk	dk	
10	Ac2		dk	dk	dk	dk	
11	Ac2		dk	dk	dk	dk	
12	Ac3		dk	dk	B	B	
13	Ac3		PR	PR	PR	dk	
14	Ac3		PU	PU	PU	PU	
15	Ac4		B	B	na	B	
16	Ac4		PR	PR	na	PR	
17	Ac4		PU	PU	na	PU	
18	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	
19	Ac5		dk	dk	PR	PR	
20	Ac5		dk	dk	PU	PU	

See **Appendix 6.3** for expanded description.

How is the overall governance path affected in each analytical step?

1 The CSA conducted, results made sense of

The CSA was committed to by council officers (Ac3 and Ac4), a public action. The CSA was conducted and provided cues for new insights and belief construction. The results made sense of within a presentation by the CSA consultants at a public meeting, which committed officers to these results, somewhat.

*2   Consideration of resulting beliefs and courses of action, including setting up Steering Group

The results of the CSA were considered and tested by council officers (Ac3 and Ac4) as basis for setting up projects for delivery and one way to deliver these was via a Steering Group arrangement, a fairly common way of involving a range of stakeholders.

*3   Commitment gradually built up

The consumption of the report and participation in group led to gradual belief (re)construction about the state of the walking environment, notably for Ac3 who were initially non-committal. Commitment by council officers (Ac3), a public action, happened first regarding the setting up of the Group, but eventually built to naturally include decisions made in the Group's meetings, and by a wider range of stakeholders than just officers, for example businesses and other landowners in the locality (Ac5).

*0 (i.e. 4 in table)   Steering group set up, purchase of actors on issues, actors on actors – multi-party, multi-issue negotiation enabled

The Group was set up by officers (Ac3 and Ac4) but well-attended by a range of institutional stakeholders (Ac5), although some non-institutional stakeholders remained unconvinced (Ac1). The Group meetings were established as regular meetings, at which courses of action were negotiated and agreed, new beliefs constructed, and tested, leading to new preferences being formed. The discussions were based on CSA recommendations.

Summary of MCT impact on governing situation

The CSA enabled the build up of commitment to coordinating improvements to the walking environment, and to a more strategic approach to public space delivery. Ac4, proactive officers, obtained resources to carry out a series of CSA Audits in the area and publishing its report, which impacted on actor beliefs about the walking environment. The report makes visible issues so that they could not be easily ignored, thus forcing the public action of commitment to those recommendations. While Ac3 funded the CSA in the first place, the evidence suggests that there was a increase in commitment to the CSA recommendations after seeing the substantive content of the recommendations, not prior to it. This suggests that commitment was gradual and perhaps inadvertent and implicit. "Certainly (the officers) were rail-roaded into (it) by us. However once it got underway, they realised why they were there and that it was part of their remit. I don't think they would have thought of it before" (IN5 r Ac4). By the end of this Solution, commitment had been 'fixed' by the formation and maintenance of the Steering Group.

The Steering Group was set up as the accepted arena for deliberating walking link improvements using the CSA as the agenda. A wide range of problems were picked up by the CSA, so a correspondingly diverse set of projects were set up. All of these involved complex cross-disciplinary communications to deliver these in multiple regular meetings and negotiations. The format of the Steering Group which created opportunities to interact, the agenda set up by the CSA, the willing participation of stakeholders, and the access to resources meant that this was an effective means of transmitting 'beliefs' into public action on the ground. The implication of the maintenance of the group was that a new more strategic overview approach was being used to address public space problems than before.

Conclusion: Are the Key Stories and Steps coherent?

Yes.

Key Story 2 'BUILDING THE BRIDGE'

Reference data

Solution Network: A

Solutions:

*Solution 4: Strategies to overcome 'stalling' and initiate action

This is a story that involves one of the many projects coming out of the CSA and discussed in the Steering Group, but due to the detailed and strong corroborative evidence of the various interviewers, provided a great deal of insight into how sensemaking can help explain governing. The CSA played a foundational rather than an active part in all of this, but the insights here are nevertheless important in throwing light on possible ways to theorise MCTs. The story is about how actors with capacity and opportunity acted to build up evidence from a number of previously disconnected narratives, and setting up situations where it was possible to stabilise and fix intermediate meanings in particular conceptual locations upon which to build further cycles in those new directions, leading ultimately to their desired public action.

This solution zooms into one particular type of governance problem to illustrate how MCTs might work: the specific problem is the lack of strong leadership which resulted in projects being stalled because of conservatism and risk averseness. The strategy **exploited particular opportunities, openings and arguments created around the CSA results**, which were used to make a case for very particular evidence construction aimed at overcoming the inertia. This was manifest in a powerful narrative around the construction of a bridge across a canal feeder. The risk aversion and inertia of some officers had initially prevented a fuller picture of pedestrian needs to be taken account of. In this particular Solution, some more proactive officers became aware of this need and acted, deploying the CSA results, to ensure that the argument for the bridge resulted in action of constructing it. This was accompanied, or perhaps enabled by a shift in 'paradigm', where there is the "bringing the different contributions together, and spent in a framework / masterplan (which adds up to) sum being greater than individual parts" (IN1 r

AC1), manifested in the retention of the 'Steering Group' as a way of working.

Impact of CSA on individual actors: summary table

FIGURE 6.7 PATTERN OF MCT IMPACT ON KS2: BUILDING THE BRIDGE

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1			Impact of MCTs on actor trajectory, where known				
2		SN	A	A	A	A	A
3		SOLUTION	4	4	4	4	4
4		KEY STORY	n/a	2	2	2	2
5	Actor	A. STEP	1	2	3	4	5
6	Ac1		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
7	Ac1		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
8	Ac1		PU	dk	PU	dk	dk
9	Ac2		dk	dk	na	B	B
10	Ac2		dk	dk	na	PR	dk
11	Ac2		dk	dk	na	PU	dk
12	Ac3		dk	dk	B	B	B
13	Ac3		dk	dk	PR	PR	PR
14	Ac3		dk	dk	PU	PU	PU
15	Ac4		B	na	na	na	na
16	Ac4		PR	PR	PR	na	na
17	Ac4		na	PU	PU	na	na
18	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
19	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
20	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk

See **Appendix 6.3** for expanded description.

How is the overall governance path affected in each analytical step?

*1   The CSA was carried out

The foundational contribution of the CSA was to enable relevant officers (Ac4) to have purchase on the issue of the bridge in the first place during the Audit Walk.

*2   The results of the CSA was made sense of by Ac4

The problem of 'the bridge' was highly undesirable: "... there is a canal feeder that separates some of the residential areas from schools and facilities. This was regularly filled with shopping trolleys etc, to the degree that mothers and children were using the trolleys as stepping stones… People were walking in excess of a mile for access to say a school, which was actually only a few hundred yards in a straight line. But you couldn't

really get there. And the long diversion was taking them onto the very narrow and uncomfortable footway of the North Circular Road" (IN1 r Ac3).

The fact that the issue was of interest meant that the noticed cues were immediately de-stabilising and thus empowered them to act by strategising and to carry out a follow up survey to uncover and in fact, to reconstruct the situation in a way that would see the bridge built. The results of the CSA showing the state of things regarding the dangerous crossing conditions because of the lack of a bridge created attention because it was a glaring discrepancy. The CSA revealed serious discrepancies for Ac4 in the first instance; that is, Ac4's belief and its trajectories were affected.

*3   Follow up study was conducted by Ac4 with carefully orchestrated questions to ensure 'right' beliefs by controlling 'frames'

The CSA provided the basis of the opportunity to strengthen the argument for a bridge that was grasped strategically by Ac4 with well-developed epistemological awareness, to change the governance path. Officers (Ac4) constructed and conducted a survey, which is an acceptable and trusted format of data collection. This increased their own political capacity and awareness of it to ensure action based on that survey.

The public action was the follow up survey. The actual opportunity was simply knowledge of the possibility to act, and included the fact that the CSA revealed the need for the bridge, and provided the opportunity and basis for follow up survey.

The Solution governance path shifted from 'no bridge' to 'bridge' because of change in trajectories of all the actors, in different ways. The path was affected because Ac4 took deliberate and highly designed action to do, because the situation was so unacceptable. The follow up survey can be seen as the elaboration and strengthening of beliefs that support the building of the bridge, beliefs first identified in the CSA. The second wave of destabilisation was carefully designed to transmit a shift in individual officer trajectories (Ac3) to shift in governance path through belief-driven initiation.

It is clear how, in this case, the CSA provided awareness of potential opportunity and capacity to actors (Ac4) who then acted to make the opportunity and capacity a reality.

(*4   Responses to study as expected)

The survey was the mediating mechanism that transmitted, their private interest, via Ac4's action, into public action. This involved a survey that would re-frame preferences and designed to draw attention of respondents to the issue of 'safety of children', as opposed to 'security', which reframed the bridge issue completely. "What we did was to ask residents in the household survey, "did you know that this was a school route and children were forced to cross the bridge in this way? Do you still think there shouldn't be any access?" (IN5 r AC4) "This made them think in terms of young children in the estate and people were then more positive about opening up the route" (IN5 r AC4). This was sensemaking management through 'manipulation' because action was taken to do a survey that was likely to produce supportive evidence, and argument because the survey, in fact, set out an argument to change minds.

So, the survey design and its results was strongly destabilising for Ac2 and Ac3, and then strongly directional about what the new stable position should be: to build the bridge. This was necessary because of the existing meta-meaning of 'stable but unacceptable' state of things: "…when such decisions are made by residents (Ac2), it becomes ingrained in everyone's thinking and nothing is changed until you come along and think about things and re-frame them. Time has elapsed and people think differently after a few years. It was a way of re-framing it and making a case for change which is quite difficult in little neighbourhood disputes" (IN5 r AC4). The CSA did not provide cues in this instance, but it provided the stable and trusted basis and frames on which the premise of asking the question was founded.

Note the reversal of sequence between 'belief' and 'private action'. Here, actors (Ac4) actively shaped the belief reconstruction of survey respondents /

local residents by providing cues and frames that were carefully presented to elicit particular evaluations, and hence, public actions.

In the introduction of the follow up survey, officers (Ac4) deliberately destabilised the trajectory of the survey respondents through the survey design, heightening undesirability, thus raising the level of **interest** while **creating a new set of beliefs.** The important audiences were Ac2 and Ac3. The CSA provided the belief basis for understanding the positions of various stakeholders, and enabled officers (Ac4) to strategise accordingly.

Respondents' action (Ac1, Ac2) here lay in their answers that reflected their revised tested beliefs, as discussed in 'private actions' above. By providing a new frame to the cue of 'no bridge', that is, replacing the 'fear of anti-social' frame with one that concerned 'putting children in danger', the CSA's resultant belief and it follows here, meanings, was strongly stabilised towards 'build the bridge'. This applied to all relevant actors. By presenting this cue framed by the latter to a range of local stakeholders (Ac1, Ac2), the resultant meaning was completely reversed from 'we don't want this bridge' to 'we DO want this bridge' (Ac2). This constitutes a change to interests (from '8-9 residents with placards' to '80% of the residents wanted this bridge'), as residents refocused on their relationship with children in their community, rather than on with anti-social elements.

*5   Established irrefutable change in actors who initially opposed bridge

The governance situation was thus changed in a way that enabled a public action accepted by all actors, or at least, sufficiently opposed by them. The acceptance was enabled through the CSA based survey, a different stable governance (shared) sensemaking cycle that was *for* building the bridge.

<u>Summary of MCT impact on governing situation</u>

On finding out about the issue of dangerous crossing for children and the history of why the bridge was not built, Ac4 sought to make this **public** and therefore un-ignorable knowledge, to strengthen the case for building the

bridge. Notably, it is through a carefully designed piece of information-giving dressed up as fact-finding, that enabled the change in belief about what should be done, and thus enabling a different action.

<u>Conclusion: Are the Key Stories and Steps coherent?</u>

Yes.

Key Story 3 'GRASP OPPORTUNITY TO BREAK STALEMATE'

<u>Reference data</u>

Solution Network: B Solutions: *Solution 5: Council funds MTH and the Formation of voluntary Healthcheck Group

This story is a powerful illustration of how imagined possibilities cause actors to take actions to realise those possibilities. The story involved officers and councillors realising the opportunity presented them by the package of the MTH as a means of overcoming a stalemate over what to do with the town's public space.

The history of vociferous lobbying by multiple groups in the town on the one hand and the narrow disciplined-specific top-down advice offered by professionals meant that the District Council found it difficult to gain a representative and balanced picture of the needs of residents in implementing any projects in the town. The Council took the opportunity provided by the MTH **to gain such a picture**, and also **to counter the misinformation** that was being generated, by rendering financial and technical support. The MTH method was seen as widely accepted and robust, thus giving any decisions based on its results legitimacy and credibility.

While not 'neutralising' dissenting voices entirely, the very conduct of the MTH provided "… a core group of people who developed working

relationship with officers and members of the council in a more positive way than we had managed in the past." (IN38 r AC1). This was in the form of a local volunteer-led steering group who drove the conduct of the MTH exercise along 'thematic' lines, with the help of a paid coordinator. There seemed to be strong mutual between council officers and members of this very able group, although the target for the dissenters somewhat shifted from the council to this group. Through this set up, a broadly, if on the part of some, grudgingly acceptable view of 'what people wanted' for their town was gained and shared.

"What we wanted to do was to find out what the population in (the town) thought about [the town] and what they felt we should do to improve it" (IN38 r AC1). The conduct of the MTH was characterised by real effort to gain as broad and representative a set of views as possible, with consultation happening in three stages, on the questions to ask, on the issues people wanted addressed, and on the proposals that emerged. The first was a consultation on 'what questions to ask'. Proposals were then generated from creative engagement with local people through questionnaire surveys of mixed open-ended qualitative and quantitative design, focus groups and discussion forums were then conducted with carefully targeted groups. As an indication of coverage, over 2000 questionnaires were received.

Impact of CSA on individual actors: summary table

FIGURE 6.8 PATTERN OF MCT IMPACT ON KS3: GRASP OPPORTUNITY TO BREAK STALEMATE

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1			Impact of MCTs on actor trajectory, where known				
2		SN	B	B			
3		SOLUTION	5	5			
4		KEY STORY	3	3			
5	Actor as r	A. STEP	1	2			
6	Ac6		na	na			
7	Ac6		na	na			
8	Ac6		na	na			
9	Ac4		dk	dk			
10	Ac4		dk	PR			
11	Ac4		PU	dk			
12	Ac1		B	na			
13	Ac1		PR	PR			
14	Ac1		na	PU			
15	Ac5		na	na			
16	Ac5		na	na			
17	Ac5		na	na			
18	Ac2		B	na			
19	Ac2		PR	PR			
20	Ac2		na	PU			
21	Ac3		na	na			
22	Ac3		na	na			
23	Ac3		na	na			

See **Appendix 6.3** for expanded description.

How is the overall governance path affected in each analytical step?

*1 Council officers appraised political situation

The stalemate matters to Ac1 and Ac2, and knowledge of the MTH destabilised individual officers' sensemaking trajectories because it offered an opportunity to address a **discrepancy** between what is (vocal dissenters blocking action) to what could be (vocal dissenters no longer able to block action). The MTH drew attention to itself as a possible re-stabiliser to the existing and more desirable conceptual position of interests, where the public space projects could go ahead.

*2 Council officers decided unilaterally (as a group) to fund the MTH

The 'hurting stalemate' (De Dreu 2010), or a situation which was 'stable but unacceptable' in the town was a big reason for funding MTH. Knowledge of the MTH provided the awareness of the opportunity out of this without violating the need for procedural justice. "…it's through the health check process you've got an opportunity to carry out your own consultation in a methodology that is recognised, tried and tested.'" (IN38 r Ac1). The projection was that "…it neutralised (dissenters)… having the Healthcheck report with thousands of people's submissions and views meant that people could say, 'what you want is actually a narrow interest, and there's a wider interest for bigger groups of people who have an interest, and they need to be remembered as well as you'" (IN41 r AC4).

The MTH enabled Ac1 and Ac2 to imagine / project the possibility described above, of defusing the dissenting voices and building a broader consensus to public space improvement works, that is, a state with more acceptable meta-meanings. "…what we wanted to do was to find out what the population in (the town) thought about (the town) and what they felt we should do to improve it" (IN40 r AC3).

It is the recognition of all this potential that causes the underlying trajectory shift among council decision makers: to fund the MTH in the first place. Opportunity and capacity was 'self-fulfilling'; knowledge about their possibility may cause them to happen. This is what happened with opportunity. See above.

Ac1 and Ac2 realised the opportunities and their capacity, and funded the MTH.

The decision to fund the MTH is the first step for putting in place an infrastructure to transmit shifts in personal trajectories of officers, councillors and many local people, into a shift in the governance path. The MTH would do so by providing the **political capacity** of 'widely collected data' and the **social capacity** of that data being handled by local volunteers, a methodological quirk. It would also provide the intellectual capacity in form of

the content of the surveys, as to what projects should actually go ahead. Funding meant that resources such as a coordinator could be employed, who assisted the conduct of the MTH by the Healthcheck Group. Ultimately, it was the impact on private actions of individual actors not to further object that enabled public action to take place. "(The town) had been very divided historically - the Healthcheck was like having the United Nations round to provide a solution" (IN41 r AC4). "Healthcheck has been a great help - to allow a much wider range of individuals, businesses and organisations to be involved" (IN41 r AC4).

Summary of MCT impact on governing situation

The governance situation was this: a stable but undesirable state of things where few public space projects could not be moved forward because of vocal dissent, and those who do want to move forward cannot because although they had a vague sense of what is required, they have no organised evidence to counter the dissent. The lack of an articulate reason was disempowering. The governance path was stuck in a stable yet unacceptable state.

The stalemate situation led Ac1and Ac2 to act to destabilise governance situation by funding the use of MTH as a 'fact-finding' tool. As per its recommended protocol, this would be deployed by a group of local volunteers, which would ensure the appearance of procedural justice. The MTH was identified as the tool to use because it is also widely used and accepted.

Conclusion: Are the Key Stories and Steps coherent?

Yes.

Key Story 4 'TRUST BUILT UP REGARDING THE MTH RESULTS AND BETWEEN ACTORS'

<u>Reference data</u>

Solution Network: B

Solutions:

*Solution 6: IDENTIFY and PRIORITISE projects (to which MTH contributed).

*Solution 7: Obtain RESOURCES, Formation of Town Partnership

This story demonstrated how actions to conduct the MTH led to interactions that enabled trust to be built up between actors. Separately, because the MTH is both a nationally deployed tool and its standard operational mode involves it being run mainly by local volunteers, it sent out signals of 'trustworthiness', because respectively, it is used by many and endorsed, and because local volunteers were themselves local people. The story showed that when details were uncovered, reality did not pan out as these simple headlines suggested – for example, the local volunteers became the target of dissenters' ire, rather than the council officers - although overall, the headlines were borne out, and stalemate was broken. The trust built up between volunteers led to actions external to the MTH operation itself, such as setting up a company limited by guarantee, but which, nevertheless happened to enable the delivery of MTH recommended projects.

Impact of CSA on individual actors: summary table

FIGURE 6.9 PATTERN OF MCT IMPACT ON KS4: TRUST BUILT UP REGARDING THE MTH RESULTS AND BETWEEN ACTORS'

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1			Impact of MCTs on actor trajectory, where known						
2		SN	B	B	B		B	B	B
3		SOLUTION	6	6	6		7	7	7
4		KEY STORY	4	4	4		n/a	n/a	n/a
5	Actor as r	A. STEP	1	2	3		1(a)	2(a)	3(a)
6	Ac6		B	B	na		dk	dk	na
7	Ac6		na	PR	na		dk	dk	na
8	Ac6		na	PU	na		dk	dk	na
9	Ac4		dk	na	na		dk	na	dk
10	Ac4		dk	na	na		PR	na	dk
11	Ac4		dk	PU	na		PU	na	dk
12	Ac1		dk	B	na		B	dk	na
13	Ac1		dk	PR	PR		PR	na	na
14	Ac1		PU	PU	na		PU	na	na
15	Ac5		B	na	na		B	dk	na
16	Ac5		PR	na	PR		PR	PR	na
17	Ac5		PU	PU	PU		PU	PU	na
18	Ac2		dk	dk	na		dk	dk	na
19	Ac2		dk	dk	PR		na	na	PR
20	Ac2		PU	PU	na		na	na	PU
21	Ac3		na	na	na		dk	dk	na
22	Ac3		na	na	PR		dk	dk	PR
23	Ac3		na	na	PU		dk	dk	PU

See **Appendix 6.3** for an expanded description.

How is the overall governance path affected in each analytical step?

*1 + 2 Conduct MTH by Healthcheck Group of local volunteers

The MTH was first conducted by the Healthcheck volunteer group, aided by a coordinator. It was an exercise in belief construction for both respondents and data collectors. This was done as far as possible in accordance with actions that would increase trust in results; in other words, these sought to recommend its own results as a favourable preference position when tested.

*3   Publication and impact of Report

The publication of the MTH report, a public action, meant that the identification and prioritisation of projects was made public, set out formally, and was based on a broad base of opinions of local people. All of these served to establish its recommendations as definitive, or at least, as definitive basis upon which to move forward.

*1(a)   Form Town Partnership

The town partnership was formed and incorporated as a company limited by guarantee both based on trust between key volunteers, to protect them from future liability, and also to enable trust by future funders; effectively, some funding streams may not be available except to incorporated bodies (as opposed to individuals). The incorporation was a public act based on private assessment of risk to personal financial and legal exposure by volunteers involved.

*2(a)   Application made + *3(a)   Applications successful

The act of application promoted particular beliefs to the fundgivers, who then evaluated these, resulting eventually in the public action of the funding decision. The MTH was provider of cues of trustworthiness and stability.

Summary of MCT impact on governing situation

The MTH was conducted by the setting up of a Healthcheck group comprising local volunteers and staffed by a part-time coordinator. These people were responsible for driving the process. Much of the process involved surveys capturing both qualitative and quantitative data, based on dimensions that were tailored for this particular Healthcheck context.

Formation of the Town Partnership: Two main benefits of partnership: protect partners legally, fulfil institutional requirements for funding application. But the MTH created the opportunity for actors to work together to form relationships on which the Partnership is built. It was recognised that delivering projects with no formal constitution of the Healthcheck Group would have been risky and suboptimal in terms of the resources that would be accessible. A straightforward decision was taken to shift this, by simply forming a Partnership, which is a legal entity.

This Solution is straightforward; it is about how the MTH was deployed to help make a case for funding to fund-givers. Seeking funds was the stage that bridged the MTH recommendations and project delivery. Funding was successfully sought for a number of the MTH recommended projects, from,

among others, the County Council as the highways authority. The MTH did not only provide sound and broad-based evidence of the needs of the public realm in the town. It increased the political capacity of both fund-seeker and fund-givers to obtain resources to deliver MTH-recommended projects.

Conclusion: Are the Key Stories and Steps coherent?

Yes.

Key Story 5 'INNOVATIVE USE AND JUXTAPOSITION OF DATA'

Reference data

Solution Network C
Solutions:
*Solution 10: LEARNING: SHARING and DISSEMINATION of good practice

This story demonstrated how LEQS enabled new juxtapositions of data, and thus cues and frames. This led to several sequences of actions, of which one is explored in this key story in detail. It also discusses the role played by organisations such as London Capital Standards that play an overarching role to bring disparate and sometimes parallel practices together, and the role of MCTs as a focusing device within this. However, it is the story that best shows the MCT more purely as a technological tool.

In order to disseminate and share good practice, Capital Standards activity included:

- Communication to Capital Standard members - Capital Standards had a range of communication methods for members to communicate with each other: seminars, subject-based cluster groups, and so on, to promote good management practice. Capital Standards surveyors also communicated with the member authorities when necessary.
- Aiding intra-authority inter-departmental communication for identifying opportunities to share resources and building inter-departmental

relationships. This has arisen due to the clearer picture of local environmental quality resulting from LEQS data.

Impact of CSA on individual actors: summary table

FIGURE 6.10 PATTERN OF MCT IMPACT ON KS5: GRASP OPPORTUNITY TO BREAK STALEMATE

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1			Impact of MCTs on actor trajectory, where known				
2		SN	C	C	C	C	
3		SOLUTION	10	10	10	10	
4		KEY STORY	5	5	5	5	
5	Actor as r	A. STEP	1	2	3	4	
6	Ac1		na	na	na	na	
7	Ac1		na	na	na	na	
8	Ac1		na	na	na	na	
9	Ac2		na	B	na	na	
10	Ac2		PR	PR	PR	na	
11	Ac2		PU	PU	PU	PU	
12	Ac3		na	na	na	na	
13	Ac3		na	na	na	na	
14	Ac3		na	na	na	na	
15	Ac4		na	na	na	na	
16	Ac4		na	na	na	na	
17	Ac4		na	na	na	na	
18	Ac5		B	na	na	na	
19	Ac5		PR	na	na	na	
20	Ac5		PU	PU	na	na	
21	Ac6		na	na	na	na	
22	Ac6		na	na	na	na	
23	Ac6		na	PU	na	na	

See **Appendix 6.3** for an expanded description.

How is the overall governance path affected in each analytical step?

*1   LEQS data is placed in different experimental relationships to other data to make it more meaningful and relevant to users

New belief construction takes place within arenas provided by the LEQS and additionally facilitated by the cluster groups in the Capital Standards programme.

*2   Emerging cues from this overlaying of data are made sense of

In the cluster group, attention is drawn to particular juxtapositions, and the usefulness of the resulting beliefs / information is highlighted and

demonstrated to members. If new data practices are adopted, this could result in dramatically different policy direction.

*3 re-crunching data accordingly

In the cluster group also, demonstration of how to evaluate and deploy these types of beliefs in their own performance management and operations situations was an exercise in belief (re)construction. LEQS data is still the basis of this recrunching, what is different is what data is juxtaposed with what.

*4 thus lead to different / new primary beliefs, which then lead to a few possible alternatives in primary actions, first private, but importantly, public

More specifically, in one member authority, this led to the creative and conservative extrapolation of LEQS data to result in construction and then publication of performance figures required by central government. LEQS provided the substantive content of this public action.

Summary of MCT impact on governing situation

What local authorities are quite good at is solving problems and then just going forward and not looking back and being reflective. What the LEQ information (through Capital Standards cluster groups) does is make third parties reflect on work rather than giving themselves time to appraise work. That's been really useful and increasingly we are finding time to look at the LEQ data…. You can analyse the information a lot better and cross reference it with other pieces of data" (IN22 r Ac2 / Ac5). Capital Standards ran regular cluster or themed knowledge exchange groups among its members. These were the mechanism for sharing and dissemination of innovative performance measurement practice.

Conclusion: Are the Key Stories and Steps coherent?

Yes.

Key Story 6 'CASE FOR ADOPTING BFL AS POLICY'

Reference data

Solution Network D
Solutions:
*Solution 11: Campaigning for changes to design negotiation in development control, adoption of BfL as planning policy: performance sanctions imposed
*Solution 14: Adoption as statutory policy in the future

This story is about how an MCT works based on the imaginability it enables regarding, not so much the primary issues of public space quality, but the issues of public space governance. The story also provides an example of how MCTs can work within the arena provided by a very formal process, the planning system.

The adoption of BfL as guidance provided an opportunity to adopt nationally recognised design standards that can help deliver a change in the housing quality delivered through the highly procedural planning system. Nevertheless, to really maximise the impact of BfL, it would have to be included in the Local Development Framework; that is, adopted as planning policy, not just 'good practice guidance'. At the time of data collection, the BfL was adopted by the Council as 'guidance' but not yet as the more robust 'planning policy'. It is only as 'policy' that BfL can be applied in an official capacity by the Council is the basis on which development control officers can require applicants to comply with the 20 criteria as 'standards' of good design, and to require Design and Access Statements reflect to those principles. While this was not yet achieved, it is still possible to explore how its adoption would be a decisive change in path direction within this Solution Network.

The proposed reconfiguration of the development control process and the adoption of BfL as statutory policy to enable design-based negotiation was at the centre of the Council's plan for achieving a high quality built environment. One officer said that "we are relying on the planning process being the

correct means of agreeing the overall design of the area". BfL itself enabled this by helping gain the support of development control committee members (Ac3) for its own adoption.

The adoption of BfL as guidance provided an opportunity to adopt nationally recognised design standards that can help deliver a change in the housing quality delivered through the highly procedural planning system. Nevertheless, to really maximise the impact of BfL, it would have to be included in the Local Development Framework; that is, adopted as planning policy, not just 'good practice guidance'. At the time of data collection, the BfL was adopted by the Council as 'guidance' but not yet as the more robust 'planning policy'. It is only as 'policy' that BfL can be applied in an official capacity by the Council is the basis on which development control officers can require applicants to comply with the 20 criteria as 'standards' of good design, and to require Design and Access Statements reflect to those principles. While this was not yet achieved, it is still possible to explore how its adoption would be a decisive change in path direction within this Solution Network.

Impact of CSA on individual actors: summary table

FIGURE 6.11 PATTERN OF MCT IMPACT ON KS6: CASE FOR ADOPTING BfL AS POLICY

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
2		SN	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
3		SOLUTION	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	14
4		KEY STORY	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
5	Actor as r	A. STEP	1	2	3a	3b	3c	3d	3e	0
6	Ac1		B	B	na	na	na	na	na	B
7	Ac1		PR	PR	na	na	na	na	na	PR
8	Ac1		PU	PU	PU	PU	PU	PU	PU	PU
9	Ac3		dk	B	B	B	dk	B	B	B
10	Ac3		dk	PR	PR	PR	PR	PR	PR	PR
11	Ac3		dk	na	dk	dk	PU	dk	PU	PU
12	Ac4		dk	dk	B	dk	dk	na	B	B
13	Ac4		dk	dk	PR	dk	dk	na	PR	PR
14	Ac4		dk	dk	PU	dk	PU	na	PU	PU
15	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	B	B
16	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	PR	PR
17	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	PU	PU
18	Ac6		dk	dk	dk	na	dk	dk	B	B
19	Ac6		dk	dk	dk	na	dk	dk	PR	PR
20	Ac6		dk	PU	PU	na	PU	PU	PU	PU

See **Appendix 6.3** for an expanded description.

How is the overall governance path affected in each analytical step?

1   Housing Audit results published

The publication of the national Housing Audit with BfL as its basic evaluation mechanism drew attention to the poor quality of recently built housing schemes. This visibility destabilised the inertia in the planning system, and led a number of councillors and local authority officers to initiate action to address the situation.

2   Impact of decision to act

A number of interlinked initiatives were embarked on, for example, campaigning, training and adopting BfL as policy. The BfL was a core basis upon which many of these initiatives were built. BfL was a good basis because of its nationally recognised and endorsed nature, which meant its influence, whether to stabilise or destabilise a situation, was amplified.

3a   Campaign for adoption as policy

One initiative was a campaign to get councillors on the planning committees to agree to adopt BfL as 'good practice' guidance, and eventually move to

adopting it as policy. Adoption as policy would mean that compliance to BfL would be a requirements for planning application approval of housing schemes over a certain size, and this, in turn, meant that BfL would have greater influence over what was designed.

3b   Councillor training

As part of the campaign activities, councillors were introduced to the tool and its features through 'training', which also meant that they would be able to test out the usefulness of the tools themselves. In this vein, the BfL was recognise as being well-designed and user-friendly, which recommended their adoption to councillors who use them.

3c   Launch meeting

Another branch of the campaign related to persuading potential planning applicants of the importance of design quality, with BfL being used as the yardstick of quality, officially recognised. The deployment of BfL as good practice, if not quite yet policy, and its high profile launch event, was designed to signal the Council's intention to give it substantial weight when processing planning applications.

3d   joint training

Joint training in the use of BfL involving external trainer, elected members and potential planning applicants was another initiative to strengthen the case for adopting BfL with relevant stakeholders. It was envisaged that it would begin to ensure that discussions about housing design quality proceeded from at the same ground, although the impact of this training was not as significant as it was hoped.

3e   Pilot use of BfL as guidance

This saw the piloting of BfL as guidance, which IS the assessment of the opportunities and capacities to deploy it more formally in policy. The adoption of BfL as policy would result in its compulsory use as an agenda for discussing quality of design. The fact that BfL is highly endorsed means that it was a good basis for developing guidance for. Certainly adoption would

give local planning authority more political capacity to seek well-designed housing developments.

*0   Adoption as policy in the future

This step is entirely projected as the adoption has not happened. Officers and councillors saw the value of BfL in its organised 20 questions. On the other hand, officers felt that its track record as policy was not yet proven, and took a much more tentative view as to whether it should indeed be adopted at all. Other were concerned about the level of interpretation allowed by BfL which might be a weakness in the legalistic planning system.

Summary of MCT impact on governing situation

The campaign aimed to have Building for Life formally adopted as part of planning policy. The campaign effectively invited their audience to imagine a development control situation in which the BfL was the explicit basis of housing quality that the planning authority had committed to, and to which planning applicants could be held, if permission was to be granted. During the campaign, the BfL was introduced, with the help of example schemes that had gone through planning illustrating what the adoption of BfL might actually mean on the ground. All of this was designed to generate a meta meaning regarding the projected adoption of BfL of 'acceptability' and 'stability'. So the critical cue is really one that is about the performance of BfL itself, and the frame is the possibility of such a performance in the planning system. What the campaign did was to help stakeholders imagine the possible connections and belief-action relationships.

BfL provided credentials for its own ability to deliver a widely accepted and fairly easy to use standard of high quality residential design. Its endorsement by CABE and usage by other local authorities for the same purposes, as well as being standard that applicants could well have encountered before made it an obvious choice.

Conclusion: Are the Key Stories and Steps coherent?

Yes.

Key Story 7 'LEARNING AND RELATIONSHIP BUILDING IN AN INTERACTIVE ARENA'

Reference data

Solution Network E
Solutions:
*Solution 15: Do the Audit Walk / training: skills and confidence gained, issues noticed

This key story is about the possibilities of interactive arenas, especially the learning and relationship-building aspects of this. In SNE, the CSA was very much a first point on engagement between local residents and officials, and the success of 'joint learning' was obvious. Compare this to the sparse evidence in SND for success of joint learning. So the question of trust and relationships are also a focus here, as they were in Key Story 4.

The Community Street Audit itself, and the resulting Steering Groups were opportunities to develop means of communication, in particular over the more technical issues. The CSA Audit Walk provided the stakeholders with the necessary language to articulate their concerns and make the communication more effective. Both local people and officers developed technical skills, particularly for looking more carefully at public space features, and especially for the walking environment. The CSA boosted their confidence by enabling them to speak about their concerns in a more technical way, which could also later be referred to as evidence of problems requiring attention. A more 'rational' and technically focused approach enables officers to trust that local people are able to engage productively. Relationships and trust were built between officers and local people, and also among officers, where the opportunity arose to talk between departments.

Impact of CSA on individual actors: summary table

FIGURE 6.12 PATTERN OF MCT IMPACT ON KS7: LEARNING AND RELATIONSHIP BUILDING IN AN INTERACTIVE ARENA

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1			Impact of MCTs on actor trajectory, where known				
2		SN	E	E	E	E	
3		SOLUTION	15	15 / 16	15	15	
4		KEY STORY	7	7	7	7 / 8	
5	Actor as r	A. STEP	1	2a	3	4	
6	Ac1		B	B	B	B	
7	Ac1		PR	PR	PR	PR	
8	Ac1		na	PU	na	PU	
9	Ac2		dk	dk	dk	dk	
10	Ac2		dk	dk	dk	dk	
11	Ac2		dk	dk	dk	dk	
12	Ac3		B	B	B	B	
13	Ac3		PR	PR	PR	PR	
14	Ac3		na	PU	na	PU	
15	Ac4		B	B	B	B	
16	Ac4		PR	PR	PR	PR	
17	Ac4		na	PU	na	PU	
18	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	
19	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	
20	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	
21	Ac6		na	na	na	na	
22	Ac6		na	na	na	na	
23	Ac6		na	na	na	na	

See **Appendix 6.3** for an expanded description

How is the overall governance path affected in each analytical step?

*1 The CSA was carried out, underpinned by network of consultation and relationship-building exercises

The CSA was conducted, one of the range of consultation methods initiated by the Local Strategic Partnership. The CSA walk was useful for local people to begin to imagine a possible future for their streets. The conduct of the CSA and subsequent decision-making groups provided an opportunity for interaction between actors.

*2a new understandings of walking environment were developed by participants, enabled purchase of actors on other actors, changing trust and confidence

The CSA walk helped people develop a better understanding of, and therefore more confidence to act in public space. It provided the arena in which interaction and learning could take place.

*3   Led to change in relationship of trust and confidence

This empowered local people, and helped to build trust between local people and council and other officials, as they discovered what they had in common.

*4   Local residents invited to joint consultation Groups

In addition, local resident participants in the CSA were invited to join consultation groups consisting also of elected members, council officers and other stakeholders. Within these, local people were able to make a major contribution, both through the technical knowledge imparted by the CSA audit and through taking part in the decision-making.

Summary of MCT impact on governing situation

The Walks were an opportunity for diverse actors to meet and begin to exchange views and build relationships. Officers were directly involved in the Audit Walks, so became 'co-learners' with local people. The Walk enabled all involved to develop an interest in the issues of the walking environment. Most notably, it increased intellectual, social and especially political capacity, and this last notably for local residents. The key opportunity to apply this newly gained capacity comes in Solution 16, when local people take part in follow up Steering Group. The Audit Walk and the CSA mechanism in Solution Network E provides a good example of the awakening of the epistemological awareness of stakeholders, and the possibilities of deploying knowledge and data effectively.

This Solution goes as far as individual stakeholders gaining skills and confidence. This in itself generates a positive meta-meaning, and so stabilises the particular shared cycle concerning 'learning'. Beyond this, there is no further impact on governance path recorded, except that it may not actually restabilise the overall path and could indeed, increase destabilisation as individuals gain skills and confidence to articulate issues about the quality of public spaces.

Conclusion: Are the Key Stories and Steps coherent?

Yes.

Key Story 8 'EMPOWERMENT THROUGH INCREASED KNOWLEDGE'

Reference data

Solution Network E

Solutions: *Solution 16: Contributions made in the Steering Committee –
multi-lateral deliberations affected design decisions for public space

This story demonstrated how possibilities opened up because of knowledge,
but also the confidence to deploy that knowledge. Steering Committees gave
local people a detailed and unusually 'technical' voice, which they used
effectively. This forum was utilised fully to articulate their concerns and to
present evidence for their case via the CSA. Their case was strengthened by
the credibility of the CSA as a method. Confidence may also be increased as
officers respond positively rather than dismissively.

I

mpact of CSA on individual actors: summary table

FIGURE 6.13 PATTERN OF MCT IMPACT ON KS8: EMPOWERMENT THROUGH INCREASED KNOWLEDGE

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1			Impact of MCTs on actor trajectory, where known					
2		SN	E	E	E	E	E	E
3		SOLUTION	16	16	16	16	16	16
4		KEY STORY	8	8	8	8	8	8
5	Actor as r	A. STEP	1	3	4	5	6	7
6	Ac1		dk	B	na	na	na	na
7	Ac1		PR	PR	PR	PR	na	na
8	Ac1		PU	na	na	PU	PU	na
9	Ac2		dk	na	na	na	B	na
10	Ac2		dk	na	na	na	PR	PR
11	Ac2		dk	na	na	na	na	PU
12	Ac3		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
13	Ac3		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
14	Ac3		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
15	Ac4		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
16	Ac4		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
17	Ac4		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
18	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	na
19	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	PR	PR
20	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	na	PU
21	Ac6		na	na	na	na	na	na
22	Ac6		na	na	na	na	na	na
23	Ac6		na	na	na	na	na	na

See **Appendix 6.3** for an expanded description.

How is the overall governance path affected in each analytical step?

*1   Issues concerning proposals raised in Consultation Group

CSA enabled presentation of issues raised by the Audit to the Steering Group in a commonly understood language for all Group members. This enabled belief construction.

*2   Issues considered by Group members, specifically local members who were confident as result of skills gained and relationships built in Audit Walk

CSA had enabled local members to gain both knowledge and confidence in taking public action to assess the issues and articulate their preferences.

*3   Issues investigated by local resident Group members

Issues were further considered by the local members, and evaluated, constructing new beliefs.

*4   Local resident Group members develop new ideas about proposal

The CSA and participation in Steering Group meetings helped local actors understand the relevance of the issues to them, to notice and to evaluate them, and also to formulate alternative proposals.

*5   Local resident Group members contribute this to discussion in Group

The local members make this clear to the Group, referring to the legitimacy imparted by their membership of the group. This required confidence and awareness of capacity and opportunity.

*6   Consultation Group members consider

This presentation forced all Group members to reconstruct their beliefs, with the knowledge that the proposal came out of the CSA, which helped establish, if not the credibility, then their legitimacy.

*7   Consultation Group members capitulate

Eventually, the Group members capitulate in a public action that sanctions the local members' proposal.

Summary of MCT impact on governing situation

The CSA Walk laid the knowledge foundation for local residents but also participating officers to participate confidently in the Group, especially by raising technological capacity of the actors. Participation in the original Audit Walk was also the passport into the Group. Confidence meant that these governing actors were able to contribute outside the scope of issues raised by the CSA, and indeed even reject recommendations based on sound principles.

Conclusion: Are the Key Stories and Steps coherent?

Yes.

6.3. Conclusion to presentation of the empirical

	A	B	Impact of MCTs on actor trajectory, where				Impact of MCTs on actor trajectory, where known					
	Actor as r	Step	1	2	3	4	1	3	4	5	6	7
3	Ac1		B	B	B	B	dk	B	na	na	na	na
4	Ac1		PR	PR	PR	PR	PR	PR	PR	PR	na	na
5	Ac1		na	PU	na	PU	PU	na	na	PU	PU	na
6	Ac2		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	na	na	na	B	na
7	Ac2		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	na	na	na	PR	PR
8	Ac2		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	na	na	na	na	PU
9	Ac3		B	B	B	B	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
10	Ac3		PR	PR	PR	PR	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
11	Ac3		na	PU	na	PU	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
12	Ac4		B	B	B	B	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
13	Ac4		PR	PR	PR	PR	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
14	Ac4		na	PU	na	PU	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk
15	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	na
16	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	PR	PR
17	Ac5		dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	dk	na	PU
18	Ac6		na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
19	Ac6		na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
20	Ac6		na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na

Are the stories about how MCTs attenuate governing coherent in terms of sensemaking? MCTs clearly affect sensemaking in governing, but in these Stories, they do so with varying levels of purchase on different parts of the processes, sometimes acting centrally, and sometimes only peripherally.

Are the stories coherent? Yes they are. This should be clear from the very possibility analytical steps of the Key Stories, together with the possibility of expanding and explaining these steps with reference, first, to belief construction, the private action of testing and the public action of enactment, and secondly, to both fit and pull together an account based on a number of previously unrelated concepts that articulate both sensemaking and managing others' sensemaking. A coherent sensemaking-based heuristic that articulate conditions that drive sensemaking, a model that both emerges and enables the iterative refinement of the detailed accounts of analytical steps (presented in this chapter for KS2, 3, 6 and 7), is presented in Chapters 7a and 7b. All of this demonstrates that it is possible to construct a coherent account by triangulating from multiple sources how governing actually proceeded.

Note that coherent does not mean contiguous. The presentation of Key Stories as coherent narratives necessitates editing, although not invention; all Key Story narratives can be traced back to the raw data. The coherence of this means that sensemaking is a plausible way of describing what MCTs

do. This, in turn, would imply that governing as managing sense is a plausible conceptualisation.

Based on the insights from this initial reshapings of the raw data, first into 'Solutions', then into analytical micro-steps, and then micro-substeps that describe the impact of MCTs on belief, private actions and public actions, and then the identification of 'Key Stories', the final section in this chapter sets out a sketch of the extension of the sensemaking model that is able to articulate the move between 'private action' and 'public action', including enable a search for conditions that enable this move.

6.4. Part 3: Insights about Public action, shared sense: Governing paths and shift in paths

Bringing together the preceding re-casting of the data into coherent and credible narratives, the concepts of 'governing' as interactions that solve societal problems, as discussed in Chapter 3, and 'sensemaking', we explore what their mutual impacts might be. In interacting, governing actors influence each others' sensemaking processes, and some of this is intentional, as the diversity of actors are unlikely to agree on every issue of concern. If an actor wishes to 'resolve' a societal problem, he / she will wish to do so in a way beneficial to himself / herself, having taken into account the implication on others' interests and wellbeing. So, multi-stakeholdered non-hierarchical governing can be thought of as involving multi-lateral interactions **which involves managing own and others' construction of sense.**

In the terms discussed in Chapter 3, the aim is the shift of the state of governing situation from B1 'counterfactual' to B2 'solution'. This in turn, involves, in some way, all relevant stakeholders' trajectories. As suggested in Chapter 5, this inscription in the conceptual space of the overall 'state of governance' shift is designated a 'governance path'.

However, enactment, and perhaps also the decision to enact, is no longer one in the private realm, and are subject to opportunities and constraints in the given context, as well as the capacity of any single actor to do as he/she pleases. Thus, a distinction is made between actions, private and public. The next section is the extension of the description of the sensemaking model set out in Chapter 5 Part 3 to take the publicness of action in governing into account.

Public actions

Considering the cycle and trajectory, and taking the 'belief and action' terminology forward, a change in governing path can be said to be caused by an **overt or 'public action'**.

Some clarification of the scope of public action, private action and belief as deployed in the present study is offered by the following: "Thought and intention must be directed towards definite overt issues or else they are merely daydream. 'Reality' is potentially open to different observers. What is 'inward', what lies in between overt actions, is either impersonal thought or 'shadows' of acts, or else substanceless dream. Mental life is, and logically must be, a shadow of life in public" (Murdoch 1970). Belief is 'merely daydream', private actions involve testing of beliefs by sensemakers against external frames but not revealed to others are 'shadows' of acts. Set against these, **public actions are overt actions and are perceivable by others**.

CONDITIONS FOR PUBLIC ACTION

The possibility of meaningful perceivability by others is enabled by two things: **first**, the 'rationales, including motives' that drive individuals' cycles to beliefs and private actions that prefigure public action – in other words, 'value' or 'meaning' or **'interests'**, and **second**, a combination of mediating conditions in the governance situation. But what are the mediating conditions?

Let us first clarify that these conditions for public action are a subset of 'conditions' generally. There is a wide range of literature, discussed earlier, in

different disciplines that deal with the intentional enactment of public action and the relationship with actor preferences / desires (The term used depends on which paradigm one is deploying, they all mean 'what people want' or think they do). Two conditions can be at least tentatively deduced from this literature, as will become more apparent in the brief discussion below. In addition to the interests of actors, two conditions emerge as being important from the leap from private preference to public enactment: capacity and opportunity. So, private 'individual belief' and public 'governing actions' are mediated by a **combination of sensemaker interests,** as explained by the basic social psychological need of seeking a stable sense of self (for example Weick 1995, Ross et al 2010), **sensemaker capacity**, as suggested by, for example, Lichterman (2009) and Healey et al (1999, 2003), although the latter deals with institutional not individual capacity, and **situational opportunity**, as inspired by the 'garbage can model' of Cohen et al (1972).

This is fairly common trio of conditions that appear in a range of forms, to govern the private-public transition. For example, Bourdieu (2002), and Kingdon (1984 in Muccarioni 1992) discusses the coming together of three streams: 'problems' which our 'interests' address, 'solutions' which our 'capacity' addresses, and 'politics' which create or destroy our 'opportunity'.

Capacity

Do actors have the capacity to publicly enact what they believe?

The term 'capacity' suggests the existence of resources for enactment with the possibility of achieving an end. Another closely related more sharply defined and commonly used concept, that of 'capital', has been used by Healey et al (1999) to discuss institutional capacity in urban planning. At this point, apart from drawing from the categorisations suggested by Healey et al (1999), it remains to be seen whether and what sorts of capacity arise from the data.

Opportunity

Opportunity arises when actor has capacity to act to meet his interests and establish a state of things that is valuable. Healey et al (1999) recognised opportunity structure as a sub-requirement for political capital, and notes the contingent nature of opportunity. However, it is the garbage can model of organised anarchies (Cohen et al 1972) that provides the most useful picture of opportunity. Kingdon (1984 in Mucciaroni 1992) applied the garbage can model to the study of politics and argued that an agenda for government decision-making in any given situation at any given time is a function of what three streams he called problems, solutions and politics. A problem exists anyway "become salient when a crisis or 'focusing event' attracts attention to it" (Mucciaroni 1992 p460). A solution is "the gradual accumulation of knowledge and perspectives" (Mucciaroni 1992 p460) amongst the sensemakers and the "generation and diffusion" of proposals to address the problem between them. Politics refers to the situational environment which is constantly changing, which "facilitates or blocks problems and solutions" (Mucciaroni 1992 p460) from meeting within what Cohen et al (1972) would call 'the garbage can', or the arena of deliberation.

Indeed, as discussed, what is called 'interests' here is therefore allied with or shapes Kingdon's (1984, in Mucciaroni 1992) 'problems', 'capacity' related to 'solutions' and 'opportunities' 'politics'. The term 'policy window' used by Mucciaroni (1992) might be the closest to our 'opportunity'.

Lastly, it may be surmised that 'capacity' is a quality of the actor or a group of actors since it requires active input, whereas 'opportunity' a quality of the situation.

The shape of trajectories and paths, and their relationship

Thinking about the individual's trajectory in the conceptual field again: once one point becomes fixed, whether a belief or action, the trajectory 'turns' around it, and changes direction. Thus the meaning reached will be different, and also, the future beliefs and actions arrived at or enacted. This describes not just how people's minds are changed, but actions in the world. It should

also be obvious that to change someone's trajectory, either their belief or their action(s) need to be fixed; these are possible points of influence.

In terms of the shape of the governance path, it is now possible to elaborate on the straightforward shift between States B1 and B2 discussed in Chapter 3.

<u>Individual cycles and individual trajectories</u>

FIGURE 6.14: SOPHISTICATED INTERLOCKING CYCLES THAT INSCRIBE INDIVIDUAL SENSEMAKING TRAJECTORY AND GOVERNANCE PATH

For each individual sensemaker, making sense in a public governing context inevitably involves both private and public actions. This can be represented by a sophisticated interlocking cycle. In order for a sensemaker to move from inscribing the inner cycle of belief and private action, to inscribing an outer cycle of public action through enactment, the aforementioned conditions for public action need to be satisfied: capacity and opportunity, and interests generated from the inner cycle.

Belief / 'state of mind'

Private action / 'state of things'

Public action / 'state of things'
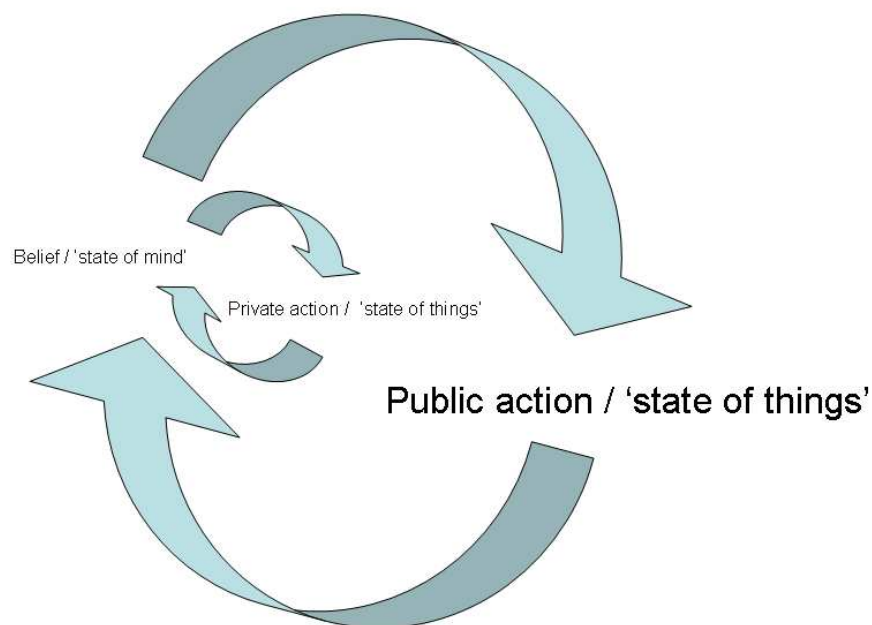
FIGURE 6.15: A COMPLEX SPIRAL TRAJECTORY IN PUBLIC GOVERNING

What results is a picture of a complex spiral shaped trajectory, still only for the individual, made of two interlocking cycles, one of belief and private action, the other of belief and public action.

Public or collective governing paths

FIGURE 6.16: OVERALL COLLECTIVE GOVERNANCE PATH SHIFT FROM A TO B

Considering the overall collective governance path as a shift from A to B, this is its overall shape.

State B1: 'counterfactual'

State A: 'problem'

State B2: 'solution'
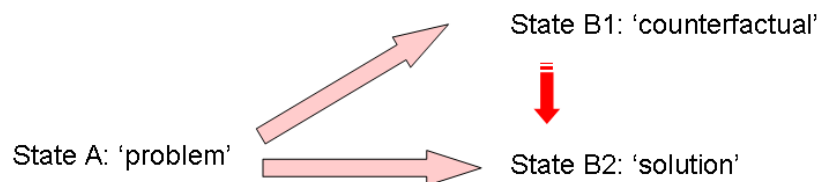
FIGURE 6.17: A MORE ARTICULATED GOVERNING PATH SHIFT

As discussed earlier, 'path' refers to the 'inscription' in the conceptual space of the changes in public actions, just as 'trajectories' are inscriptions of changes to private actions.
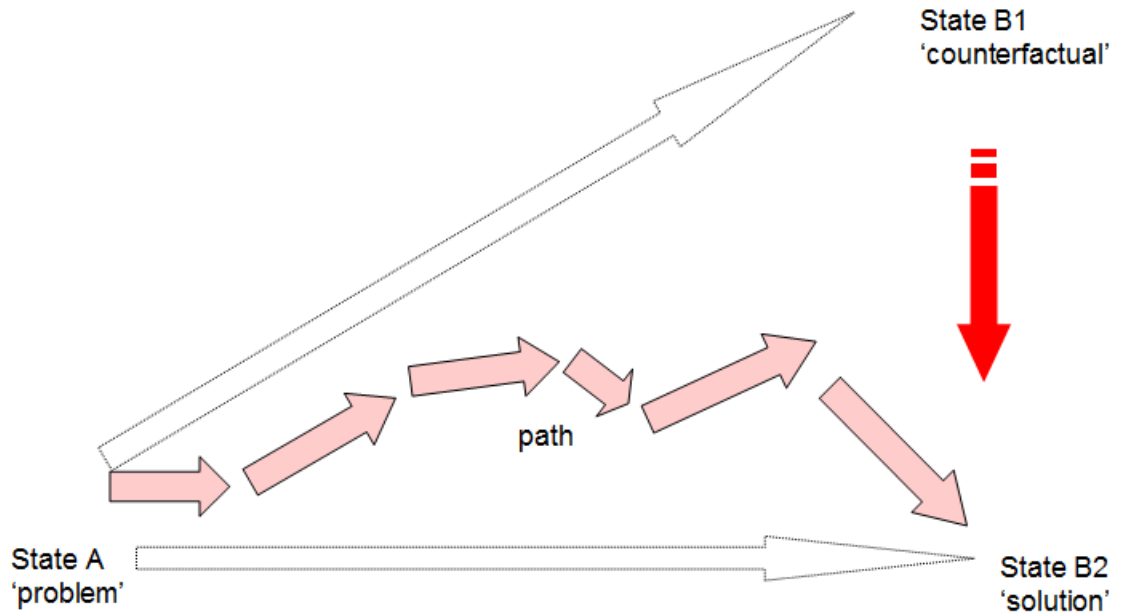
The 'path' is related to the individual relevant sensemakers' 'trajectories', but in a complex way mutually-dependent way, and one which studies of social influence (Hogg 2010 for example) and social conflict (De Dreu 2010, De Dreu and Carnevale 2003) throw light on. The 'cross-case' look at the empirical data set out in Chapters 7a and 7b will provide further articulation of how sensemakers mutually influence each other.
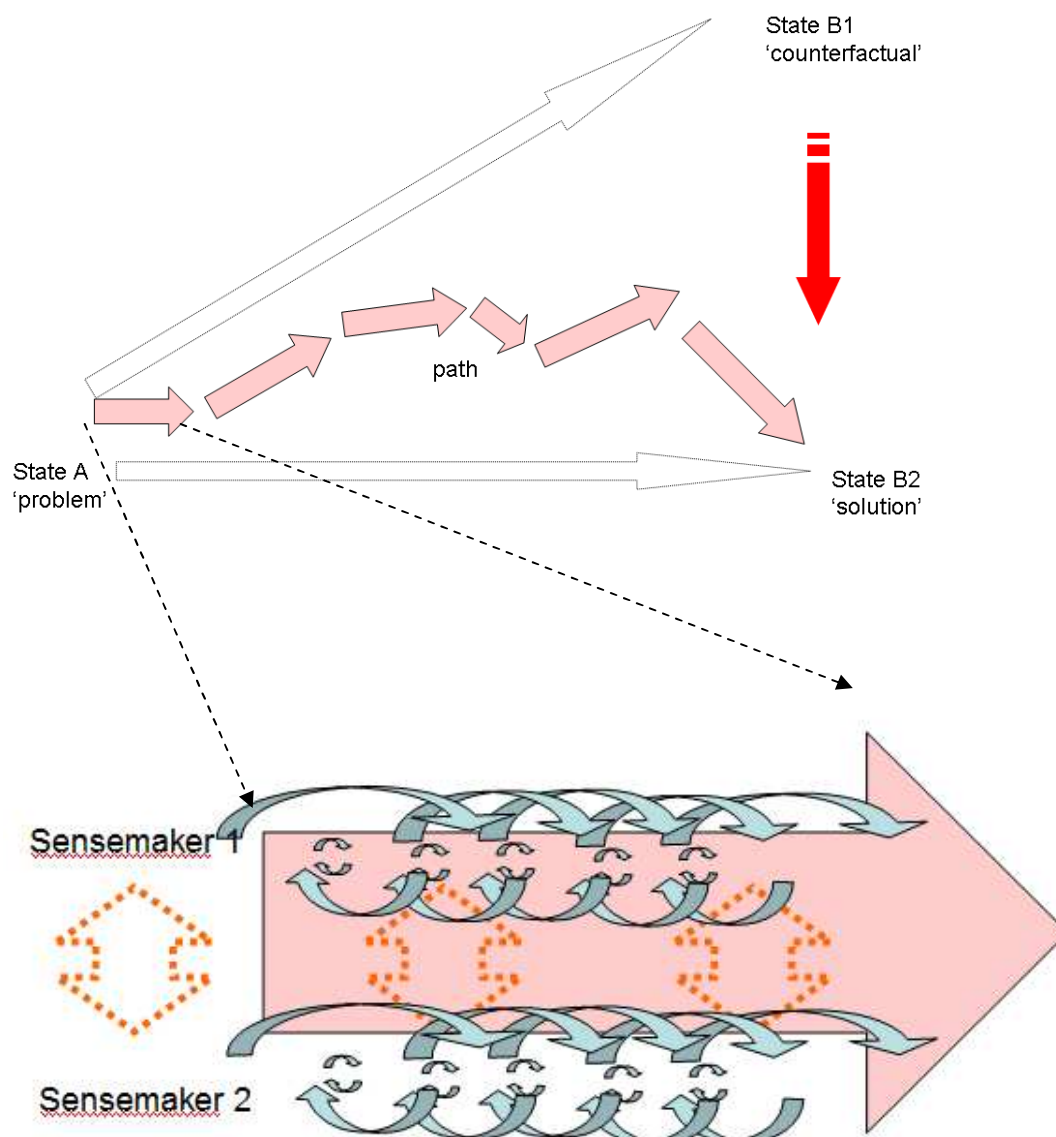
FIGURE 6.19: TRAJECTORIES ARE CONTAINED WITHIN THE OVERALL PATH, CRISS-CROSSING TO FORM OVERALL PATH DIRECTION

This diagram illustrates with the complex trajectories of two actors.
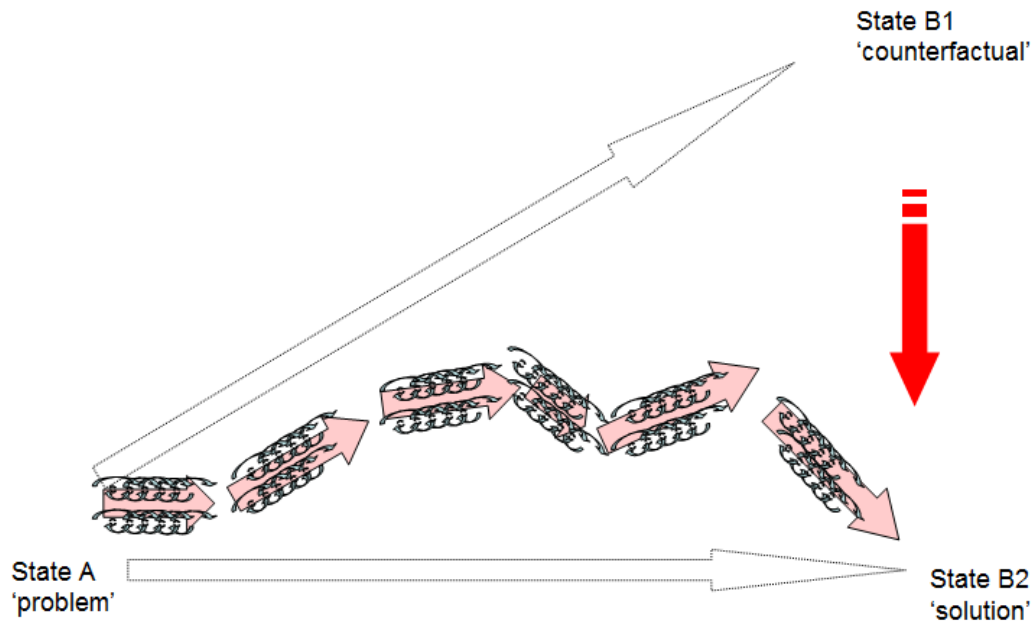
6.5. Conclusion

The next chapter sets out how the interrogation of the data proceeded to finally result in what is this research's conclusion: a description of how MCTs attenuate meaning construction in public space governing, and an explanation of how meaning construction and its attenuation in multi-actor situations in terms of mutual influence of that construction happens is set out.

Chapter 7a: Findings: re-shaping the sensemaking model through induction from data and enfolding theory: belief construction, private actions

7.1. Introduction

This research sought to explain meaning construction. What is presented in Chapters 7a and 7b is a plausible explanation of meaning construction, and how this explanation was itself constructed from the data. The interrogation of the data proceeds on the basis of the theoretical sensemaking model set out partly in Chapter 5 and extended at the end of Chapter 6. The interrogation is based around the hypothesised 'conditions' that drive sensemaking within that sensemaking model. That is, how MCTs work to put in place the conditions which enable the shift in the governance path towards a desirable value position, by modifying the construction of belief and the enactment of action on the world. As the conditions and the model emerge, they enable the iterative refinement of the detailed accounts of how MCTs impact on governing.

In Chapter 7b, the model extension to take into account the making of shared sense, is articulated. This chapter presents the two constructs that capture / explain 'public action', or action that actually enacts governing.

The aims of Chapters 7a and 7b are:
To explain the attenuation of meaning construction in multi-actor negotiation situations by articulating and fleshing out with empirical data, the skeleton framework first discussed in Chapter 5. This is an intermediate operational framework that can describe how MCTs work.

Structure of the chapter

Part 1 summarises the findings in C7a and 7b. By setting out the a sensemaking account of public space governing, this helps the reader navigate through the dense findings within each section. It sets out: 1) a sensemaking account of public space governing and within that 2) a specific discussion of the roles of MCTs in this.

Part 2 sets out the empirical evidence for the conclusion described in Part 1. This is arranged in accordance to the six constructs that are those

necessary conditions for public sensemaking. The four constructs describing conditions required for beliefs to be constructed and privately tested by actors to establish their own meaning positions: purchase, connection, attention, evaluation, are set out in Chapter 7a. Chapter 7b is effectively an extension of Part 2, and sets out the two constructs describing conditions required for governing actions to actually be enacted via 'public action': projection and realisation.

7.2. Part 1: A sensemaking account of public space governing

This section summarises the findings of the subsequently presented account of 'confrontation' of data and theory. For clarity, it is presented here with footnotes defining terms along the way.

How do MCTs affect the construction of value in public space governing?

The research question was "How is value managed in public space governing?" This section answers this and sets out as a research conclusion, first, a sensemaking account of meaning construction, and second, an articulation of what MCTs specifically did within this account.

A sensemaking account of public space governing

In a sensemaking account, actors put in place conditions that drive or shift sensemaking cycles, with the help of MCTs. These change the direction of collective governing paths in the interest of solving collective problems, via changing individual actor trajectories. The evidence presented in Chapters 6, 7a and 7b, and is summarised here.

ON BASIC BELIEF FORMATION AND MEANING CONSTRUCTION

Value or meaning is constructed when the valuer <u>notices</u>[6] a signal or 'cue' from the environment, and <u>forms a belief</u> with it by applying[7] a frame to it;

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[6] **Relevance -** A cue is noticed when it is thought to be relevant to the valuer's interest. Relevance arises from local (Bevir 2010) or vernacular (Hauser 1998), rather than universal rationality (Bevir 2010),

that is, the <u>connection</u> of cue and frame[8]. A frame is usually knowledge from previous experience. For this to happen, valuer has to have <u>purchase</u> on cue and frame.

This belief is not accepted as value or meaning until it is <u>evaluated</u> against observations of reality or against other trustworthy information. This testing happens iteratively until a satisfactory meaning[9] is achieved. When this happens, a stable relationship **relates** belief and the observation against which it is tested, and which lies in the realm of action. A value is also satisfactory when perceived benefit closely matches (or exceeds) expected benefit. Where no objective criteria exists, such as is in highly contested situations like 'public space', the notion of 'match' with criteria that are based in high level social norms or personal worldviews can be a way for assessing value.

The assessment of the acceptability of beliefs requires its own criteria, or meta-meanings[10], or meanings about meanings or beliefs. It is possible to have a chain of nested criteria: meta-meanings, but also meta-meta-meanings, and so on. Deploying sensemaking means that the end of that

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[7] **Active epistemological effort** is required on the part of the valuer, both for value construction, and managing that construction, hence the need for the possibility of imaginability for the making of belief, of evaluability for the testing of belief, and of projection for the realisation of governing action.

[8] **Co-presence**: This is an important foundational condition for any explanation of valuation and purposive action. Three-way co-presence is required between cues, frames, and the valuers. Arenas, in whatever format, is required for co-presence.

[9] **Satisfactory meaning** is meaning that ultimately fulfils the criteria of being '<u>acceptable</u> to the valuer', enabling a stable non-dissonant (non-contradictory) result of testing the belief. In other words, the belief-action cycle is <u>stable</u>.

[10] **Meta-meanings**: According to Weick (1995) meanings are acceptable when they reinforce the valuer's sense of self by increasing self-efficacy, self-enhancement and self-consistency. These are ultimate meta-meanings. Meta-meanings of acceptability that are more relevant to collective sensemaking and societal governing were discussed as 'rationales' of acceptability.

chain lies in 'a stable sense of self', the ultimate explanation for the acceptability of meaning.

Projection in governing concerns imagining public action and its consequences. In basic belief-making and meaning construction, cues or frames for meta-meanings could arise from projecting into future or, in governing, projecting as yet un-revealed preferences of other actors. Projection enables a sensemaker to value possible (but not yet certain) states of things. Projection provides the cues that will still be assessed by the sensemaker's own meta-meanings of acceptability. Those 'cues' about other actors' preferences constitute what Elcheroth et al (2011) called meta-knowledge[11]. A meaning that is acceptable is an attractive meaning position that valuers would like to move to from a less attractive one. This 'moving' is 'realisation'.

ON DYNAMICS AND THE CHANGE OF MEANING

Initiating sensemaking requires the de-stabilisation of existing cycles of belief and action, or indeed, starting new cycles, because a more attractive, less dissonant meaning position may be presenting itself, around which the cycle needs to gravitate[12]. This de-stabilisation may arise from either presenting a new attractive belief, through the starting point of 'argument' (Weick 1995), or a new attractive action, through 'manipulation'. De-stabilisation may also arise from reinforcing the attraction, by fixing belief and creating 'expectation', or by fixing an action or state of things, achieved through 'commitment'.

The possibility of influencing others lies in the possibility of creating more attractive meaning positions for those others to move to and adopt, whether voluntarily or otherwise. This entails creating one or more of the four possible starting points above, argument, manipulation, expectation and commitment,

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[11] **Meta-knowledge**: knowledge about other actors' value positions and motives, and also of other actors' knowledge of our own value positions and motives,

[12] **Accommodating to**: a belief may accommodate to a more fixed/attractive action, and vice versa.

but in the minds of those others, leading to their construction of new values. The notable characteristic of creating meanings in others' minds is that it requires making public some form of communication. Once public, information cannot be retracted completely; publicness can fix points of belief or action. This fixedness imparts the quality of irreversibility upon the trajectory of sensemaking or path of governing[13].

The realisation of a shared or common action is the outcome of actor(s)' public action(s). Notably, a shift in the shared governing path requires only a convergence of actions, and not necessarily a convergence of beliefs or meanings.

As discussed in Chapter 5, the standard shape of explanation within a sensemaking approach is no longer the linearly causal but mutually and cyclically causal, and whose cycle is continually iterative[14] [15]. This is why it is possible to initiate an instance of sensemaking either by affecting belief first or action first. It is this characteristic of the way people make sense that

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[13] **Features of irreversibility**: Similarly, manipulation, or that taking of public action, also imparts irreversibility, especially if either the publicised belief or action is grasped by others as the basis of an attractive position. The uni-directional nature of irreversibility means that the tactically timed revelation of information into the public realm may, in certain circumstances, contribute to the directing of the governing path by actors acting tactically.

[14] **The shape of explanation**: A linearly causal model takes the shape of 'if A then B', where A is the cause and B is the effect, where A explains the observed B. In a governing context, A would have been the belief or decision, and B, the governing action. Instead, sensemaking posits a shape of explanation that is mutually and cyclically causal: 'if A then B then A1 then B1 then A2 then B2', and so on

[15] **Empirical fidelity**: This is not to say that the classical positivist linearly causal model is wrong or useless. It is most certainly wrong, but so is the sensemaking cyclical mutually causal model. It just so happens that the latter provides a closer explanatory description of the empirical observations. It has also to be noted that 'empirical fidelity' here does not refer to the classic model's definition of 'isomorphism between model and observation', but 'triangulated coherence between accounts of the same phenomenon arising from different sources, and from a range of theories'. This is the analogue to the idea that high value is precipitated when perceived benefits **matches** (or exceeds) expected benefits.

leads to the phenomenon of the 'effect causing the cause'[16]. This means that belief about an action may not be its cause, but instead be a result of retrospective attempts at making sense of those actions[17].

In the empirical data, this feature of the 'effect', or at least, the imagined possibility of the effect causing the 'cause' was widely observed. It provided the most notable conceptual insights by, firstly, characterising confidence[18], which is a belief in the sufficiency of one's capacity, and secondly, by the fact that opportunities can arise from existing capacity, or even just a belief in capacity[19], as well as simply interest; the garbage can's description of 'solutions looking for problems' is apt.

Wherever sensemaking starts, however, enactment of a public action is necessary to initiate sensemaking in others. It is a public action that is the defining characteristic of doing, as opposed to "daydreaming" (Murdoch 1970).

ON EPISTEMOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS – SEEING THROUGH A GLASS DARKLY

The justification for deploying sensemaking as a framework for understanding rational governing actions driven by cognitive, rather than behavioural motivations is that all such actions is a participating element in the making of sense; no such action happens without (eventually) needing to

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[16] Many social phenomena reflect this: for example, policy-based evidence, post-justification, solutions looking for problems, and Wittgenstein's quote "Tell me how you are looking and I will tell you what you are looking for"
(Wittgenstein 1964, in Malcolm 1967).

[17] **Agnosticism as to which is cause and which is effect**: When this happens, the eventual meaning or value of the situation may not be affected by which came first, belief or action. This agnosticism of which is cause and which is effect is a very useful attitude to have when trying to explain some of the empirical observations. In theory, Weick (1995) demonstrated that the fixedness of 'expectations' led to the phenomenon of the self-fulfilling prophecy: people chose the explanation they already expected to make of observed phenomenon.

[18] **Confidence** is very important in realising action which then increases capacity.

[19] **The privileging of the epistemological**, as will be discussed shortly.

be made sense of, and thus, known about. Thus, an explanation involving sensemaking privileges the epistemological; that is, only what is visible in the relevant common or 'public' arena can responded to and acted upon, and so 'cause' beliefs and actions and thus, sense.

Related to this is phenomenon known as 'naïve realism', which is recognised by social psychologists as a foundational and cumulative lesson in their field (Ross et al 2010)[20].

Of note is the idea of 'nowness' that arises because every valuation is situation, time and place-specific[21]. While we are able to evaluate events or

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[20] **"Naïve realism":** This is the assumption of isomorphism between what one 'sees' through the prism of one's expectations, needs, and knowledge structures, and objective reality – and its social implications and manifestations (Ross et al 2010). Realising that people have a tendency towards naïve realism is both a liberating realisation, but also a limiting one. It is liberating because there is no longer the suffocating need to seek isomorphism between model and 'reality'; according to Lincoln and Guba (1989) and others, this is, in most social science research, not possible anyway. Seeking isomorphism unquestioningly leads to a focus on research that may be valid, generalisable and reliable, but not necessarily very useful. However, it is limiting when we realise that whatever is valuation, evaluation or assessment we make is viewed only through the lens of when and where the valuer is at; it is limited by **'nowness'**, by 'vernacularity', by 'localness'. This is something easily forgotten. At least, however, in the constructivist model, this is acknowledged: all models are wrong, some models are useful (attributed to Deming). It is this epistemological awareness and the associated ability to imagine, to evaluate and to project, and thus to act without recourse to confirmed isomorphism between our mental models and reality that enables society, even individual humans, to function. E.g. even legal definitions of proof are not always 'beyond a reasonable doubt', and these judgments have real consequences. In other words, if something that matters so much as justice have to operate on this level of evidence, then surely, this is saying something about the way in which we should think about other social scientific evidence. The awareness of this tendency is also the basis of many prescriptive approaches for managing values and impressions in fields as diverse as service quality management (for example, Zeithmahl et al 1990) and marketing (for example, Vargo and Lusch 2004) political communication, etc>

[21] **'Nowness':** Time is a key context for valuation that dictates what frames or criteria for valuation can be used, not least because, obviously, we can look backwards but not forward. Value is high when what is being valued matches the characteristics that are desirable to the

situations retrospectively, we are constrained by frames available to us at the point of valuation; the power of recall tends to be selective. Valuing an event or situation in the future requires projection, as already discussed, and the unknowns and uncertainties are even greater, necessitating assumptions. Whoever controls these have therefore, a major means of influencing valuations of future, and if decisions are based on these, then they have major influence over these real decisions, and real consequences.

A consequence of recognising that 'what we see' is NOT isomorphic with 'reality' ought to be the increase in epistemological awareness[22].

Epistemological awareness means first, being aware of and being able to work with the fact that there may be a disjunction, sometimes a major one, between 'what is known to be' and 'what is'. Secondly, epistemological awareness may entail actors being aware of meta-meanings or the motives or rationales of why particular primary meanings may be more desirable. What is important in societal governing is that common action is an aim, so meta-knowledge (Elcheroth et al 2011), which may be tactically or strategically important in a negotiative situation[23], is a third important consideration for those seeking epistemological awareness.

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valuer at the point of valuation. If, 10 years down the line, the valuer changed his mind, and nothing had changed with the thing being valued, the value will change in line with what the valuer thinks then. Most important is to realise that what matters when making decisions and justifying them based on 'value', it is the value at the point of valuation that matters. And that point of valuation may have very little to do with what actually happened in the past (if you re trying to value a past event), or what happens in the future (if you re trying to value something for the future). What matters is how the past and future reach the valuer as 'frames' and provide the context in which he is constructing his valuation.

[22] **Epistemological awareness**: What is it? It is "a distinct activity, a way of acting on others by acting on their conceptions" (Finlayson 2007 p553). "Forming an opinion… requires the ability to see things from the multiple perspectives of those who are present in the public realm, or what Arendt (1977) terms representative thinking" (Hauser 1998 p94).

[23] This was discussed earlier under the footnote 'features of irreversibility'. In practice, keeping value positions hidden until an opportune time may be a common tactic for steering the governing path.

It is now possible to **sum up the types of knowledge required for a 'locally rational' valuation**, or cognitively motivated 'weighing up' of governing situations (Flyvbjerg 1998, 2002). This weighing up does not only consist of:

- **making primary interest content** (*interests, which is a meaning resource*); here, the quality or value of some aspect of public space. This is only the first element. It also takes into account the weighing up of the possibility of resolution of the governing problem; that is,

- **the stabilisation of the sensemaking cycle**. This is the second element. Third, it takes into account

- the **nature of the process that delivered primary aims**. Finally, the way that all of these elements are presented to the valuer, matters.

Articulating the roles of MCTs in influencing value construction

How did MCTs act in all of this? This section describes how MCTs acted.

ON CONTENT OF MEANING CONSTRUCTION

MCTs draw attention to selected cues and supplies associated frames to encourage the making of particular beliefs, or types of beliefs. This is often done within prescribed dimensions. They may do so **by explaining** how those beliefs might be relevant to the valuer, thus appealing to his sense of reasonableness, or they may have a **mechanism** by which the valuer may choose to make the MCTs valuation more relevant to himself, for example, by allowing users to weight dimensions. Either of these **allows a better** match between what valuer is or becomes interested in, and what the MCT dimensions are about. MCTs may have features that **encourage** this accommodation to their espoused agenda, or they may be used by actors to actively make the case such accommodation.

Underpinning this, MCTs always **creates** co-presence between valuer and relevant cues and frames required for meaning construction. However, MCTs cannot act on their own, always requiring active epistemological effort on the

part of its user-recipient-audience to make the mental connections; for the making of belief, sensemakers have to imagine the belief that will come out of the connection.

MCTs, by their structured design and protocols, exude rationality, in the sense of orderliness. This connotes objectivity, and this in turn produces reasonableness. If an MCT is endorsed by national bodies, experts, or wide usage, they are usually taken to be reasonable and apparently objective. MCTs, by putting agenda points 'on the table', project transparency, or opens the possibility of accessibility. Some are more widely accessible to a broader audience than others, and enable broader and real engagement with the issues. MCTs can act as proxies of user capacity, or extend capacity. This can potentially empower users.

Attention and evaluation (in basic belief-making and meaning construction)
Consider the earlier description of how the evaluation belief proceeds in a process of value construction:

"This belief is not accepted as value or meaning until it is tested against observations of reality or against other trustworthy information. This testing happens iteratively until a satisfactory meaning is achieved. When this happens, a stable relationship exists between belief and the observation against which it is tested, and which lies in the realm of action. A value is also satisfactory when perceived benefit closely matches (or exceeds) expected benefit. Where no objective criteria exists, such as is in highly contested situations like 'public space', the notion of 'match' with criteria that are based in high level social norms or personal worldviews can be a way for assessing value."

MCTs most commonly help sensemakers determine whether the ideal beliefs about some quality of public space indeed form a stable cycle with the observations 'on the ground', and thus make the meaning acceptable. Or whether something (either belief or what is on the ground) needs to change.

MCTs **provide yardsticks** of what 'satisfactory' meaning or acceptable beliefs might be. These may be 'standards' (as in silver or gold in BfL), or simply a description of what is acceptable. MCTs tend to provide cues that stabilise their espoused beliefs, e.g. endorsements, appearing rational, appealing to technical evidence. By articulating these, MCTs highlight discrepancies between 'what is observed on the ground' and what are acceptable standards. In technical sensemaking terms, these yardsticks founded on meta-meanings rooted in reasonableness, fairness and so on. Note that They are usually contained within the wording or description of dimensions, sometimes within good practice cases, providing guidance on 'what to notice' on the ground, and giving clues about how to evaluate the observations.

MCTs enable attention and evaluation fairly, in the sense that they tend to enable accessibility to a wider audience and with varying levels of public engagement (not all MCTs are designed for public use). Nevertheless they undoubtedly make transparent key issues. However, this may mean that other issues of importance get ignored by particular tools; no single tool covers all governing concerns in public space.

By articulating agendas and the scope of valuation, MCTs set the scope of projection. By providing arenas for co-presence, MCTs enable the receipt of cues and possibly frames that help inform projection, for example, by interacting with other actors or reading MCT report, those actors' likely reactions and preferences can be known, or better estimated; in other words, **increasing** opportunities for meta-knowledge of others' preferences. MCTs can also aid projection of actual public space situations, by articulating the quality of proposals. Generally, MCTs extend the capacity of actors to project by pushing imagination further and increasing the cues and frames in play.

ON DYNAMICS AND CHANGE IN MEANING CONSTRUCTION

MCTs help **set out, articulate** and **make preferred meaning positions more attractive**. MCTs **amplify** both destabilisation and re-stabilisation. MCTs help destabilise existing cycles –they provide compelling ways to initiate sensemakng **through argument, manipulation and especially commitment**. MCTs affect argument by putting the terms of argument in place, through dimensions. MCTs affect manipulation by providing endorsed and trustworthy basis for acting, which are the effective meta-meanings to evaluate against. The very deployment of an MCT is often an act of manipulation: once the result of a widely accepted MCT is made public, it becomes difficult to ignore. Once actors have committed to MCT results, and even just to their deployment, they have effectively committed publicly to act on them. This can be compelling and often irreversible. MCTs, by being public by nature, **provide opportunities** for making decisions or positions irreversible. The meta-meanings for evaluating the relative attractiveness of an irreversible position are opposite of the rationales, for example, 'untrustworthiness' because one is going back on a promise.

MCTs thus helps re-stabilisation of their espoused by being clear and exuding cues of stability of cycle (for example, trustworthiness, objectivity, transparency, fairness), and by making alternative positions unattractive. In other words, they put in place frames of general 'sensible explanations' for sensemakers to evaluate the beliefs formed.

Projection and realisation (in dynamics and change in meaning)

As discussed earlier, MCTs extend the ability of actors to project. Projection is a first step in taking a public action, which then fixes new irreversible positions on the governing path. For example, through argument, other actors are invited to join in the projection of possible scenarios. If MCTs are the foundation of the argument, there is greater incentive for others to heed its message and join in the projection. Argument also puts new information into the public realm, upon which others may have to act, thus realising a public action, although there is no guarantee that that public action is what the arguer desired. Manipulation forces new projections, and almost directly

puts in place the condition of realisation, as once made real, other actors need to gravitate around the new state of things.

That MCTs act in such a variety of ways meant that only a shape of explanation that was mutually causal was able to explain all the observed functions. As discussed, the implications of such a shape of explanation are as follows:

- Empirical fidelity is no longer based on 'isomorphism between model and observation', but 'triangulated coherence between accounts of the same phenomenon arising from different sources, and from a range of theories'. This means 'match' and 'accommodating to' are important concepts, and MCTs have already been shown to **encourage** both of these: 'match' by **providing an attractive common agenda**, and **enabling** 'accommodation' by stabilising and making more attractive their own espoused positions. Accommodation is well-illustrated to affect the dynamics of change of meaning by the possibility of opportunity being led by situation or capacity.

- Agnosticism as to which of belief and action is cause and which is effect. This allows us to explain 'effect causing the cause' phenomenon such as the use of MCT results as evidence to 'post-justify' policy decisions, aka 'policy-based evidence', and how confidence can arise without prior proven capacity to deliver, but yet acting with confidence 'makes real' a capacity to deliver. MCTs, of course, are shown to **instil** confidence. MCTs can act on beliefs to cause actions, or actions to cause beliefs, causes to cause effects, effects to cause causes.

ON THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL, OR REQUIREMENTS IN THE REALM OF MEANING – SEEING THROUGH GLASS, DARKLY

No rational governing actions driven by cognitive motivations happen without (eventually) needing to be made sense of. All intentional actions are subject to the epistemological, or the realm of their meaning, and whether they meet sensemaker rationales. Control exerted over the epistemological has a major effect on the substantive content of communication. Sensemaking as a means of explaining how MCTS work, both focuses this level and provides

an opportunity to understand how influence may be exerted via it.

MCTs **enable its users** to operate more effectively at this epistemological level by fulfilling their epistemological need. For example, MCTs give the impression to users that their evidence is objective, reasonable, transparent, enabling fair access, without being truly so; indeed, it may never be possible to be truly so. MCTs do this without always making users aware that they are being naively realist, or necessarily increasing their epistemological awareness. However, because people do tend towards naïve realism and MCTs fulfil their epistemological needs, the results of MCTs and their espoused positions are very compelling. This is the mechanistic explanation for the success of MCTs.

As discussed elsewhere, MCTs extend actors' ability to project. This **attenuates** the feature / limitation of 'nowness' within any instance of sensemaking. It allows more effective overcoming of this barrier, by, for example, helping to increase meta-knowledge and increasing confidence in relational projections, that is, how others are likely to react. They also increase confidence in technical projections, by stabilising belief in its own results. As mentioned, MCTs get people acting on epistemological level, for example, causing distorting 'gaming' behaviours to 'manage results', yet without necessarily opening their cognitive eyes to being reflexive about what they are doing; people can do this effectively just through intuition. The lack of recognition of epistemological awareness has been a particular problem for researchers observing practice, but this has been recognised over the past two decades in a range of ways by authors such as Flyvjberg (1998, 2001), Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (2006).

To sum up:
- MCTs enable purchase and connection, without always allowing sensemaker the meta-meaning of 'awareness' regarding these purchases and connections. Indeed, this explains its success.

- MCTs encourage actors to act epistemologically without drawing attention to this fact, and so, MCTs do not call themselves into question, do not invite evaluation of themselves. They would fail to be effective communication and tools of persuasion, if they did.
- Consequently, MCTs encourage realisation of its own agenda through channels that are unevaluated and unnoticed.

This section discussed MCT functions according to the logic of where in the MCT-putting-in-place-headline-condition process does the MCT actually act? The following two ways further clarify how MCTs act. They are MCT impact in terms of:

- In each of result, process, description, on what type of knowledge / belief does MCT act? On knowledge about what? How does MCT act on hermeneutic meaning?
- In each of result, process, description, on which elements of sensemaking do MCTs act, and how they act? How does MCT act on semantic meaning?

7.3. Part 2: Empirical evidence: How MCTs work: belief and 'private' action

This sets out the empirical evidence along the lines set by the six conditions. Under each headline condition, the following major sections organise insights.

- Insights from the confrontation **data and theory** confirming headline conditions.
- Insights from **revisiting theory**, the reshaping of the model and enfolding literature are set out in clearly identified sections labelled variously, 'extending theory', 'sharpening theory', modifying theory' and so on.
- The **detailed requirements for conditions to occur** that result from the insights are described.

Purchase construct

<u>Results of the confrontation of data and theory</u>

The data revealed that MCTs enabled co-presence by providing an arena for co-presence, but also by encouraging awareness of possibilities of co-presence.

MCT provides arenas

MCTs' most obvious contribution to purchase is the provision of fair(er) access to relevant arenas. This could be an interactive arena such as a meeting or workshop, such as the Steering Groups or the facilitated three-way co-presence such as CSA Walks in SNA and SNE. At other times, 'arena' could simply mean that a sensemaker has access to a report concerning the issues, for example, the Housing Audit report in SND. These different arenas imply different dynamics of and indeed, possibility of connections made from purchase.

Why fair(er) access is important should be clear from the discussion about rationales in Chapter 5. 'Fairness of access' is a manifestation of 'morality' within a governing culture that values transparency. So manifestation of morality stabilises whatever meaning it applies to, which then promises a 'desirable solution state'.

MCT encouraged the awareness of the need for co-presence

The data also revealed that actors were aware of co-presence as a necessary condition for sensemaking.

KS 2 'Building the Bridge' demonstrated this well. A key officer who championed this project said of the CSA that it "revealed to (him) a need for a link that has been missing for 10 years…" (IN3 r AC3) " This was enabled by the conduct of the Walking Audit itself which is the key locus of co-presence at the heart of the CSA tool. KS 1 'Steering Group Action' showed how the Group that emerged out of the CSA reporting **established an arena for face-to-face co-presence** between stakeholders, and therefore between

sensemakers, and between other people's areas of concern. The formation of group directly changed the nature and level of 'purchase' actors had on other actors, and on issues. i.e. changed the relations between actors on cues and frames and their relations, ultimately. Even more generally across all MCTs, the core mechanism of MCT is declarative of what cues and frames ought to be taken into account when considering the object of evaluation. This declaration is made primarily via dimensions and is co-presence of both types. An illustration of this is KS6. The BfL is wielded, through the statutory planning system, to compel the co-presence of planning applicants and the cues and frames of 'good housing design'. The compulsion element is further strengthened by the knowledge of potential consequences, that is, the withholding of planning permission, if the standards are not met.

Extending theory: purchase as a condition / Accessibility

Purchase or co-presence does not seem to figure in the theory reviewed. Perhaps this had to do with its foundational and self-evident nature. So the construct of purchase was almost entirely gleaned from the data, especially where MCTs provided arenas for this. Purchase is a contribution of the present empirical analysis to the theoretical sensemaking model.

One issue that the data highlights is not simply purchase as co-presence, but the ability of all relevant stakeholders to engage with the issues in a fair manner. This is one point where the theory is not silent: procedural justice is important; "…fairness and justice perceptions are critical for group life" (Hogg 2010 p 1196). Indeed, this is a 'rationale' of why some meaning positions are attractive: because it was reached in a fair manner. The issue of fairness of the process and result recurs in different forms throughout the cases. MCTs can enable fairness in purchase enabling, not just access, but especially meaningful engagement by all relevant stakeholders, as evidenced in Key Stories 7 and 8. Because purchase is so foundational, enabling it is critical. MCTs do this by enabling not just co-presence, but encourage noticing of relevant cues, by the selection and design of dimensions, and also by controlling access to sensemaking arenas.

In the data, affecting fairness took various forms, from the wide-ranging and large sample data surveys of MTH (SNB) that ensured that everyone had a voice, to the open access of public meetings or Steering Groups organised to decide how to act on MCT findings (SNA, SNE). The latter is whether those stakeholders can then meaningfully and efficaciously contribute to the sensemaking that takes place, ultimately, public sensemaking, affecting public actions. For example, a confrontation in a Steering Group in SNE regarding the validity of contributions made by non-professional members resulted in the following episode: "And we were on a Steering Group, (so) we've got to have equal say... what's the point of this (programme and Steering Group) unless you stick to what is said, we would have wasted all our time. And that argument they had to acknowledge straight away…" (IN32 r AC5).

CONCLUSION FROM INSIGHTS ABOUT MCT CONTRIBUTION

MCTs can affect **'purchase'** by providing **arenas** so that fair co-presence can take place between sensemakers and the issues of concern, whether those issues are communicated by a report, an observation or other actors.

Resulting requirements for this condition to happen

From this analysis, one requirement for the meeting of the condition of 'purchase' could be surmised.

REQUIREMENT 1: CO-PRESENCE

'Co-presence' means the co-presence of sensemaker with relevant cues and frames.

REQUIREMENT 1A: ACCESSIBILITY: CAPACITY AND SUFFICIENT INTEREST (I.E. IMPETUS) TO BE CO-PRESENT

This includes the political capacity to access the arena of meaning-making. We see the importance of this in SNA (access of officers to the knowledge that a bridge was required) and SNE (access of local people to detailed deliberations about the state of their streets).

Connection construct

The data refines the conceptualisation of the connection construct found in theory. It:

- Confirms that connection is required for belief, but demonstrates that a further requirement of imaginability seems to be required for belief to happen. It further suggests that an idea of a truly engaging of cue and frame, a juxtaposition, is required to fully describe connection.
- Demonstrates that connection is therefore required for private action or the evaluation of belief in at least two ways: because it helps enable belief, and because it is also the mechanism for the creation of meta-belief, which is the frame for that evaluation. Examples of meta-beliefs are those rationales found in theory.
- Demonstrates that connection is also required for public action in two ways: as foundation for evaluated belief upon which public action is based, and as the basic mechanism for the creation of meta-belief, which is the frame for evaluating the potential success of the public action: realisability. Suggests that public actions are always based in part on projected beliefs.

Connection is the basic building block for all belief which in turn is required for evaluating, which then form meanings. 'All' belief includes primary beliefs which here would be regarding issues of public space, and meta-beliefs. There are two types of meta-beliefs. The first is those which are beliefs about primary meanings, and which dictate whether a particular primary meaning is acceptable or not. These meta-beliefs form the 'frames' to primary cues, and what frames are fairly widely accepted benchmarks have been discussed in Chapter 5. The second is those meta-beliefs that are about the possibility of particular situations occurring, a particular desirable meaning state being achieved. This type of meta-meaning is particularly important when it comes to assessing the realisability of a public action.

<u>Results of the confrontation of data and theory</u>

MCTs control arenas

Different **protocols and arena structures** bring cues and frames into contact differently. For example, in SNE, compared to a DIY guide to the CSA, facilitators in Walk situation have quite a lot of interactive control over, not only what cues and frames are connectable, but the dynamics of the connection, and what the implications of that connection might be, and therefore what beliefs and actions actually result. In Key Story 2 'Building the Bridge', all it took for relevance to be constructed was the CSA to enable purchase and exposure to cues of 'dangerous crossing' to officers who had the interest and capacity to make a difference. The conduct of the MTH survey and consultation in SNB is an example of where a MCT provided purchase between relevant opinions from multiple respondents and the sensemakers in the MTH group, enabling co-presence and indeed, the capacity to notice between information-seekers (the MTH Group and local authority) and the source of relevant opinions.

Some arenas also facilitated actor-actor purchase, and interaction, and therefore multi-way communication and receipt takes place. This creates rapid cycles of sensemaking, in which trajectories of belief and sense will be altered, but control is not easy to maintain, as suggested by the stories in SNA and SNE. This is why careful attention is paid to who has access to such arenas (SNA, SNE) especially if access could mean dramatic shifts in trajectories which may not be desired by those wishing to control it.

MCTs as proxy

Two further related insights arise at this point: The first idea is that MCTs can act as proxies. Connections may be made either **directly** by observation or experience, or **indirectly**, by receiving communication from other people. MCTs can help connections **directly,** for example, through sensemaker training, or by acting as a **proxy** that help actors with limited capacity. The application of benchmarks is a publicly acknowledge frame. These MCT functions can be seen as one way to deal with the complexity and equivocality of information common in public space. In relinquishing connection-making to MCT or to a facilitator, sensemakers have belief constructed on their behalf by the MCTs. Actors are happy to do this

because MCTs or facilitators deploying them are variously seen as, for example, being 'trustworthy' (SNA, SNE), 'credible' (SND, SNE), 'expedient' for reaching a stable cycle because it is a pre-agreed standard (SND), reduces equivocality (SNA) and seems 'reasonable' (SNB). All of these can be seen as 'rationales' of the attraction of particular meanings.

MCTs and cues, frames, actions and evaluability of meta-meaning

So the second insight is that MCTs provide plenty of cues for meta-meanings of trustworthiness and credibility for example. Meta-meanings are the role these 'rationales' play. We see that this works when actors 'like BfL because CABE is involved' (SND), or when the CSA facilitators, ".., I've even seen them on the box down in London giving opinions…" (IN32 r AC5, in Key Story 7 'Learning and relationship building in interactive arena').

Extending theory: MCT and imaginability: The impetus and capacity to see the value of a cue-frame connection, the situational possibility of connection

The data shows that MCTs help sensemakers **articulate their pasts or futures in the present of the moment of belief construction**, making those considerations count 'now'. In Key Story 6 the case made for the adoption of BfL in SND and in Key Story 5 the innovations juxtaposing data of different formats in Capital Standards Cluster Groups in SNE, it is clear that sensemakers are invited to deploy non-present, that is projected, cues to make sense with. The condition of 'connection' comes about when cue and frame are sufficiently articulated, even if that is not very well.

Capacity apart, there must be a desire and effort to articulate. 'Imaginability' is a combination of the **capacity to articulate and the effort taken by sensemakers to articulate.** It is a basic condition for intentional action or at least, for making sense of that action afterwards. It applies not just to the imaginability of the acceptability of belief but also to the imaginability of the stability of the belief action cycle, to which the presence of 'rationale' meta-meanings can contribute.

CONCLUSION FROM INSIGHTS ABOUT MCT CONTRIBUTION

The data confirms that MCTs act on **connection** by providing sensemakers purchase on the cues and frames of those issues, which are **the elements to be juxtaposed**, but they also increase actors' capacity to articulate those cues and frames, to self and others. In other words, they **enable imaginability** that makes juxtaposition happen. MCTs can do this in a number of ways, including through **controlling arenas** of co-presence, training, by acting as **proxies for that capacity** by making connections on behalf of actors with insufficient capacity. This last is made possible by the **MCT influencing meta-meanings** within the governing situation, that make actors willing to relinquish sensemaking control.

So, the extended theoretical model says that the efficacious juxtaposition of cue and frame, and the possibility of imagining the resulting beliefs are the detailed requirements for belief to form. The data demonstrates connections for primary and meta-beliefs.

With regard to the construct of juxtaposition, MCTs become **proxies** of sense. Being trusted and apparently objective, they distil and package complex, indeterminate and protracted sensemaking processes into efficient, economic 'ready-made sense' that can be accounted for, based on trusted expertise and are therefore stable and attractive. Sensemaking is 'outsourced', sensemakers relinquish responsibility for beliefs, similar to how the followers of leaders in organisations relinquish strategic or normative decisions to those leaders, as characterised by Smircich and Morgan (1982).

With regard to the construct of imaginability, the data shows how MCTs help sensemakers articulate their pasts or futures to be deployed as frames in the present of the moment of evaluation. It is sensemakers who have to ultimately do the articulating and this action involves imaginative juxtaposing, so the two constructs are really inseparable in practice; it is imaginability of what is possible, what is "thinkable" (Elcheroth et al 2011, Weick 1995) that provides the impetus to make the connections.

The fact that the mechanism of connection applies to all meaning, primary or meta, and that MCTs can influence all types of meanings show how subtle but foundational their functions are in 'connection', let alone all the other steps in the cycle. Bringing together this insight into the critical role of meta-meaning in controlling what interests happen with that of the interpretivist concept of local rationality (Bevir 2010) allows a more sophisticated (c.f. Lincoln and Guba 1989) conceptualisation of the goal of governing in sensemaking terms.

Resulting requirements for this condition to happen[24]

From this analysis, two requirements for the meeting of the condition of 'connection' could be surmised.

REQUIREMENT 2: CUE + FRAME JUXTAPOSITION

The data is clear that cue-frame juxtapositions occur all the time, for both primary and meta meanings.

MCTs provide elements to be juxtaposed. The CSA set out dimensions, a pre-connected set of cues and frames, of a good walking environment, but further detailed juxtapositions around the Audit Walks were enabled by expert facilitation. For example, "footpaths, you have to have dropped curves. Fairly obvious, but it was the way in which they approached it that was different from the standards way that the council approached it. And the way they explained, this needs to have a slight curve on it to prevent a runaway situation with a wheelchair – ah" (IN32 r AC5). The facilitators "... highlighted stuff that would never have crossed our minds at all" (IN32 r

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[24] It is argued below that 'belief can only be constructed if sensemaker is engaged, that is, attention is paid, however cursorily'. So the condition of 'attention' should strictly be required for the formulation of belief. However, belief here is defined as synonymous to 'unevaluated information' rather than 'interests evaluated for relevance'. The formulation of 'interests' not only involves not only juxtaposition and connection of cues and frames, but the evaluation of how acceptable and stable the beliefs are when tested against observation or action in the world. 'Interests' is to subjective values, what 'belief' is to objective facts.

AC5). In contrast, the MTH was unusual in that it did not prescribe particular dimensions. In SNB, a pre-Healthcheck consultation was conducted to choose 'survey questions' which worked in the same way as dimensions. The LEQS' dimensions were numerous (216), and concerned cues and frames related to signs of local environmental quality. Frames are always applied by trained surveyors. Finally, the BfL set out dimensions for good residential development design. These were backed up by detailed description of each of these qualities, and case studies to explain what cues and frames were sought to be juxtaposed.

REQUIREMENT 3: IMAGINABILITY: CAPACITY AND SUFFICIENT INTEREST (I.E. IMPETUS) TO FORM BELIEFS

Imaginability is a requirement for the condition of 'connection' resulting from the confrontation of data and theory. If something is to be imagined by a sensemaker, that sensemaker must have sufficient capacity and interest to consider the possible belief. A good illustration of imaginability being created is in SNE, where local residents described their new ability to consider and decide on the colour of their benches; the CSA 'training' was credited with providing the bases for imagining what was attractive in the public realm: "We … said, no, this is going to look awful, black is so out of fashion, green is a lighter colour, looks user friendly – so they did…. What a different it made. That's another thing we learnt from (the audit), it was the colour and texture that made all the difference" (IN32 r AC5).

Attention construct

The data highlights the need for attention as a construct, strictly defined as 'sufficient attention to trigger a change in trajectory'. It shows that while attention is necessary for both belief and for the private action of evaluating that belief, the construct of attention strictly means sufficient attention, or noticing, for triggering the destabilisation of trajectory. This in turn involves the evaluation at least in private if not in public, of beliefs formulated previously, and finding that they have **qualities that might be worth changing direction for.**

Results of the confrontation of data and theory

Noticing or paying attention is set off by cues that speak of complexity, turbulence and equivocality, any or all of which need to be underpinned by a discrepancy between present and envisaged state of affairs (Weick 1995).

MCTs control arenas

MCTs can provide arenas in which attention can be aroused, for example in the CSA Audit Walks, or even simply the reading of a MCT report. MCTs may be effective even if arenas are not necessarily recognised as being means of overt communication. The asking of a question is as much a statement of interest in the issue, as it is fact-finding. One example in Key Story 2, was the 'survey' of opinions about the building of the bridge following up a CSA Audit. This survey essentially communicated an issue, not just simply collected information. In other words, arenas can be neutral and allow multi-lateral communications, some types of arenas more than others.

Through arenas, MCTs can also **enable juxtaposing cues and frames** for meanings that equal discrepancy, complexity, turbulence, equivocality and novelty. Any of these qualities are triggers. Protocols, arenas and dimensions are structured to aid instruction of learners. Said one local resident in Key Story 7, about what CSA brought to his attention: "I ve lived here for 56 years, and when you look down the street, well you just never thought about these things. But when he highlighted. Oh yah, it looks awful" (IN32 r AC5). Like dimensions, overall benchmarks in the form of standards, and particularly if the basis of rewards or sanctions, can be effective in drawing attention due to their extreme succinctness. Example of such aggregating and simplifying reporting is seen in the reaction to the national Housing Audit based on BfL. "The CABE Housing Audit (based on BfL) found that 70-80% of the housing schemes built in the past 3 years in (the region) were 'poor'" (IN8 r AC2). This was cited as a key reason for moves to adopt BfL as one measure to help improve quality.

Consider also the example discussed earlier regarding facilitator-led versus DIY CSA Audit Walk. Facilitators will be able to much better control what

cognitive triggers come into play for noticing cues, for example, and be responsive to what is on the ground in each specific instance, rather than the general guidance provided by printed documents, however thorough. With facilitators, there is the much higher possibility of ensuring situation-specific relevance quickly. They can influence, if not control, the cues noticed and frames applied, so there an almost guaranteed leap to condition of interest (because relevant discrepancy noticed guaranteed) and ensuring the 'right' interests come about, by being able to control explanations, stability and ensuring that capacity of sensemakers to apply THE relevant frames for constructed beliefs. They can do this, for example, by being able to react to situation-specific detail.

However, the arena, here facilitated, is only one way by which MCTs enable relevant meta-meanings to apply. Other means of making connections relevant that MCTs can apply to frames for meta-meanings as well as for primary meaning. These include arenas, protocols, rewards, sanctions and relationships. They refer to different mechanisms of making relevant which speak to different basic social psychological needs: to belong, to conform, to be consistent, to be self-efficacious and emotionally positive.

MCTs encourage inter-actor relationships that can guide noticing

New relationships with other actors can also provide the impetus or knowledge to take notice. MCTs enable relationships most obviously by setting up arenas, such as Steering Groups or public meetings, in which actors interact and simultaneous purchase of actors on other actors, and of all actors on issues take place. This could immediately affect the group dynamics, as actors are aware of what other actors are aware of.

In SND for example, planning applicants understand the seriousness with which planning authority takes the BfL, the officers are satisfied that planning applicants were at least informed. In the case of SNE, beyond the initiation of the Steering Group, it was no longer the CSA but direct participation in the Group that enabled purchase on matters, as communication highlighted

cues. This was evidenced by the fact that alliances were formed to advocate positions that were, in fact, contrary to CSA recommendations.

MCTs affect capacity to notice

MCTs affect capacity to notice. MCTs **make triggers visible** by providing purchase, as given by the example of Key Story 1, and officers being able to see the problem for the first time.

MCTs causes noticing by **making imaginable** the relevant discrepancy and its consequences, by simply deploying dimensions set out in a **language understood** by the stakeholders. This triggers noticing when the meaning is discrepant. These ready-connected cue-frame packages draw attention by promising to reduce perceived complexity, equivocality and turbulence. They can also introduce novelty, by pointing to new ideas. For example, in Key Story 3 the MTH offered an opportunity for local authority actors to address a **discrepancy** between what is (vocal dissenters blocking action) to what could be (vocal dissenters no longer able to block action). This opportunity immediately grabbed the interest of the local authority actors as it was novel and destabilising by promising to improve the situation.

Chicken-or-egg: Noticing or connection first?

As already discussed the logical sequence between the connection and noticing   constructs may be described as 'chicken-or-egg': while the cyclical model suggests that attention can only be known if the primary meaning has been evaluated and determined to some extent, in practice, many micro iterations of conjecture-test occurs so that co-presence, noticing and taking an interest cannot always be sequenced clearly and mutually shape each other. Sensemaking recognises that beliefs and actions accommodate to each other in the interest of reaching a sensible state quickly (Weick 1995). The data suggests noticing may be inadvertent, and only acknowledged once sense becomes more established, for example, in SNE and SNA.

Attention itself may build up through iterations of conjectural cue-frame connections and 'tests' of those connections, possibly through some form of

action, as the cycle in search of interests seek stability. This may happen during a negotiative process, such as those observed in Key Stories 2 and 8). It is those issues of interest that survive and are refined by this process will be relevant to those stakeholders involved in the process, eventually being established as interests.

MCTs highlight (ir)relevance of the issues at hand, and enables the application of local rationality

When talking of making sense as the evaluability of a belief, the frame being used to evaluate the belief must be relevant to the sensemaker; that is, it must matter. MCTs can be a tool to make an issue relevant, for example, where its results are associated with rewards or sanctions, as how BfL was to be deployed in SND.

There was some evidence where MCTs were deployed in ways where its purpose and relevance was not made clear. The data showed that participants had not understood the relevance, and some stakeholders I interviewed were even more irate than this: "I was a little annoyed at that time. I don't want to put this in the report. My feeling was that he was a little bit too much designing the space already although in my view, it was consultation exercise for people to talk about their concerns and ideas, not so much for him to say what he thinks it should be. I was going to send a letter about it" (IN36).

On the other hand, the realisation of relevance was powerful, almost like a religious conversion experience as the sensemaker was able to suddenly imagine the consequences of good design: "I come from a technical background, and I was very cynical - I was a building surveyor by trade, and I was very cynical when I first read (the twenty BfL questions) on the basis that I couldn't really understand – they were very subjective – I couldn't really understand how you could get something meaningful out of those 20 questions. But I seem to have 'seen the light', I am a believer. I don't know if that's a good thing or a bad thing really! I'm wholeheartedly a promoter and

firmly believe in the 20 questions. There is possibly some scope for tweaking and improving, as you get a it of momentum with it, as you see that there is… everything changes and needs to be kept up to date, and whether fine-tuning is needed, only time will tell… I m a believer now, I can understand and see the benefits of the BfL criteria" (IN18).

This resonates with the sharpening of the definition 'belief' versus that of 'meaning' already introduced: belief (as defined in this research) is general, whereas meaning is 'local' in the sense of being situation-specific. This is the differentiation that became obvious in the data, and a link to Bevir's (2010) insistence on local rationality becomes clear. A test of relevance is a test of a belief against local, not universal rationality. This will be discussed further below.

Sharpening theory: 'Relevance' suggests that local rationalities should be the basis of the meta-meaning necessary to explain sensemaking in public space governing situations

The theoretical implications of the important of 'relevance' are played out in the distinction between belief (as defined in this research) and meaning where belief is general, whereas meaning specific. They also resonate with the insistence of those who advocate an interpretivist-constructivist approach to the social sciences, that questions involving diverse preferences of actors are most usefully understood using local rather than universal rationalities.

Useful knowledge about the sensemaking of multiple diverse stakeholders, whether held by practitioners or resulting from research projects such as this one, requires a frame, or meta-meanings, that can produce hermeneutic, not just semantic meanings, as defined by Bevir (1999); that is, meaning associated with substantive content of a situation, not simply the structure of it. Given the diversity and complexity of public space interactions, general frames are destined to be applicable only at a high level of abstraction, which may have limited usefulness in addressing what are essentially complex *political as opposed to mainly technical problems*, in the interest of governing public space. Instead, it is the idea of local or situation-specific rationalities

(Bevir 2010) or, as Hauser (1998) describes, vernacular, that best maximises relevance of such knowledge to both sensemaker and situation. Meanwhile, the implication for our theoretical model is that the definition of meaning as 'evaluated belief' still holds, except that one necessary dimension with which to test belief is that of 'specificity of the belief to the situation'; in other words, relevance. As will be discussed, the idea of 'right type of capacity' and 'right opportunity' are also two conditions for realisation of the 'public action' step in the sensemaking cycle, are related to sensemaker and situation respectively.

Confirming theory: The mechanics of noticing resonates across theoretical literatures

The theoretical model says that the construct of attention should be defined as noticing relevant discrepancy. The theoretical constructs are confirmed and extended by the data.

With regard to the construct of 'relevant discrepancy', MCTs call attention to issues by making discrepancies relevant, visible and imaginable, here and now. The data showed us different ways in which MCTs enable the noticing of relevant discrepancies. This is what creates the moments of salience (Kingdon 1984 in Mucciaroni 1992), or the bracketing of the flow of experience (Weick 1995). With regard to the construct of 'noticing', the data showed how MCTs enable noticing by destabilising the sensemaking cycle through affecting equivocality, complexity, turbulence or novelty, underpinned by discrepancy.

The range of ways in which MCTs influence attention (and the evaluation or interest formation construct) resonates with a range of literature. Healey et al (1999, 2003) for example, in institutional analyses of urban planning, discussed 'institutional arenas' in which MCTs make relevant discrepancies visible. Protocols that enable juxtaposition find antecedents in the literature on for example, Weick's (1995) vocabularies of organisational sensemaking, which, he argues, contain the particular substantive content for sensemaking and I would argue, provide the basis of successful protocols. These may be

frames, cues or ways that frames and cues connect. How cues and frames connect may be informed by Weick's (1995) concept of vocabularies. In organisations, he identified, for example: 'ideology' or 'vocabularies of society', 'third-order controls' or 'vocabularies of organization', 'paradigms' or 'vocabularies of work', 'theories of action' or 'vocabularies of coping', 'traditions' or 'vocabularies of

CONCLUSION FROM INSIGHTS ABOUT MCT CONTRIBUTION

MCTs affect **attention paid by sensemakers** by impacting on their definitions of **relevant discrepancy** and their ability notice them. They provide arenas to make possible connections visible. They enable relationships that guide noticing. They provide protocols to juxtapose cues and frames. They provide rewards to incentivise particular connections, or sanctions to discourage others.
predecessors', and 'stories' or 'vocabularies of sequence and experience'.

(Meta-meaning is a key mechanism)

Relevance and discrepancy, and relevant discrepancies are meta-meanings. MCTs are able to influence these and therefore whether actors judge an issue to be discrepant, or relevant or not, that is, what issues matter. Influence on meanings or meta-meanings can come about from affecting different aspects of the sensemakng cycle and the empirical evidence so far, has demonstrated this.

Resulting requirements for this condition to happen

From this analysis, two requirements for the meeting of the condition of 'attention' could be surmised.

REQUIREMENT 4: RELEVANT AND REQUIREMENT 4A: DISCREPANCY

The theorisation in Chapter 3 would see an expectation of MCTs to make discrepancies relevant, as well as visible and / or imaginable. The data demonstrated a rich set of ways in which MCTs achieved this. Generally, data showed that relevance can be articulated or created. This had to be underpinned by a discrepancy which was stable, and which the MCT helped to make imaginable and relevant.

REQUIREMENT 5: VISIBILITY: CAPACITY AND SUFFICIENT INTEREST (I.E. IMPETUS) TO PAY ATTENTION

Visibility is about whether a cue (which must already be imaginable, discrepant and relevant) is sufficiently visible and communicates the relevance and discrepancy for attention to be paid. An illustration can be found in SNE, where local residents admitted they had never thought of cues of pedestrian environment quality in the way that the CSA set out; CSA had effectively made long-existing qualities noticeable to them.

Evaluation (Interests formulated) construct: Discussion: theory + data coming together?

Note: This construct was earlier referred to as 'interests' but the tidying up of the categories by which to label constructs has led this to be retitled 'evaluation' in line with the noun describing the critical cognitive action that characterises this condition.

Interests are an artefact of the logical progression from purchase to connection / attention through to the evaluation of resulting belief against observation, so many of the ways in which MCTs can affect them have been rehearsed previously in respective sections. Through all of the above, MCTs affect what **interests** are constructed. At this point, however, MCTs have points of influence on conditions directly affecting the evaluation that produces interests. Since the establishing of interests require acceptable and stable meanings, MCTs increase acceptability by recourse to identified rationales that satisfy the deep psychological need for a stable self-image (Weick 1995). MCTs also affect the dynamics of the sensemaking cycle, (de)stabilising it by providing relevant meta-meanings / rationales about its own output, such as 'trustworthiness' or 'credibility'. Finally, MCTs enable all of this by enabling a capacity to evaluate, and also provide the frames with which to test with.

Results of the confrontation of data and theory

MCTs AND META-MEANINGS: THE CENTRALITY OF META-MEANINGS AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL AWARENESS

At this point, the nature of the cycle needs to go from being private to public. The concept of meta-meaning arose in the data and concluded the discussion of how the data elaborated the 'building block' constructs for sensemaking (namely, purchase, connection, attention and evaluation), and links what is effectively the small inner private cycle of the model with the large outer public cycle.

MCTs influence what meta-meanings are allowed to apply to the purposive shaping of primary meanings. Meta-meanings are simply meanings about meanings. A theme running through the preceding discussion on theory-data confrontation is just how central a concept 'meta-meaning' is, as they control what primary meanings result. Since meta-meanings are also a type of meaning, all the mechanics that apply to meaning construction also apply to them. So, MCTs influence meta-meanings through the same mechanisms discussed above: by influencing, within the meta-sensemaking cycles, purchase, juxtaposition, imaginability, relevance and visibility.

EXTENDING THEORY: THE NATURE OF META-MEANINGS

So, the theoretical constructs were confirmed and elaborated by the data. In short, it is all about meta-meanings. With regard theoretical precedents, while there is a resemblance between Elcheroth et al's (2011) idea of 'meta-knowledge' and the idea of meta-meaning discussed here. However, meta-meaning is broader than meta-knowledge. Whereas meta-knowledge was defined as knowledge about other actors' knowledge, meta-meaning is the meaning regarding the desirability of any primary belief position regarding public space, regardless of who holds it.

The more important implications of meta-meanings on theory are these:
1. First there are many levels of meta-meanings

2. Second, what then, is the implication for the rationales suggested by theory in Chapter 5?

MANY NESTED LEVELS OF META-MEANINGS ARE IN PLAY, ALL OF WHICH CAN BE INFLUENCED IN GOVERNANCE AND BY MCTS, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY

A closer consideration of exactly what element MCTs impact upon in the cycle or processes of sensemaking reveals that not only is meta-meaning central, but that there are **several different nested levels of meta-meaning**. By this is meant that if meta-meanings are meanings about primary meanings, then meta-meta-meanings are meanings about meta-meanings and so on. Just considering Key Story 2 for a moment: the primary meaning is whether a bridge should be built. To change that meaning, officers managed to influence the primary meanings held by the relevant stakeholders to shift from 'No, do not build. We do not want anti-social elements crossing it to come over here' to 'Yes, build. We do not want school children drowning on the way to school'. The meta-meanings here concern anti-social behaviour, but then are changed to a concern for children's safety. In turn, both these positions are themselves assessed against widely held high level beliefs. Initially, this was a concern for their own safety from anti-social behaviour, and then in the latter position, it was a widely held ethical principle in society that children should be protected. In this case, the latter was more highly valued than the former. At the ultimate level of meta-meaning, the explanation does indeed lie with two rationales found in the literature; the first, fear, are seen to be reasonable and emotional. Fear, after all, is the lack of trust in other people, and so is a third rationale. The second rationale for why protecting children was important lies with the explanation of morality.

So it is clear that, at the level of primary meaning, the CSA directly revealed the problem. However, the trustworthiness of the CSA was itself a meaning upon which a relatively stable point – the bridge is necessary – was founded; the CSA acted indirectly. This position was sufficiently stable for officers to at least request the further survey whose results further fixed that position; without the CSA's credibility, it may not have been possible to request the

further survey. The survey then got the position 'build bridge' even more fixed by drawing upon the meta-knowledge of what respondents were likely to say and appealing to a strongly held principle; that is, officers predicted correctly that few people would say 'let the kids drown'.

EXTENDING THEORY: EPISTEMOLOGICAL AWARENESS

The sequence of decisions and actions taken by officers in Key Story 2 is the clearest illustration of how sensemaking can be the basis for understanding how a governance situation plays out and how an MCT worked in it. It also calls to attention that the officers involved had acute insight into the positions of other actors, and were able to assess their capacity and opportunity to move the governing path to a position they valued. So, where there are multiple stakeholders, or multi-lateral negotiations, **epistemological awareness** is the basis of a sensemaker's ability to deal with meta-meanings.

'**Epistemological awareness**' can be defined here as the awareness of how we or other people come to hold the beliefs we or they do. According to the data epistemological awareness may include awareness of:

- Our own and others' meta-meanings how they are formed
- what Elcheroth et al (2011) called meta knowledge – knowledge of others' interest positions, including the knowledge of others' knowledge of ourselves
- how to possibly influence those to come to a public result that provides ourselves with satisfactory meta-meanings.

Epistemological awareness established as pertinent concept for shared sensemaking

The concept of epistemological awareness is particularly important in this research because of the need to explore the relationship between the private sphere and public actions, and how private preferences are translated, or not, into public actions in a multi-stakeholder governing situation. Put another way, it is particularly pertinent in governing once there are multiple actors who can influence both outcomes and each other. In other words, where

there is interdependence in sensemaker relations (De Dreu 2010). Public action always has implications for the state of interdependence because it hints, if not tells us what about how others value the object of governance, and how they value us. As discussed earlier, "… the critical factor in what we do is… what we think others are thinking…. we need to pay as much attention to meta-knowledge… as to simple knowledge" (Elcheroth et al 2011 p733). All of this influences what we / they think we / they should do, and so, how we / they act. **The valuation of others' meaning positions and ability to act in relation to ourselves and our goals itself can be captured in the construct of epistemological awareness**. But awareness of what? Of those conditions that can enable or disable public action, ultimately, namely, interests, capacity and opportunity, and their relative values. Interests has been discussed above, so the following section on awareness discusses capacity, opportunity and the relations between them and interests, and very importantly, valuations of each of them by the relevant sensemakers. In understanding what combinations matter, the epistemological awareness of interests, capacity and opportunity are potentially a lever of major influence over outcomes. That is, epistemological awareness of meta-meanings is central to explaining the realisability and realisation of public actions.

The subsequent sections on realisability and realisation, the two conditions for public action, reports on the data more as the result of theory built, rather than the (dis)confirmatory tone of the preceding discussion. This is because less was known about how sensemaking can explain inter-sensemaker relations for the public's, rather than for the individual's sake.

EXTENDING THEORY: MCTS AND EVALUABILITY: THE IMPETUS AND CAPACITY TO SEE THE VALUE OF A BELIEF-ACTION RELATING, THE SITUATIONAL POSSIBILITY OF RELATING: THE POSSIBILITY OF 'RELATING' (FOLLETT 1924, IN WEICK 1995)

'Imaginability', discussed under connection above, relates to the capacity and effort of sensemakers to juxtapose cue and frame to make primary belief, is one ingredient of the ability to test, the other is the capacity to perceive and influence the very dynamics that enables evaluation. So **'evaluability' is both the capacity to deploy frames to evaluate, but also**

the effort put in by sensemakers to do so. 'Relating' is therefore a sort of juxtaposition, just as connection is, but one that will lead to the determination of meaning, not simply belief.

The preceding discussion dealt with how MCTs provided relevant frames for testing primary meanings for acceptability and stability. For this to happen, actors must have the capacity to deploy the frames to test them. One ingredient in this is epistemological awareness, as discussed. However, as there is in 'imaginability', there is a need also for sensemakers to take action. In this case, this refers to the 'action-in-order-to-relate' beliefs with actions that test them.

MCTs help provide the meta-belief to evaluate against: evaluation after all, involves a further 'meta-meta-cycle' that produces meta-meta-meaning, which is then deployed as frames in the meta-cycle, to make beliefs about the primary meaning.

MCTs help to enable evaluability in the following ways:
- It may help **provide impetus** to deploy frames for example, through (dis) incentivisation, where MCT associated are with incentives
- They **remove or shape some of these constraints** that disable evaluation, by providing sensemakers with 'ready-made' meta-meanings, and with **opportunity** and **capacity** to evaluate. There are any number of ways this happens, for example, by changing the capacity or opportunity to meta-meanings as frames – that is to create or use meta or meta-meta belief or meta-meta-meta beliefs all the way up the nested chain (at its very ultimate end, we only really have belief!)

IMPLICATIONS FOR RATIONALES WHICH ARE SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT OF META-MEANINGS OR FACTORS EXPLAINING INTERESTS POSITIONS. ATTRACTIVE META-MEANINGS DICTATE WHAT ARE ACCEPTABLE BELIEFS REGARDING SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT OR PROCESS

As discussed in Chapter 5, rationales are types of rationales found in the literature that give an intention-driven account for why actors make particular decisions or take particular courses of action. They are meta-meanings that

are associated with categories of common attractive fixed points in a sensemaking trajectory. Fixed points are in turn, fixed, because they are associated with attractive meanings themselves. The data does not explore the tradeoff between rationales, or rationales; it merely confirms the plausibility of these rationales as sensible. The theoretical model says that interests are precipitated when beliefs evaluated approach a state that is ultimately judged acceptable based on the need for stable self image (Weick 1995), which are then manifested as self-enhancement, self-consistency and self-efficacy.

Reasonableness of process and result

In Chapter 5, reasonableness was a widely recognised attractive position. The data demonstrated in some stories that some 'reasons' are widely shared, for example, the relative unanimity of respondents to the question of children being jeopardised by the lack of a bridge in Key Story 2, However, there were also many instances what was reasonable was not agreed amongst the range of stakeholders, for example, in Key Story (LEQS) regarding performance reporting standards. However, even when there were disagreements about the value of a particular primary meaning position, reasonableness is a persuasive appeal, even for those who do not agree. For example, the commitment to pay serious attention to all members of the Steering Group in Key Story 8 meant that reasonableness prevailed.

Data and reasonableness

The data demonstrated what MCTs did to increase the level of reasonableness between stakeholders, primarily by putting values via its own dimensions forward as being reasonable. They increase chances of a meta-valuation of reasonableness by helping actors assess reasonableness directly. Since explicit dimensions provided by MCTs are comprehensible and therefore more easily assessed for coherence or credibility, this satisfies the **psychological tendency for people to seek 'self-efficacy'** (Weick 1995). BfL and CSA, for example, have explained dimensions, facilitated workshops, or case studies to explain their logics, while enabling users to directly engage in the reasoning behind the findings. BfL has a "crisp set of

criteria to evaluate things against, which I think is just about manageable in members' minds. Just about grasp the all in your head, almost" (IN12 r Ac1).

Orderliness appears to be a cue of reasonableness. "It helps in that there is an "organised", 20 questions – "specific topics to be addressed, highlights topics" (IN7 r AC1). Further, since we are all inculturated into the type of consistency and efficacy that is demonstrated by the dominant language of numbers, we all tend to see anything expressed numerically as being more reasonable. The more reasonable something looks based on the cues above, and others, the more likely we are to assume that it is acceptable and stable. Part of the appeal of MCTs is because they LOOK orderly and coherent.

'Reasonableness' is also surmised by stakeholders **based on others' judgments on the issues, the MCT-as-proxy** situation discussed earlier. MCTs were noted as being widely used and accepted means of making similar assessments. For example, the MTH "has been used by other towns and it's (part) of a 'health check movement" (IN38 r Ac1).This type of reasoning is strengthened when the MCT is endorsed by national bodies or acknowledge experts.

MCTs are 'clever' because they actually deal with local rationalities (Hauser 1998, Bevir 2010) by the back door by allowed controlled interpretation through facilitation or training sessions that often provide explanations for the cue-frame connection in the first place, and which steer sensemakers to a favourable evaluation.

The **perceived soundness** of method is an important way in which MCTs project 'reasonableness'. This was well-understood by the MTH users: '…it's through the health check process you've got an opportunity to carry out your own consultation in a methodology that is recognised, tried and tested.'" (IN38 r AC1). The very fact that MCTs provide a systematic and apparently rational way to approach a complex issues makes it more acceptable, and its

recommendations more attractive: "… the fact that it is a methodology... it gives structure…" (IN38 r AC1).

Finally, 'reasonableness' of MCT results seem to be based on the **practical advantages** provided by them. For example, MCTs are a **relatively efficient way** of meeting multiple needs and values of multiple actors. In a governance situation, they become rather effective bases for discussions because many stakeholders think the MCT is a reasonable agenda. This enables positive interactivity. MCTs helped stakeholders to agree with each other, providing a basis of shared 'rationality' which will then be coherent. The CSA "gave people a common language to talk about everyday things in a way that meant something to everyone" (IN31 r Ac4). MCTs, if accepted by relevant stakeholders or if enables a good representation of those stakeholder positions have a legitimacy which contributes to reasonableness, rather than to technical rationality. So, for instance, if the MCT enables transparency or fairness or if its results are accepted because it is the 'right' thing to do, then, it is reasonable, but not technically rational.

Theory and reasonableness

MODIFICATIONS TO THEORY: Sufficient meeting of individuals' meta-meanings, not the alignment of common primary values that count

So while few would disagree that 'reasonableness' was an attractive quality for a proposition and contributed to the possibility of expedient stable agreed meaning, what the data and analysis has highlighted is that the substantive content of what is reasonable for different people could be different, hence pointing again, at more concrete levels, the importance of local rationalities, and situation-specific reasoning.

It is not actually 'the alignment of (primary) interests' (Finlayson 2007) or 'to achieve more or less similar (primary) values' (Kooiman 2003), but is to achieve optimal individual meta-meanings (value about values) for each actor. Put another way, it is to achieve the maximum ultimate META-meaning to be constructed by individual sensemakers, according to each

person's situated rationality (Bevir 2010), without jeopardising the possibility of sufficient value for all other stakeholders. That in terms of sensemaking dimensions of 'acceptability' of belief and 'stability' of sensemaking cycle, the governance path tends towards a position given by the acceptability of meta-meanings held by individual sensemakers, 'acceptability' being the lowest value that enables sensemakers to gravitate towards and support a meaning position. It should also gravitate towards a position that provides sufficient stability for states of individual sense. Put another way, for any solution to be implemented, the meta-meanings for each individual sensemaker has to be sufficiently acceptable (valuable) to them, according to their individual rationality, to avoid a breakdown and prevention of implementation. This is how each individual's interests are served. Put yet another way, what matters is what happens at the epistemological level; that is where the material difference is made.

It is now possible to elaborate the definition of the aim of multi-stakeholdered governing as "the convergence of action…, not the convergence of belief". The aim of the governing path shift is to produce common primary actions with sufficiently positive individual meta-meanings for relevant individuals, so that the governance situation can move forward. That is the generic aim for multiple-stakeholdered governing is not to align primary meanings of different stakeholders, but to ensure meta-meanings of all stakeholders were at least acceptable. In the data, MCTs such as BfL are deployed as the basis for constructing beliefs of others that are relevant to those others' interests, to ensure the meeting of their particular meta-rationalities of multi-stakeholders. On reflection, this is quite obvious: for example, two people may enjoy different benefits from the same public space based on their individual preferences.

Finally, noting that it is the meta-meanings held by individual actors that matter because it is only individuals that can construct meanings, even if they can also be commonly held between individuals, it is possible to discuss

the relationship between individuals, or in other words, societal, or public relationships, in these terms.

Educative authenticity

Data and educative authenticity

By its very deployment and the agenda which dimensions articulate, MCTs are a means to better mutual understanding between actors. Together, these two functions were envisaged to provide a basis for a shared 'rationality' which is coherent, which may encourage if not cause sufficient agreement amongst actors. However, educative authenticity may not be a passport to sufficient agreement on action; indeed, it may lead to disagreement and hardening of positions, for example, in cases where other stakeholders' rationales may be perceived as immoral, and there is a feeling of being treated unfairly.

Nevertheless, MCTs created opportunities for educative authenticity to be built up, with attendant political risks that come with more transparent processes. These took many forms: in Key Story 4, the very deployment of the MTH helped to shift actors towards forming a Town Partnership to deliver projects because it was the basis and the reason for the actors to know one another. Joint training sessions on BfL in SND were designed to help members, officers and potential planning applicants work together less adversarially. In SNA, the extension of continued engagement with diverse stakeholders was achieved through the setting up of the steering group.

Coupled with the use of MCTs within these arenas, these opportunities enable stakeholders to understand what others value positions were on relevant matters. For example, the CSA "gave people a common language to talk about everyday things in a way that meant something to everyone" (IN31 r Ac4).
Notably, explicit evidence of close collaborative relationships developing between actors in these cases was the exception, not the rule. Nevertheless, actors would have been exposed to others' views.

Educative authenticity could also be desirable in a situation where 'the public' are treated as relevant stakeholders whose preferences should be taken into account. So, an MCT enabling a survey and increasing an understanding of 'what people want' is also a case of achieving educative authenticity. For example, in the case of the MTH, the whole point was to understand what others want for their town, so this made MTH an attractive choice of policy tool to deploy; promised to uncover what people wanted and to present what a range of relevant stakeholders think. Being able to demonstrate this sort of educative authenticity often provides compelling means for fund-givers seeking sound evidence to provide funds.

Theory and educative authenticity

Theory (Lincoln and Guba 1989) suggests that educative authenticity in the sensemaking process can increase acceptability of the sense made, especially with growing focus on local involvement and a commitment to transparent and accountable decision-making in public governance. However, this proposition arose from the context of evaluation, set in the context of specific policy or programme delivery, usually funded by public monies.

In a highly diverse and contested situation such as public space governing, a situation where stakeholders are interdependent and are engaged in integrative negotiation (De Dreu 2010), that is, where all sides win some and lose some and compromise, having an understanding of what others think shapes the opportunities for both private and public actions, and is usually advantageous to those parties gaining educative authenticity, rather than those whose preferences are revealed.

In public space governing, educative authenticity, while an ideal, has been found to both aid and hinder, as far as coming to consensus is concerned. First, it is not often necessary as only agreement on action not belief is necessary; not everyone needs to know what everyone else really thinks. It is not necessary to know to much of an extent about the preferences of others, only sufficiently so to gain agreement. Second, while transparency is

often associated with accountability, and is a meta-governing norm (Kooiman 2003), and an important 'fairness' cue, in order to enact the common action, some control over transparency may be required, even if this is a politically incorrect thing to say. Overall, educative authenticity is a qualified rationale, only occasionally desirable; it only explains certain fixed points, sometimes, depending on the position of the sensemaker.

Morality in process and result

Data and morality

MCTs tend to enable situations that appeal to most of the identified 'moral' characteristics, in particular the fairness of access. For example, the BfL and CSA in SNE were seen to level the playing field to an extent (Key Stories 7 and 8). In the latter, fair access became the foundation for building a relationship of trust, where an appeal made to the Steering Committee regarding their commitment to consultation within the Committee worked on moral grounds. i.e. that it was the right thing to do, it was 'procedurally just' to admit arguments by local people, which was underpinned by the use of the CSA: "And we were on a Steering Group, (so) we've got to have equal say... what's the point of this (programme and Steering Group) unless you stick to what is said…. And that argument they had to acknowledge straight away…" (IN32 r AC5).

In the case of residents who changed their minds from preferring a bridge across the canal feeder to be built to enable children to get to school safely in SNA, one explanation for the overwhelming response in favour of the bridge may be because of a 'referent informational' influence (Hogg 2010), where respondents wish to be associated with a moral norm concerning 'keeping children safe', rather than appearing selfish and being concerned only about security.

Theory and morality

This manifests itself as fairness of access to the sensemaking / governing processes itself, as well as the 'rightness' of the governing action or result. The importance of 'referent informational' influence (Hogg 2010) has been

discussed, and also the importance of perceptions of fairness in group life (Hogg 2010). Morality is recognised as a fundamental driver of social behaviour (Finlayson 2007) and the evidence corroborates this.

Morality and where it applies in the nested levels of meta-meaning

This ranges from 1st to last meta-meaning. At the first level, it manifests itself as, for example, the fairness of the processes of governing and the deployment of MCT.

Emotional impact of process and result

Data and emotional impact

While emotion plays a major role in sensemaking, and in integrative governance negotiations, for example, in SNB with the 'vocal dissenters', MCT-endorsed positions were, unsurprisingly, not found to be make positions attractive by engendering emotion. MCTs tend to work by appealing to the reasonable. Nevertheless, where MCTs reveal unfairness or major concerns that were of community-wide concern, they were found to be the basis of subsequent appeals to emotion. For instance, the use of CSA in SNE enabled local residents to articulate the latent sense of ownership they had in their community, becoming the basis for a programme of investment aptly named 'Street Pride'.

Theory and emotional impact

As discussed, because the research focused on an explicit policy tool, and because the meta-governing paradigm is one that reflects society's adherence to what is widely believed to be objectivity, there was very little explicit evidence on the impact of emotion on sensemaking. The exception was the momentary emotional arousal experienced when a destabilising trigger operated, but these do not, as a rule, become presented as the primary reasons for governance decision.

Impact of the relational: Identification with relevant other actor

Data and identification

MCTs can be operational in any of the three ways that people are explained to conform to others, as identified in Chapter 5. Informational influence (Hogg 2010), where people conform because they accept information from another as evidence about reality, normative influence, which states that people conform to the positive expectations of others, and 'referent informational influence', that is, people conform because they feel that they belong to a particular group.

The rationale under discussion here explains the way MCTs enable actors to articulate their attractive value position which other sensemakers gravitate towards because they wish to identify with those actors. For example, one explanation in SNA for the overwhelming response in favour of the bridge may be because of a 'referent informational' influence (Hogg 2010), where respondents wish to be associated with a group with the moral norm of 'keeping children safe', rather than appearing selfish and being concerned only about security, reflecting a tendency towards self enhancement and the tendency of people to want to see themselves as moral (Weick 1995). In SNB's Key Story 3, the MTH's prescribed method of deployment by local volunteers set up a situation where dissenters were less able to object. This was because they could not be seen to be in opposition to the position of the majority as articulated by the MTH results as this would have meant that they could no longer be seen as leading and putting forward a majority view. This is also an example of the attempt to demonstrate negative referent informational influence; by distancing themselves from the MTH volunteer group, the district council tried to ensure that MTH was seen as not being working with them, that is, not identified with them as a group.

 In a more subtle way, endorsements of MCTs, such as BfL by CABE, also work because of this, as many like to identified with the authority on the issue of good design.

Perhaps the most complete example of how MCTs enabled conformity and thus alignment of value positions between actors via a referent informational influence is how, in SNE (Key Story 7), interactions during the Audit Walk,

which were deliberately provides a 'learning' arena where diverse stakeholders can interact in a non-adversarial manner, which increases the chances of building positive relationships. This enabled actors to assess how they may identify with other actors, thus potentially forming relationships based on trust even apart from the limited scope of 'walking environment'. There was a desire to be identified with a group. There is a common purpose between the members of the community and the officers and getting that equality and an understanding of the constraints on each side; the real need and desire of the community" (IN31 r Ac4). In doing so, the CSA provides a basis for stakeholders to assess the potential of identification with the views of other stakeholders, and could encourage identification with those whose opinions are similar to their own.

Theory and identification

First of all, the extension to this 'rationale' around trust is that it should include consideration of trust in data, which is trust by proxy, in other actors. For the two explanations involving relationships, one theory is the optimistic 'referent informational influence' model of how people behave in relation to groups (Hogg 2010) they want to belong to; they behave in ways that strengthen their identification with the group. The second explanation involves the question of trust, and involves theories that arose from the literature on social conflict (for example, De Dreu 2010). While the evidence focused on trust, there were dissenting voices looking at the lack of trust. What does this add to the overall sensemaking model?

Perhaps the most powerful question that arises out of this exploration of MCTs as accountability tools is whether we agree with O'Neill (2002) that the rise of accountability and focus on measuring it signals a lack of trust. Even more importantly, does it accelerate trust's erosion as actors simply turn to the more expedient signals of accountability, namely, indicators of performance, often numerical? So that, something trustworthy, if not measured, is deemed untrustworthy because we no longer have the skills or desire to assess quality and value without them. The second thing is, does trust in the possibility of both trust and accountability also erode as actors

become increasingly cynical for those accountability numbers, as, for example, IN43 expressed: "The headline is that (the scheme) is a successful community resource, it's well-used, local people know what's happening on the site, and that's just presented as a headline finding, 'People feel that they can have a say in how the site develops.' Then you drill down and you find the question 'do local people know what's happening?' and it admits that only half of local people broadly have an idea of what's going on and that others who don't live nearby are less informed. I think there are some claims that are not purely founded on the evidence. There was a lot more nuance to a lot of the responses and there weren't clear majorities… I understand as well that the consultancy agency employed to deliver the exercise, … their report wasn't deemed to be wholly appropriate and had to be revised, hence the delays…. These can only be left as a question, as it is too big to answer here, but it certainly adds weight to the critique of the culture of measurement."

Impact of the relational: trust in relevant other actor

Data and trust in actor or tool hence data: the proxying of trust

There was evidence of trust between stakeholders in the data which MCTs helped engender. The clearest indications of trust happened because MCTs created co-presence between stakeholders, who, with the help of the common agenda for communication based on MCT dimensions that enabled reciprocity, were able to build sufficiently trusting relationships for the governance problem to be solved.

There was significant indication, however, that the presence of an arena for co-presence and the agenda for discussion did not in any way guarantee that trust nor reciprocity would arise. The one example of this was already discussed, where an MCT was deployed for consultation purposes, but without sufficiently making clear the purposes to each stakeholder. Here, there was actually an explosive falling out over what the MCT was supposed to do, or not. In a different longlisted Solution Network, there was significant

doubt raised over the objectivity of the MCT deployed. In SNB, the intended building of relationships between the vocal dissenters group and the MTH Steering Group did not come to particular fruition, despite a member of the latter joining the Steering Group itself.

However, it is possible to say that, if wielded carefully, MCTs can help to foster both trust and reciprocal working relationships. An example of a trusting and reciprocal relationship being engendered by an MCT was the case of the CSA use in SNE. CSA provided the opportunity to initiate this and the common language to activate this reciprocity: (1) trust in community, What is notable in this case is the trust in local people that officers developed: "You get the trust that the community can have good solutions... a big part of that came from having doing that actual training with community and officers having a laugh and chat, breaking down the barriers. That human side and common parlance can't be bought" (IN31 r Ac4). The non-adversarial joint learning sessions as discussed, together with its jargon-free substantive content regarding a 'good walking environment' of the CSA enabled participants to communicate on a 'level playing field'". (2) seen to be listening…."The people who run the thing matters…. the success in (this authority) has been a large extent due to good people in the council, who are very committed, and are the right personality types. I think it matters because you can't transfer methodologies without that.... For example (the council officer in charge), people were very complimentary about him. Normally people are not complimentary about council officers.... It could have been very different…. It's not a question of just listening, but also being seen to listen as well" (IN30 r AC3).

A slightly different example of an exercise aimed at building *anticipated,* not actual trusting and reciprocal relationship was Key Story 3. The MTH's key feature is the fact that it is normally administered by local volunteers. This made it a particularly attractive opportunity to gain acceptance of results based on the relational configuration as an acceptance of MTH's more representative results would be strengthened by trust in the people promoting it, the Healthcheck group, who were also local people. The district

council recognised that the MTH could harness the value of the inherent 'social capacity' of such a volunteer group. This was less with regard the possibility of building relationships with the vocal dissenters, but instead, it was to avoid accusations of bias towards the Council's position in the MTH result. The perception of the conduct and the results of the MTH were to be carefully managed by ensuring that the group of local volunteers who led and executed the MTH were seen to be independent of the Council. All of this is to address the transmission of what the MTH would find, and the recommended proposals from it, into a change in the governance path.

Theory and trust in actor or tool hence data: the proxying of trust

The question of 'trust in the data and the process of generating it' is a particular extension (or subset) to the issue of trust in relevant other actors, except this is achieved by proxy, where MCT is the proxy of expert advice transmitted across time and space, but still imparts some of its credibility and stability to those cycles whose meaning agrees with its position. This emerged from an inductive reading of the data.

One of the most important functions of MCTs in public space governance is to act as a source of trustworthy information, in a situation where there is often equivocality or lack of knowledge about complex technical issues. In fact, basing one's decisions and actions on information from others is the norm. This is the concept of "informational influence" (Hogg 2010) already mentioned, which is defined as "an influence to accept information from another as evidence about reality. Because people need to feel confident that their perceptions, beliefs, and feelings are correct, informational influence comes into play when people are uncertain, either because stimuli are intrinsically ambiguous or because there is social disagreement. Under theirs circumstances, people first make objective tests against reality, but if this not possible they make social comparisons (Festinger 1954). Effective informational influence causes true cognitive change; changes in people's underlying attitudes, beliefs and perceptions" (Hogg 2010 p1182).

MCTs have features that enable informational influence in many different ways. For example:

- **Endorsement.** In this research they were established methodologies supported by a national network of users and sometimes by a national organisation. Endorsement can also take the form of wide usage and generally acceptance, and this gives MCTs legitimacy. Users also want to have the recognised confidence that they are not alone. MCTs are seen as ready and trusted tools and well-tested.

- **Meaningfulness:** MCTs give structure to equivocal information, presenting them in a **digested form,** enabling purchase on the state of things in the town was enabled for all readers. This means that it is the basis of meaningful contributions to decision-making in the Steering Committee, not just access.

- **Robust processes corresponding to accepted standards of inquiry**: Methodology conforms to that of robust scientific inquiry, including **careful sampling practice and consultation on the questions,** strengthening representativeness **and reflecting** what **a large number of people say they want**' providing a broad-based support for public space proposals.

MCTs can be taken as the source of trustworthy information if they are associated with people who are trusted. In SNB the MTH result was taken seriously because the quality of the people undertaking it was perceived to be positive; "they were people of motivation that couldn't be questioned" (IN38 r AC1). Similarly, the CSA was trusted in SNE as local residents had seen the CSA facilitators "on the box down in London giving opinions" (IN32 r AC5).

Power or empowerment

Data and power

Power and empowerment presented itself as a category of rationale within the data. MCTs empowered those who agree with its recommendations by being seen as providing sound and trustworthy information. It does this by deploying broad-based apparently representative data as the MTH in SNB

and LEQS in SNC do. It enables actors to turn wide acceptance of the MCT. This means that it increases users' ability to strengthen impression management; a result in line with national standards or a statutory, for example, is difficult to ignore.

MCTs can empower simply by enabling articulation of issues. In some cases this happens in a common forum, and in the language acceptable to all, providing the imagined possibilities that empowered actors to act. MCTs can provide a level playing field which is empowering because it is seen as fair, and can also increase and build confidence, thus changing relational situation. This enables stakeholders to articulate points and communicate effectively, by providing the non-technical agenda for discussion, enabled them to full take part in the decision-making in public space. MCTs empower by imparting confidence to actors to speak up, and to trust their own judgment. This applied to local people in SNE using CSA (Key Story 8) and planning officers in SND using BfL (Key Story 6). Finally, MCTs consolidated its power by associating its results with particular rewards and sanctions, such as with planning permission and BfL scores in SND.

MCTs address the concerns of both **sense-making / knowledge creation** and of **power**, dealing with power using 'sense', and with 'sense' using power. MCTs create knowledge in ways which generate or modify power relations and the power structures in a given public space governing context. They can become important nodes around 'governance solutions' can be formulated and achieved, and also generators of 'forward momentum' towards those solutions, and also assessors of the value of those solutions.

It is reasonable to conclude that MCTs work because they re-shape power relations to favour those who agree with it.

Theory and power

In the light of this, the MCT evidence does not disconfirm, and indeed can be explained with recourse to various perspectives on power, by, among other things, being explicitly linked to **structures of incentives and sanctions**, by

enabling / preventing some actors to have greater bargaining power over others by specifying who has access to the negotiating table, by being indirectly **responsible for sustained and sustainable consensus** as it 'shapes freedom' (Rose 1999 in Torfing 2009) and 'defines reality' (Torfing 2009) and by **creating capacity** for consensual action (Arendt 1977 in Hauser 1998). Indeed, almost all explanations of MCT can ultimately be in terms of power.

Structural impact or institutionalised patterns

Data and structural impact

Structural or institutionalised patterns of behaviour were defined very broadly in Chapter 5. MCTs were found to either be deployed within standard established process types or were the trigger for setting up some of these mechanisms. For example, in SNA Key Story 1, the CSA precipitated the setting up of a Steering Group which was subsequently maintained as a regular event that is a clearly demarcated and apparently permanent relational change between stakeholders. It effectively became an institutional structure within which increases the acceptance of decisions made therein about public space projects. The CSA created fully-ready potential to enact, that is, it created sufficiently stable meaning to initiate the next cycle of sensemaking in the trajectory towards 'solution state'. One way it achieved this was being a tried and tested institutionally-acceptable format for moving interventions forward in a public sector context - a well-established arena-type for involving a range of stakeholders and easy to accept as a form of further consultation. So setting it up in the first place was also an attractive thing to do.

In SNC, the LEQS is, more than any other MCT in this study, use of the LEQS in its relevant arena, that is, cleanliness of public space, is almost unavoidable. There are no alternatives to it and it is the basis for a number of compulsory reporting tasks for local authority cleansing services. This is a major reason for its widespread use and acceptance

In SND, there was evidence of a deep change in the institutional process of negotiation over highways design. The endorsement of the BfL by CABE, its national use and effective institutionalisation of BfL was seen to potentially increase relative 'political capacity' for the authority to negotiate with applicants over design quality. It was the established nature of BfL that made it a good basis around to base a new and collaborative process. There was evidence of the possible change in paradigm about how to deliver better spaces between buildings for housing development: "We now work much closer with planning officers at preliminary and detailed planning stages. So at end we have a design that is approved (that) incorporates the highway, to a standard that is consistent with Building for Life, as opposed to try and pull together an adoptable standard of highway once planning has been granted, which is (what) happened in most authorities, or probably still does in some cases: a footprint included in the scheme that says 'that's where the road is going to be', but is designed separately from the rest of the scheme, that was the norm. We are asking for much more detail at outline stage now. To show how the highway will interface with the other spaces…" (IN7 r AC1). The interviewee went on to describe this as an entirely "different concept of highway" (IN7 r AC1), which is a claim to a paradigm shift of what highways design actually means. This is the sort of deep change of structure that is quite difficult to achieve (Phelan n.d.).

Another example of deep paradigmatic change, this time in an individual rather than in procedures, is described as a religious conversion experience, as IN18 discussed earlier regarding his realisation of the usefulness of BfL: "But I seem to have 'seen the light', I am a believer" (IN18).

Theory and structural impact

The data corroborated the theoretical notion that structure could shape meanings, and structural features act as pre-made fixed points. Data sharpened theory by suggesting that it is both the expediency of reaching stability and the sustainability of stability helped make particular established structural features more attractive as fixed points.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TENDENCIES AS A FACTOR EXPLAINING INTERESTS POSITIONS. ATTRACTIVE META-MEANINGS DICTATE WHAT ARE STABLE MEANING CYCLES REGARDING SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT OR PROCESS

Perceived potential stability of cycle

Data and perceived potential stability

The stability of cycle is itself an attractive belief position / fixed point. MCTs are designed to increase expediency of reaching stability, and sustainability of stability are frames for testing potential stability of cycles. Two meta-meanings emerged from the data that suggest how the attractiveness of stability drives sensemaking in governing. Stability can be seen as a sort of 'resolution' of a problem of discrepancy, for example, how 'the bridge being built' in Key Story 2, or 'the delivery of the benches and bins' in Key Story 7 and 8. Resolution in a public governing sense would mean the stability of the governing path that was publicly known and sufficiently accepted widely. Stability is also important in a private sensemaking trajectory; the lack of which entails 'something bugging us' because it belief and action are not informing one another.

Expedience of achieving stability

First, **expediency of achieving** stability. In Key Story 6, the deployment of the BfL in the planning system promised stability regarding what 'good design' was and that contributed directly to its attractiveness both applicants and to the authority. Indeed, some officers expressed preference for even more certainty than the BfL could offer. While there was no direct evidence for how MCTs contributed to the expedience of reaching stable positions, such a conclusion could be extrapolated from the evidence on, for example, how in SNE, local residents truncated argument regarding the legitimacy of their arguments about the benches (Key Story 8) and how in Key Story 3, the deployment of the MTH cut short the continued stable but hurting stalemate and providing new stable positions to which to move.

Sustainability of stability

Second, **sustainability of stability**. This often went hand in hand with expediency. Any meaning position, especially if it was to be made public and be an 'accepted' position to which attention no longer needed to be paid, would need to promise some level of sustained stability, unless it was being used as a staging point to further sensemaking trajectory change, such as demonstrated by the shifts in trajectory in Key Story 2 that were 'fixed' to prevent reversal, and at every step of the way constitutes a stabilising stopgap. Since stability implies resolution, stability also means the possibility no longer paying attention to the issue and the redeployment of attention.

Theory and perceived potential stability

The data supported the basic assumption for collective sensemaking, that stability was in most cases, a desirable state of cycle where the state of belief was acceptable (Weick 1995).

The theoretical model says that interests are precipitated when beliefs evaluated approach a state that is ultimately judged acceptable based on the need for stable self image (Weick 1995), which are then manifested as self-enhancement, self-consistency and self-efficacy, however achieved.

CONCLUSION FROM INSIGHTS ABOUT MCT CONTRIBUTION

MCTs are designed to expedite the meeting of rationales for its intended audience, both in the substantive data it handles, for instance, how its dimensions are phrased and the very fact that it has dimensions, and also in the secondary signals they send about themselves, for instance, that they are endorsed by experts, or appear reasonable and plausible, even if the issues at hand are not technically objectively positive. MCTs, in their very design, are good at addressing the need for efficient decision-making, by expediting the achievement of a stable cycle. They tend to be complex issues simpler and therefore seemingly addressable. This increases the perceived capacity of sensemakers to act, which in turn, changes their impetus *to* act.

Confirming Theory: patterns of 'argument', 'expectation', 'commitment' and 'manipulation' lead to private actions of sensemaking

All of this data bears out Weick's (1995) four ways in which sensemaking is initiated: through argument, expectation, commitment and manipulation, as discussed in Chapter 5.

The following discussion focuses on the impact of MCTs on belief, which is what 'private action' is about. The discussion of MCT impact on 'action' will be discussed under 'Realisation' in Chapter 7b, as this relates to public enactment.

FIGURE 7A. 1 WEICK'S FOUR BASIC TYPES OF DYNAMICS IN SENSEMAKING

c.f. Figure 5.8.

	Impact on belief	**Impact on action**
Fix	Sensemaking through expectation	Sensemaking through commitment
Move	Sensemaking through argument	Sensemaking through manipulation

Argument is the initiation of sensemaking by shifting a belief was successful in shifting trajectories. One example of how an argument was deployed, with an appeal based on 'expectation' was the follow up survey in KS2. The power of the particular argument lay in its moral and emotive appeal for the wellbeing of schoolchildren, something that is effectively an expectation of a 'social norm'. Similarly, the argument for 'listening' to local residents' suggestions within the Steering Group in KS8 was equally compelling, with its moral appeal.

MCTs commonly play at least two roles in argumentation. They often (1) set out or enable the articulation of a favoured meaning position to which the audience was invited to share, for example, BfL provide the very content of the argument, in the Housing Audit in SND. (2)They also strengthen movement towards that MCT-favoured position. However, what this position may be open to interpretation, and is not always clear (depends on the

design of the particular MCT), and open to being swayed towards particular positions through the hijacking of the argument. The discussion in SND about the room for interpretation in BfL pointed this out.

Expectations shape an otherwise ambiguous set of cues to make sense which is expected rather than some other alternative sense. It does so by holding a belief point fixed. However, MCTs both build upon and increase this fixedness. For example, most people **assume** that MCTs are 'the law', or at least, widely held conventions that are difficult to change, or difficult to challenge. MCTs exploit this, and have features such as 'expert endorsement' or 'third party neutrality' to build upon expectations that MCTs will help meet rationales. This was evident from the data. For example, where CSA was seen as widely endorsed by experts in walking environments (SNE), and where the LEQS administered by a neutral and expert third party, London Capital Standards' trained surveyors (SNC), both continue and reinforce expectations. The fact that MCTs *could* be questioned was evidenced by the comments of development control officers in SND, regarding the adoption of BfL. However, the expectation with which MCTs work has, overall, a strong 'marshalling' effect on diverse opinions, especially where there is not an alternative to the 'expert' position presented by the MCT. They build on the expectations of the audience.

Resulting requirements for this condition to happen

From this analysis, three requirements for the meeting of the condition of 'evaluation' could be surmised.

REQUIREMENT 6: MEETS RATIONALES FOR ACCEPTABLE BELIEFS

Chapter 5 contained a list of possible rationales that encompassed explanations based on a range of logics, from cognitive to motivational, from structural to individual drivers. These were hypothesised to be the frames to test the acceptability of a belief, which is one requirement for the formation of interests. The data generally corroborated the theoretical definition of 'rationales', and provided insights to extend, modify or sharpen the theoretical framework.

REQUIREMENT 7: ACCEPTABLE BELIEFS ABOUT STABLE CYCLE

A stable relationship between belief and action is one that is not likely to be easily moved to a different meaning position and to carve a dramatically different sensemaker trajectory or governance path. The theorisation in Chapter 5 suggested that MCTs would provide means of creating meta-meanings of stability, and of acceptability.

An attractive meaning position would have a stable belief-action cycle, although not all stable cycles are associated with an attractive meaning position; for example, if there is a 'hurting stalemate' (De Dreu 2010). Stability may be achieved if the meaning of the primary data is stabilised either on its own technological merits, or through recommendation by a trusted source and various other meta-meanings that were discussed in the previous section, including trust in the data produced, data generated by an endorsed tool, by a sound methodology or by a trusted person.

REQUIREMENT 8: EVALUABILITY: CAPACITY AND SUFFICIENT INTEREST (I.E. IMPETUS) TO TEST BELIEFS WITH RELEVANT FRAMES

As discussed, this is about the capacity and the impetus to test for acceptability and stability of the primary cycle.

7.4. Continuation of discussion of public actions in the next chapter

The following chapter completes the discussion of the sensemaking-based model by setting out the two constructs describing 'public action'.

Chapter 7b: Findings: re-shaping the sensemaking model through induction from data and enfolding theory: public action

Recapitulating the idea of public action

Once the discussion turns to public action, sensemaking as set out by Weick (1995) becomes less effective as a means for explaining how MCTs work.

This is because Weick (1995) focused on organisational behaviour and the sense made by an individual for an individual. In this research, the logic of sensemaking is extended by theories of the psychology of social conflict and social identity (for example, Hogg 2010, De Dreu 2010), of political rhetoric analysis (Finlayson 2007), socio-cybernetics view of governing (Kooiman 2003), and garbage can (Cohen et al 1972), among others. The empirical data here is the source of induction that attempts to knit these different bits of theory together.

As discussed in Chapter 5, public actions are intended to affect governing paths, by driving the 'action' part of individual trajectories to converge (even if the 'belief' parts, or meta-meanings, may not). Why and how do trajectories converge / diverge? Essentially it's about the ability to (de)stabilise positions and then encourage shift of trajectories to preferred new position.

Sensemaking showed how (de)stabilisation and shift happened with individuals through affecting either their beliefs, first, or their actions, through 'argument', 'expectation', 'commitment' or 'manipulation' (Weick 1995). In collective sensemaking however, a number of other factors, apart from actors' interests need to be considered. These were discussed in Chapter 5.

The possibility of public action, or meaningfully perceivable action is enabled by:
1) the substantive content of **interests**, which are judged against the **rationales** discussed earlier. These establish what beliefs are acceptable to each relevant sensemaker.
2) situational features that provide conducive mediating conditions. In Chapter 5, the literature (De Dreu and Carnevale 2003, Healey et al 1999, 2003, Weick 1995, Ross et al 2010, Cohen et al 1972, Mucciaroni 1992) identified these as those conditions as **'capacity',** or the ability of sensemakers to make a material difference to the shared governing path, and **'opportunity'**, which is the possibility within the governing context of a particular shift in a sensemaking trajectory to be transmitted into a public

action to close the 'discrepant' gap between interests and capacity, to result in a solution.

7.5. Part 3: Empirical evidence: How MCTs work: 'public' action

Projection construct

To have an impact on an actor's sensemaking, the issues need to be understandable and meaningfully perceivable by that actor. The preceding 'states of process' of 'imaginability' and 'evaluability' respectively, ensure that this is in place.

The combination of three constructs matter for public action to happen. These are **'interests'**, given by tested private beliefs (as discussed) but further assessed by situational features given by **'opportunity'** and the ability of all actors, ourselves and others, to enact, given by each actor's **'capacity'**. Where these are not fully known, especially when it is other people's interests, or capacity, or the lack of a full picture of opportunities, **it is necessary to be able to project what these might be**, and it is this that public actions are at least in part based on. This last requires 'epistemological awareness of interests with capacity with opportunity'. It will be further argued that 'meta-knowledge' (Elcheroth et al 2011), or the awareness of what other stakeholders are aware of, and indeed the awareness of what they are aware we are aware of, is both central to realisation of a public action, but is the subject of projection.

THE IDEA OF PROJECTION

Projection refers to imagining the realisability of interests within the opportunities of the given governing situation and the capacity and interests of all actors. It is essentially the epistemological awareness of those matters that could affect the possibility of realisation and effectiveness of a given public action. Note, 'projection of realisability' suggests projection of what the future might be, whereas we might use the term 'imaginability' to apply to

both imagining the past – that is, what has been accomplished but may not be known - as well as the future.

Like 'purchase' and 'attention', projection describes the **active epistemological requirement** for the decisive move within a shared sensemaking path. Just as 'purchase' is an epistemological requirement for belief, and 'attention' is an epistemological requirement for meaning, so 'projection' is an epistemological requirement for realisation of a governing solution.

The condition of 'projection' together with that of 'realisation', are concerned with the shift from private to public parts of the cycle. The conditions build on the earlier stages of the cycle; this is evident in the data. For example, in KS2 follow up survey where respondents are invited to 'imagine' what children being put in danger on the way to school may mean, and this builds on values widely held that this is something that cannot even be contemplated.

MCTs clearly contribute directly to the conditions of projection and realisation directly. For example, Key Story 2 and Key Story 7 both provide very clear examples of how the strategic actions of individuals completely changed the governance path by impacting on the awareness of opportunity and capacity and thus changing them. In the former, the CSA was the basis that underpinned all actions to get the bridge built. In KS7 MCTs underpinned actions by instilling confidence and also technical capacity for actors to imagine what different bench and bin options might be like for the street.

Identifying how MCTs act on this requires a detailed understanding on the elements of epistemological awareness and their relationships. This is best described through a series of diagrams which maps various relationships between **interests** that result from evaluation, the **capacity** of actors to act

to meet their interests given the governing context, and the **opportunity** available in the particular governing context.

FIGURE 7B.1 PROJECTION

This sets out the 'interests' cycle of three stakeholders, 1, 2 and 3, as the primary meaning cycle, and 'capacity' and 'opportunity' as meta-meaning cycles or frames. The RED RECTANGLE shows the common public action needed to solve a governing problem. However, in defining the epistemological awareness of interests with capacity with opportunity, they are simply meanings that are assessed against each other mutually and holistically as the sensemaker (1) brings together knowledge about meanings generated by all three cycles (darker blue arrows). To do this, he needs to project a holistic picture of whether the particular state of other actor capacity, situational opportunity and interests relative to his own can result in the (de)stabilisation of the primary sensemaking cycle leading to a more desirable state of meanings.
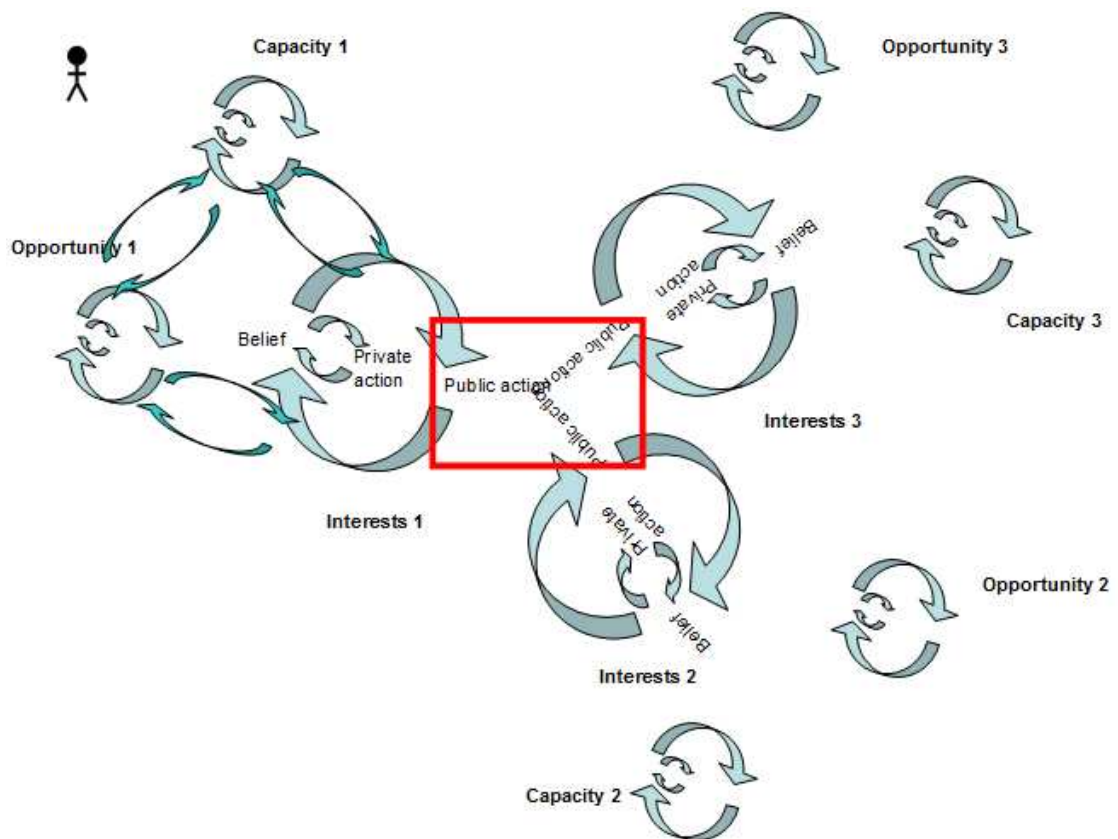
Results of the confrontation of data and theory

Evidence shows how MCTs impact on each of the cycles of interests, capacity and opportunity individually and also on their inter-relationships,

which then precipitated public action. MCTs affected actors' awareness of own and of others' interests, opportunity and capacity.

The discussion in the subsequent two sections explore the projection of two constructs whose consideration is critical for public action: the capacity of actors and opportunity available for such action in the given governing situation.

EXTENDING THEORY: THE PROJECTION OF CAPACITY FOR PUBLIC ACTION

Defining capacity

Capacity was earlier defined as "the ability of sensemakers to make a material difference to the shared governing path". As discussed in Chapter 5, the term 'capacity' suggests the existence of resources for enactment with the possibility of achieving an end (Healey et al 1999).

Types of capacities

Various types of capacity were discussed in Chapter 5. For the purposes of the present discussion, these can be boiled down to two conceptually mutually exclusive categories of 'relational' and 'technological', which is sufficient for the present discussion.

- Relational capacity exists because of a relationship that an actor has, and can be efficacious completely independent of technological issues. 'Relationships' can be the overriding reason sensemakers take particular actions, with no recourse to technological reasons at all.
- Technological capacity exists because of a technological ability that an actor has.

How did MCTs affect relational capacity?

Via optimistic and pessimistic assumptions, trust versus compulsion, passive versus active

'Optimistic' and 'pessimistic' models for making sense of inter-sensemaker relations are associated with explanations of social relations that were first discussed in Chapter 5, regarding group identification (Hogg 2010), and

social conflict (for example, De Dreu and Carnevale 2003, De Dreu 2010).
These reflect different assumed default attitudes to social relations.

The examination of rewards-incentivisation, compulsion-sanctions and
relationships as the basis for explaining governing actions has, in addition
the to studies already mentioned, been subject to much study, and is
addressed in areas such as rational choice theory (Ward 1995) indeed, much
classical economics (Sandler 2001, Hughes 2003). Finally, thinking about
relationships has been informed by studies around group identity and the
formation of shared meanings (for example, Ross et al 2010, Hogg 2010,
Elcheroth et al 2011). The widespread use of incentivisation reveals
underlying pessimistic assumptions about human nature. However, it can be
seen as a necessary foil to some of the more optimistic assumptions of the
work in deliberative urban governance, for example, Innes and Booher 2003)
where there is an underlying assumption that the key problem is the lack of
access to participation. In contrast other authors point out that the problem
can often be the lack of interest rather than the lack of access (for example
Deneulin and Townsend 2006).

Applying the 'optimistic-pessimistic' dimension, MCTs were observed to
deploy 'pessimistic' 'power over' other stakeholders, that is, tendency
towards **compulsion**. **'Compulsion-based relational capacity'** can be
defined as the capability to wield power over other actors (Gohler 2009), in a
way that did not involve trust or reciprocity, which can often mean some
degree of compulsion, if not coercion. For example, through linking MCT
results to rewards or sanctions. In SND / KS5 once adopted as guidance with
the threat of withholding planning permission, the CABE-endorsed BfL
recommendations become hard to refute. In SNA, although the commitment
to CSA recommendations that officers was not initially explicit, the publicness
of the Audits made it difficult to rescind commitment to the CSA
recommendations. In SNB, with the funding and conducting of the MTH, the
results of the Healthcheck meant the publication of new data, which
fundamentally changed the political balance between the contesting parties.

MCTs may **help actors realise trust-based 'optimistic' relational capacity** and enable them to influence others' beliefs or action based on reciprocity and non-coercive relationships. **'Trust-based capacity' suggests a more 'power with' and agreement-driven means.** Trust-based, or 'social' capacity can be defined as the capability of actors to work together to organise public relationships (Lichterman 2009), assuming that they can influence other actors, and be influenced by them, reflecting a "relational" understanding of citizenship (Somers 1993, in Lichterman 2009). Trust-based capacity requires a working reciprocity between the actors involved in order to achieve one's own governing aims. This might be operationalised as the extent to which others change their positions to align with, or not counter the actor's position in a public forum, because of an existence of a trusting and reciprocal relationship.

There appeared to be less evidence linking MCTs and the building of trust-based relational capacities. For example, in KS4, MCTs provided the excuse for actors to interact, which led to trust being built, but there was no evidence of any more active role that the MCT played apart from providing the arenas to interact.

Apart from optimistic-pessimistic, compulsion-trust dimensions, a third way of thinking about how MCTs affected relational capacity is whether it affected the passivity or activity in the way that actors governed. In SNE / KS7, empowered local people took matters into their own hands regarding the specification of benches and bins in the high street, in the face of initial opposition, instead of being passive participants in a consultation exercise. This range of passive-to-active mechanisms of MCTs also emphasises the importance of relationships and not just technical reasons as contributing to the rationale for why things happen, something that an analysis of governance decision-making based on an economic rationality (for example, as critiqued by Bevir 2010).

Projection / awareness of relational capacity

Projected relational capacity can drive public action.

The prospect of improved compulsive relational capacity, which can be manifest as 'power over', in line with an MCT's espoused position enables it to catalyse the shift of actor meaning positions to those positions. MCTs increase the capacity of those who agree with the position that the MCT espouses. In SND, this is clear both in the planning applicants complying to BfL standards once adopted as guidance, and doubtful officers and members, who nevertheless see the advantage of some standard that give them more 'teeth' when seeking higher quality housing design proposals. MCTs allow these actors at that meaning position to tap into its stabilising network of endorsements, wide usage and so on. This is why it was a powerful move in SNA to construct the evidence based on the CSA in such a way that supported the intended position.

Compulsion-based capacity is only useful in enabling action when there is a belief in its efficacy, and so actors take action as if capacity exists; there is a tendency towards positive feedback. This was evident in SNE, when actors gained political capacity, and then confidence, which boosted capacity, and so on.

How did MCTs affect technological capacity?

As proxies of capacity

If people are focused on their 'projects' as Weick (1995) says, anything that expedites meaning formation is helpful. MCTs can do this by being proxy for the connections required for the meta-assessments of capacity.

MCTs **act as proxy** without necessarily increasing capacity. MCTs can extend the exertion of capacity by enabling or acting as proxies for actors. While MCTs can change technological capacity of an actor directly via training, it can extend the influence of that untrained actor by providing a simplified proxy set of technical measures for the capacity that is lacking. The actor CAN engage with the proxy set, and therefore also engaged in the deliberation. An example is the 'overall score' in the BfL. The man on the

street can understand that a score of 14 / 20 is a silver standard, and 16 / 20 is gold, and thus make some sort of assessment of the quality of the housing development being assessed. He does not even need to know about the substantive content of the 20 dimensions, although if he did, he would still be using the BfL as a proxy measure for technical capacity, albeit a more refined one.

Proxying can truncate the search for acceptable and stable meta-meaning of capacity. They do this by providing acceptability and stability themselves, backing it up with meta-meanings of credibility and trustworthiness. This comes through features such as endorsements and evidence of wide usage or acceptance of the MCT.

Projection / awareness of technical capacity: Confidence

Confidence is the awareness of sufficient capacity, and figures a lot in many of the stories.

The point about projection is that it involves beliefs that have not been tested and become meanings before but action assuming their meaning is then taken based, and thus, in some cases, precipitating a state of things and of meaning. A good example is the initial actions taken by local resident actors in Key Story 8; acting with confidence and taking a stand regarding proposed changes to the high street caused them to be taken seriously, and in the end, allowed them to achieve that they wanted. As they were taken seriously their confidence in capacity also increased, which then reinforced to others how seriously they were taking their positions. In SNE, Key Story 8 Steering Group members knowing more about design, more confidence, knowing more reasons to put forward for example, post completion management. However, until they tried to wield those skills, they were not sure if they had it.

SELF-REALISATION: MCTS ENABLE ACTORS TO PROJECT THE IMPACT OF THEIR OWN CAPACITY

On the epistemological awareness of capacity, MCTs enable actors to imagine the impact of their own capacity. Beliefs about capacity are meta-beliefs about the achievability of primary beliefs. These meta-beliefs can shape interests themselves to make them achievable. The perception of capacity can lead to *real* actions that create / shut down capacity. It can be as important as the actual capacity.

The epistemological awareness of capacity can lead sensemakers to direct / create primary path towards positions that are imagined to be achievable; that is, it leads to the meta-meanings regarding the achievability of those primary positions, which then lead to actions to make them real (or to abandon them). These meta-beliefs should themselves arise by juxtaposing the knowledge of one's own abilities with knowledge of the situation, including 'interests' and 'opportunity'. This **meta-meta-belief** construction will involve considering the sufficiency and appropriateness of actual capacity in relation to addressing the primary problem. **It implies that the actor is able to imagine and assess** the possibility / the potential of taking action in a given situation; that is, the meta-meta-meaning.

So, with regard to capacity for *public*, imaginability is not only of primary cue-frame juxtaposition, the ability to apply frames and test the juxtaposition, but also, importantly, the imaginability of meta and possibly meta-meta-frame juxtaposition, the ability to apply relevant frames and test those juxtaposition become important. So, the epistemological awareness of capacity consists of **sensemaker's assessment of own and others' capacity for public action.** This might involve recourse to meta-meta-considerations, and possibly meta-meta-meta considerations.

There are a number of revealing examples of epistemological awareness of capacity in operation. First, the actions of local resident stakeholders in the Steering Group in SNE to deliver the street furniture they wanted was a case of gaining capacity not being preceded by an awareness of it; the actors seemed to 'stumble upon' the fact they were suddenly empowered or knew something. The local residents in SNE only realised the extent of their newly

acquired capacity once in the Steering Group arena. As the Steering Group meetings proceeded, there were iterative cycles of learning from observations and consideration of what they have learnt means. The stumbling upon is the moment when the awareness of capacity crystallised.

A second example is the actions of officers in SNA Key Story 2, Building the Bridge. Here, it was the epistemological awareness of the capacity and interests of other stakeholders, who had previously objected to the bridge, and of the opportunities afforded by the CSA that enabled their orchestration of evidence to lead eventually to the construction of the bridge. In both cases, it is clear the awareness of capacity, or even the suspicion of it, led to actions to realise that capacity.

THE APPEARANCE OF RATIONALITY AND TECHNOLOGICAL CAPACITY MAY BE MORE IMPORTANT THAN, OR MAY PRECEDE ACTUAL CAPACITY

This suggests that to realise capacity intentionally requires knowledge of it. Further, related to the idea that for capacity to be realised intentionally (opportunities to be grasped intentionally) requires at least awareness of it, a further proposition is that it is the appearance of rationality and capacity that may be more important.

'Technological' capacity is associated with the appearance of rationality, or 'logos'. The data shows that the appearance of rationality and technological capacity may be more important than, or may precede actual capacity. In an illustration of the importance of epistemological awareness, **the appearance of rationality, rather than rationality** itself that is critical in persuading actors to shift position. For instance, it is not always possible to investigate the technological rationality of every single issue, especially in complex and changeable situations such as public space governance.

EXTENDING THEORY: THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PUBLIC ACTION IN A GOVERNING SITUATION

Defining opportunity

The discussion above on 'opportunity' is precisely one of **'interests-capacity'** relationship since opportunity is the possibility of the former fulfilling the needs generated by the latter. The closer this comes to happening, the greater the actual opportunity. However, only if there is awareness of that opportunity. MCTs can be responsible for creating this awareness of an opportunity within a given interests-capacity juxtaposition, directly or indirectly as discussed above.

On **interests-opportunity relationships**, interests encourage actors to seek opportunities actively. Opportunities, on the other hand, may present themselves, and actors may realise or even construct interests to take advantage of them, for example, in KS5, KS3, KS6. Opportunity-led interests may open new, completely different solution sets and therefore public actions and governing paths not previously envisaged. MCTs were deployed to create opportunities, but often, their very deployment, always a public action, was seen as an opportunity.

Finally, on **capacity-opportunity** relationships. The data found that capacity and opportunity can draw attention to each other, and together possibly point to potential new interests, or to take public action with a view to fulfilling existing interests.

Appropriating theory: the garbage can

All of this suggests that the garbage-can model (Cohen et al 1972) can be articulated in the graphic way presented above, rather than its original numerical form, and is useful for considering the elements and relations of sensemaking present in the situation that may encourage or be the conditions for some form of public action, however small.

Types of opportunities

Since 'opportunity' **requires a match of interests**, between interests, and with capacity, on the dimensions of content and timing, enabled by an acceptable mediating context, and also epistemological awareness of that content, process and timing, this suggested that change in any one of

interests, capacity or the opportunity cycle itself can generate opportunity. This suggests that opportunities for public action classified as being **interests-led, capacity-led** or **situation or opportunity-led**, or a combination of the three, may be more apt than Healey et al's (1999, 2003) concept of 'opportunity structure', which is defined at the level of institutions and whose list of component elements is classified by the type of event they involve rather than communicative transaction analysis. In contrast, the aim for the data analysis here, is to develop a sensemaking-compatible classification of opportunity. The three-fold classification is inducted from the experience of actors, and importantly, fits with and serves to deepen our sensemaking-based model of 'interests-capacity-opportunity' combination as the requirement for realisation of public action.

Interests-led opportunities

'Interests-led' opportunities arise because actors 'notice' a particularly desired interest position they wish to meet: 'We must achieve this, it is very important.' In sensemaking terms, these are opportunities that arise because of particular 'interests' being the fixed point, with capacity being modified to be able to 'match' it. Opportunities are created by changing capacity, modifying individual interests to compromise with others' interests or by changing the way that the opportunity itself, or its componential capacity or interests are imagined. Interests-led opportunities can often be created by significant deliberate actions to do so, so compelling is the need to meet the interests. Two stories from the data serve to illustrate.

In SNE / KS8, "when we decided what we wanted to do, which had to do with the street furniture, we were given catalogues to look through to see what the furniture was. Wanted traditional Victorian furniture… got a deal from suppliers, and went back next week, dropped it on the table, and their jaws all dropped as well" (IN32 r AC5). When there were objections to this, they argued that they were "on a Steering Group, (so have) got to have equal say... what's the point of this (programme and Steering Group) unless you stick to what is said, we would have wasted all our time. And that argument they had to acknowledge straight away…" (IN32 r AC5).

In SNA / KS2, "... there is a canal feeder that separates some of the residential areas from schools and facilities. This was regularly filled with shopping trolleys etc, to the degree that mothers and children were using the trolleys as stepping stones… People were walking in excess of a mile for access to say a school, which was actually only a few hundred yards in a straight line. But you couldn't really get there. And the long diversion was taking them onto the very narrow and uncomfortable footway of the North Circular Road" (IN1 r AC1).

Both of these were opportunities because they represent strongly held interests that caused actors to act to destabilise the sensemaking cycle and take public action to change the state of things. They are opportunities because they present a situation where such arguments are potentially successful and the possibility of capacity matching interests were high.

How did MCTs affect interests-led opportunity

Since interests was the fixed point, capacity was changed by MCTs to make them relevant, in order to realise the opportunity. In SNE/KS8, participation in the CSA **increased confidence** for actors to seek increase in technological capacity, enabling the argument to be made. The very membership of the actor of Steering Group **arose from participation** in CSA as they were automatically invited to join the group. In SNA/KS2, the **interests were revealed** by the CSA, which constituted a **sound foundation, and thus stability** for them. In both cases, the fixedness of interests which then required **accommodation of capacity to those interests** could arguably be founded on their origin in the CSA, but realisation of these opportunities related to the ability of changing / improving capacity values.

Capacity-led opportunities

'Capacity-led' opportunities are those that arise because actors notice that there is underutilised capability that could help them take a desirable public action: "We can do it so we will". This type of opportunity tends to be grasped rather than created, as 'interests-led' opportunity is. Capacity is the 'fixed point', and actors can cast around seeking interests that capacity can deliver.

Solution looking for a problem of the garbage can is essentially describing the same phenomenon.

In SND/KS6, the BfL (together with Manual for Streets) provide an opportunity to adopt nationally recognised design standards that can help deliver a change in the housing quality delivered through the highly procedural planning system. Here capacity to address the problem of poor public space design coming through the planning system was made available by the existence of and the knowledge about the BfL and Manual for Streets. In this case, there was a problem but which had not found a satisfactory solution until BfL and MfS came along. It was then necessary to shape policy to fit around the dimensions and issues set out by the BfL and MfS.

In SNC/KS5, a key player in the Capital Standards programme discussed an opportunity to address the lack of uptake of the technical data possibilities made available by the LEQS: "We saw that parts of the contract weren't being used as well as they could be. The contract had been running since 2003 and (so) we found a resource within the contract to reallocate those to the hit squads, which could go into land use classes which were underperforming" (IN22 r AC1). Speaking about another issue, he said, "I presented this information as part of a cluster group and said this is how we use this information, through mapping and in terms of resourcing issues, and it's very interesting to… to local authorities. But they often say that (a rich borough) can afford this sort of thing but they can't…. People ask why bother doing that, we have enough problems cleaning our streets and getting our indicators right" (IN22 r AC1). In this case, the LEQS put in place excess capacity that remained underutilised for addressing the broad interests of 'cleaner public spaces'. Only some of this opportunity was realised. It can be seen how solutions and interests were tailored around the capability provided by the LEQS data and the systems they operated on.

How did MCTs affect capacity-led opportunity

Since capacity was the fixed point, interests were changed to realise the opportunity. i.e. accommodate interests to capacity. The MCTs tended to be deployed for making the case for shifting the action, rather than the belief aspect of interests to take advantage of available capacity. MCTs did this by **articulating** the benefits of the interests that they promote (for example, SND, KS5 and to a lesser extent, KS3, SNB), arguments which are **strengthened by endorsements** that those MCTs already have. MCT use is presented as 'unmissable'. Getting others to use the MCTs is seen as a 'quick win', a relatively easy to achieve small 'manipulation' (Weick 1995) with which to shift the direction of the governance path, perhaps, initially, imperceptibly. So, opportunities relate to the possibilities of changing interests to more fully utilise capacity that exists.

Situation-led opportunities

'Situation-led' opportunities arise because of potential matches in capacity and interests, problems and solutions, within the dimensions of content, process and timing being perceived. Sometimes these come about because it becomes suddenly obvious to the actors that the achievement of public action is both desirable and possible, with or without the exertion of capacity. Sometimes, interests that could potentially be met may not have been pre-articulated.

Situation-led opportunities have to do with timing, with the obviousness of the possible solution to problems that the actors suddenly face.

In SNB, "… What (MTH) did was to provide a core group of people who developed working relationship with officers and members of the council in a more positive way than we had managed in the past" (IN38 r AC1). This was the imagined possibility of changing a situation of 'hurting stalemate'. "…it's through the health check process you've got an opportunity to carry out your own consultation in a methodology that is recognised, tried and tested.'" (IN38 r AC1). The district council recognised that the MTH could harness the value of the inherent 'social capacity' of such a volunteer group with regard

the possibility of building relationships with the vocal dissenters, or at least producing results that would be accepted by them.

In SND, "the CABE Housing Audit (based on BfL) found that 70-80% of the housing schemes built in the past 3 years in (the region) were 'poor'" (IN8 r AC2). In this particular Solution Network, the BfL has an impact on the governing situation before the BfL is adopted, because it was deployed in a national Housing Audit conducted by CABE. The Audit used the BfL and concluded that the quality of design of housing developments in the region, based on the twenty dimensions, was poor. The Housing Audit as excuse to start introducing BfL as policy standard.

How did MCTs affect situation-led opportunity

In both cases, it was because actors recognised the potential of the particular configuration of capacity and interests, in the former, because of the particular type of capacity MTH promised, and in the latter, at a moment in time, that action was taken to realised the opportunities that presented themselves.

In these cases, actors created opportunities by building on situations they find themselves in. In both cases, MCTs are involved by **being the source of the situation itself**, or **drawing attention to potential situations**. In the latter, there is a direct BfL-based action – the publication of the Housing Audit it which the message is direct: here is situation of potential match. In the former, the opportunity is more indirect as actors have to be aware of some potential that may not be overt. In this case, it is the particular quirk of MTH that it is always carried out by local volunteers that provided this opportunity. Actions were taken to improve relational capacity to improve match of capacity to solve the stalemate.

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How did MCTs affect opportunity

This three-way non-mutually exclusive categorisation shows that opportunities arise by generating or building on trust / mistrust, and involve reciprocity / non-cooperation that often already have the potential to exist within the process. For example, to be led by interests is inherently positive and optimistic, whereas to be led by capacity may be driven by need, not desire. Furthermore, this discussion shows that the pattern of people's willingness to 'accommodate to' the more fixed position can explain how interests, capacities and situations can all potentially create opportunities, but that both recognition of potential and actual action is required to realise them. The examples in KS1 and 2 simply had MCTs create arenas where information could be exchanged freely. In others (KS2,6), the very existence of the MCT was sufficient to be seen as an opportunity for action. In yet others (KS7, 8) opportunities gradually emerged in iteration with growing awareness of capacity. In all these cases, revelation of opportunity drove trajectories towards consideration a solution that takes that opportunity.

All of this corroborates the proposition theorised in Chapter 5, that opportunities are often created, and the awareness of possible opportunity may lead actors to act differently, to realise opportunities beneficial to them, or to derail those that are not. Simply, actors can only exploit opportunities intentionally if they know about them. Further, the more they understand the nature of opportunities, the better they can tailor their actions to deal with them.

Projection / awareness of opportunity

SELF-FULFILMENT IS A DISTINGUISHING FEATURE OF PROJECTION OF OPPORTUNITY

Since 'opportunities' are a function of the capacity-interests relationship, beliefs about capacity, interests and opportunity itself can shape opportunities and hence actions. Opportunities rarely simply emerge, but are often created. The belief about an opportunity may lead actors to act differently, putting different trajectories and dynamics in place.

The two seemingly contrasting accounts, the first, of officers in SNA constructing the elaborate case for building the bridge (KS2), and the second, that of local residents in SNE stumbling into actions in the Steering Group, which nevertheless were successful in getting them the street furniture they wanted (KS8), are illustrative regarding the deliberate-ness of opportunity creation. Both involved the active and extensive imagining of consequences, helped by substantial epistemological awareness of other stakeholder interests and capacity. In the latter case, despite initial naivety, the residents DID in fact do extensive homework regarding the costs and feasibility of the furniture, and had a major trump card in form of the appeal to fair participation in the Steering Group.

APPROPRIATING THEORY: META-KNOWLEDGE AND THE ROLE OF MCTS

A number of features of the work of Elcheroth et al (2011) on 'public representations' resonate with the construct of projection. The first is meta-knowledge, or the question of "whose knowledge of whose interests, capacity and opportunities?" After Elcheroth et al's (2011) concept of 'meta-knowledge', it is important to consider the extent to which a sensemaker needs to be aware of:

1. their **own** interests, capacity, and opportunities available to him, as well as the sufficiency of his capacity to fulfil demands of interests given the availability of opportunities, the availability of opportunities to fulfil interests given his capacity, and the relationship between capacity and opportunity.
2. The same issues for all **other** relevant actors'
3. Relevant others' **awareness** of the same issues **for their set** of interests, capacity and opportunities

4. Relevant others' **awareness** of the same issues **for own set** of interests, capacity and opportunities.

The need to consider these is likely to require sensemakers to make assumptions about, that is, to project, what some of these items are, as not all of these are available, or even known to those who hold them themselves. Indeed, after Mead (1934 in Weick 1995) we are "a parliament of selves" and we argue to ourselves about what sense we should make about issues or situations that are equivocal or ambiguous.

MCTs help projection of our own or others beliefs and meanings
How do MCTs help?

First, where **MCTs help actors project the possibilities of their own beliefs and meanings in enabling public action**, it is helping to increase self-awareness about his own interests-capacity-opportunity relations within a governing situation. This can be inducted from data in KS7, KS8, but also from the evidence outside of the Key Stories – for example in the learning through BfL training.

Second, MCTs **help actors become aware of others' interest-capacity-opportunity relations.** For example, in KS2, the officers seeking to build the bridge learnt from the Audit Walk and then from discussion with other actors elsewhere, why the bridge was not built a few years earlier. With that fragmented information, and with past experience of similar situations, they were able to project, intuitively, the state of key interests-capacity-opportunity relations of other actors, and also between those other actors. Based on those projections, they designed very targeted public actions via the wording of the follow up 'survey' questionnaires that they projected would elicit responses, that would in turn fix the meaning of 'build the bridge'. So MCTs also help actors with the **awareness of the interest-capacity-opportunity relations between others, not just of others**.

Finally, **MCTs help sensemakers become aware of how one's own interests-opportunity-capacity relations might be known by others**. At the early stage of the sensemaking cycle, MCTs create arenas which enable interactive exchange, thus increasing all parties' awareness of each others' expressive and receptive tendencies (for example, KS1, KS7). This can help actors become aware of the sorts of interested they may need to divulge or keep under wraps. MCTs offer connections of cues and frames through which actors can control their communication, and may help make them aware of how their message may be received. Gaining a sense of control over expressive and receptive processes and a sense that others trust us, or think we have capacity gives people confidence, and indeed, power to act.

SELF-FULFILMENT BETWEEN AWARENESS OF AND ACTUAL CAPACITY AND OPPORTUNITY

In both 'capacity' and 'opportunity' the graphic representation of the meta-meanings of these two as cycles is helpful for clarifying that each of them consists of beliefs that then become established as meanings for testing. The implication of this, as in any cycle of sensemaking, is that either a change in the belief or the action part of the cycle can cause a change in the trajectory or the resultant meaning. This allows us to describe how and why the data suggests that actual capacity (a state of things) can be precipitated by either a belief in or a realisation by the actor who gains capacity of the fact that he / she may actually have capacity potential. This is demonstrated very clearly in Key Stories 7 and 8 in particular. Similarly, opportunities can be precipitated when an actor imagines its possibility and takes action to what Weick (1995) might call 'manipulate' the state of things to make opportunities happen.

'ACCOMMODATING TO'

Self-fulfilment can be explained by the tendency of beliefs or actions accommodating to each other, whichever is seen to be more attractive and / or stable.

The idea of 'belief' accommodating to 'action' suggested in sensemaking can apply across cycles not just within, as suggested by the idea that opportunities can be capacity and situation-led as much as it can be

interests-led. This is because meanings precipitated by cycles, or even beliefs, can themselves act as cues or frames for new and further beliefs. So the 'belief' in one cycle (say, interests), can actually accommodate to an opportunity that has suddenly been made visible and is proving a stable meaning, and the governing path can be shifted to take advantage of that opportunity. Similarly, actions in the capacity cycle can be shifted to achieve a fixed interests position. This corroborates with Weick's (1995) observation that stability is a very attractive quality of a meaning, and that sensemakers will gravitate towards positions associated with such meaning.

SHARPENING THEORY: NOT CAPACITY AND OPPORTUNITY, BUT THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL AWARENESS OF CAPACITY AND OPPORTUNITY, AND OF OTHERS' INTERESTS (I.E. EPISTEMOLOGICAL AWARENESS GENERALLY).

The theoretical model was under-developed to begin. This research therefore set out to build a theory that described the relationships between interests, capacity and opportunity.

The model that emerged suggested that particular categorisations of capacities and opportunities from the literature that better fit with a sensemaking model, and that explains inter-sensemaker interactions with reference to beliefs, tests of those beliefs, and the particular dynamics of the trajectories of meaning change. It made sense to confirm categories of capacity into the technological and the relational, but dividing the latter into pessimistic and optimistic approaches. It made sense also to classify opportunities according to the primary driving force behind them, so into interests, capacity and situation-led. These three correspond well with the new component condition of epistemological awareness of interests, capacity and opportunity.

MCTS ENABLES PROJECTION / EXTEND AWARENESS OF CAPACITY, OPPORTUNITY, INTERESTS

So, these three, interests, capacity and opportunity, are useful constructs whose interactions in terms of beliefs, actions, their cyclical relations, and the accommodation to the most strongly fixed meaning position, are plausible

heuristics with which to explain observations in data. MCTs' roles in these are varied, acting on various points of the cycles, and acting in various ways. MCT impacts are not always very predictable as the cues or frames they put in place are controlled to varying degrees.

To sum up, on the construct of capacity, MCTs affected technological capacity by enabling articulation of beliefs, and then the testing of those beliefs. This happed with relational capacity as well but the cues and frames concerned meta-knowledge rather than technical issues of public space. On the construct of opportunity, MCTs affected these, whether interest, capacity or situation-led, by influencing the way in which interest, capacity and opportunity itself were perceived. For both opportunity and capacity, MCTs can enable the actors to shape the actual opportunity and capacity based on what the epistemological awareness of opportunity and capacity, and of projected outcomes. So MCTs give actors a better epistemological awareness of the combination of capacity, opportunity and interests. The closer the imagined is to the actual, the more able to assess accurately the course of action most likely to result in desirable outcomes.

Finally, with the ability to evaluate, it is possible for actors to see clearly that, where it is NOT possible to evaluate or to change state of things to match, beliefs may be changed to arrive at interests. That is, beliefs may accommodate to interests.

CONCLUSION: MCTs AFFECT THE PROJECTION OF PUBLIC ACTION BY INFLUENCING INTERESTS, CAPACITY AND OPPORTUNITY, AND THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL AWARENESS OF THESE THREE TOGETHER

For **interests**, the overall assessment had to be that interests were acceptable for a public action to happen. MCTs helped actors articulate their own and also others' imagined proposed public space changes by highlighting salient features. MCTs helped to articulate the similarities and differences between each actor's interests. For **capacity**, the projection of sufficient capacity may be labelled 'confidence'. In Key Stories 2, 3, 6 and 8, this is what MCTs enabled. The confidence was based on a mix of

technological competence and understanding of relationships between actors. For **opportunity**, which arises when actor is likely to have capacity to act to meet his interests and establish a state of things that is valuable, MCTs affected the opportunity structure of a situation by changing the knowledge available and the imaginability of particular beliefs or meanings, so that actors can even contemplate taking public action. This happened in a huge range of ways, by affecting, for example, arenas for purchase and connection, or by increasing capacity of actors to imagine or to enact.

<u>Resulting requirements</u>

From this analysis, one requirement for the meeting of the condition of 'awareness' could be surmised.

REQUIREMENT 11: <u>PROJECTABILITY</u>: CAPACITY AND IMPETUS TO BE EPISTEMOLOGICALLY AWARE OF COMBINED INTERESTS, CAPACITY, OPPORTUNITY.

So the epistemological awareness of the combination of capacity, opportunity and interests is a construct that resulted from data. It is a test of the awareness of what interests, capacity and opportunity are. Together with the actual match between capacity, opportunity and interests, this gives us the condition of realisability. If what we think capacity, opportunity and interests are is close to what they actually are, and if they are in a configuration favourable to realisation, then this is a test, at least conceptually, of realisability. Realisability is a condition for public action and is the result of the evaluation of the opportunity and capacity to address the interests discrepancy that private action has defined. Private action contributes to an assessment of realisability by articulating interests, but also opportunity and capacity. Private action would involve the assessment of and therefore influenced interests (certainly) and opportunity and capacity (maybe) prior to the public action, but would not have involved a holistic evaluation of all three against each other in a publicly perceivable way. For example, a sense of confidence can be the result of a private action because it can be a non-public evaluation of the belief in the capacity to do something. Spotting the opportunity for a follow up survey in Key Story 2 sets the scene for the possibility of doing that survey, which is a public action. See for

example, Key Story 7. Public action is thus the evaluation of the possibility of opportunity and capacity to address the particular interests discrepancy revealed by private action.

What comes across strongly in the discussion above is that the awareness of opportunity or capacity sees sensemakers direct / create path towards positions that are imagined to be achievable. In other words, problem definition depends on imaginable solution sets. This in turn depends on the capacity to imagine of the problem solvers (Jones 1995, Cohen 1972). It has been noted, "Tell me how you are looking and I will tell you what you are looking for" (Wittgenstein 1964, in Malcolm 1967). The imaginable solution sets also therefore shape the opportunity. This 'taking into account' involves awareness of, among other things, **foreseeability of closing the gap** and all the levels of meta-knowledge that involves, including the potential meta-meanings of the imagined outcomes, and the processes that lead to those outcomes. The degree of match that makes the gap is itself affected by the possibility of imagining the closing of the gap.

The ability to imagine, in order to be able to project value onto future meaning scenarios, is important for understanding public actions, or the lack of them. The condition of realisability should therefore be described by, not just actual interests, capacity and opportunity, whatever they may be, but the anticipated valuation of the combination of those three. We can see how decisions to act and move a cycle forward were made when the projected capacity and interests are closely matched enough to be judged an opportunity, for example, in Key Story 3, SNB. Whether or not it is actually realised is dependent on actual capacity and opportunity, both of which can themselves be influenced by actors holding particular beliefs about them.

11a Epistemological awareness of interests

On the epistemological awareness of interests, all MCTs help sensemakers evaluate their interests and how they got there, to some extent. Some are more explicit about this, and even designed for it than others. For example, compared to the opacity of the LEQS, the BfL is used to help non-designers

understand how to assess design quality, with extensive description and case studies backing up each dimension. In doing so, however, MCTs also shape those sensemakers' interests to better fit their own. MCTs enabled actors to imagine and evaluate if and how their interests that might be served by public action; this enables testing the attractiveness of the public action as well as the feasibility of enacting it. Again, the example of Key Story 5, which was about the arguments of the adoption of BfL, illustrate the making arguments about epistemological implications of BfL adoption well.

11b Epistemological awareness of capacity

On the epistemological awareness of capacity, as discussed under capacity-led opportunity, there was evidence of a tendency to adopt interests that are believed to be more achievable, where capacity is close to addressing problem raised by interests – the question of achievability of a public action was hinted at in SNE where the narrative was suggestive about people's growing realisation that achievability was in reach, because there is perceived possibility of matching interests and capacity. Awareness of capacity may modify sensemakers' interests to fit capacity and opportunity, to enable achievability of public action. Instances with imagined capacities could result in the capacity-led opportunity described earlier.

As discussed, MCTs enabled actors to evaluate whether their capacity is sufficient to take public action (SNB, particularly SND). They help actors imagine the governing situation more precisely. The perception of sufficient capacity may lead to public action. This should be evident in the data.

11c Epistemological awareness of opportunity

On the epistemological awareness of opportunity, theorisation leads us to expect that opportunity is directly affected by knowledge of it. This has already been explored at length. As discussed, the awareness of opportunity invites sensemakers to move towards realising those opportunities, thus shaping sensemakers' interests and modifying what is desirable.

As discussed, MCTs enabled actors to more clearly imagine and evaluate their opportunities to take public action; this enables a better test of the opportunities for the public action. In SNB Key Story 3, knowledge of the MTH enabled council officers and members to imagine the opportunities to deal with vocal dissent, as they anticipated how political capacity provided by the MTH could address their interests, which was to carry out public space improvement projects, which they were prevented from doing. In SNE Key Story 8, once local people were given access to the decision-making arena of the Steering Group and had their confidence and technical capacity built up by CSA training, they spotted the opportunity, that is, the foreseeable match between their new capacity, and the interests, to shape decision-making about street furniture and moved to realise that opportunity through a series of public actions in the arena of the Steering Group.

11d Epistemological awareness of realisation overall

On the epistemological awareness of realisation, one obvious example of MCTs enabling the evaluation of projected realisation is where MCTs have associated rewards or sanctions based on their results. This is an extreme example, however, but MCTs can indeed help actors to imagine and evaluate what the realised result might be, which is the results of public action. For example, a BfL assessment is about helping non-designers imagine the critical implications of particular housing design proposals. The MTH was clearly deployed as an exercise of helping people imagine the future interests of their town.

Realisation construct

Realisation emerged as a condition for public action; this is the very enactment of that action. It became obvious that a link between the end of one sensemaking cycle and the next was realisation, which creates a whole lot of new cues and frames to form the next belief construction phase. It is the condition for subsequent cycles of sensemaking. Two defining characteristics of realisation were that: 1) the resulting public meaning had the possibility of being evaluated by others, and that 2) realisation meant some impact on shared governance path.

THE IDEA OF REALISATION

Realisation is the common action that comes of individual public actions. It involves the convergence of action, not necessarily of meanings, though convergence of meanings makes it stronger and more sustainable.

From the discussion of the literature in Chapter 5 and the preceding discussion on meta-meanings, it is possible to see that the realisability of common action is really a condition that requires a complex set of meta-meta-evaluations. Just as endorsement was a meta-meaning, realisability is too, except more complex.

For a common action to happen, meta-meanings must be associated with a primary meaning that coincides with that common action, and that common action, or the perception of it, must also be able to satisfy the meta-meanings of all the other relevant stakeholders as well. Just as two people can appreciate the same piece of art for different personal reasons, two governing actors may come to agreement to a common action without benefitting from identical meta-meanings of that action. So a common action is the public movement of a sensemaking cycle to the preferred meaning state, however that is achieved, no matter if relevant actors share the same belief regarding it. So, the theme of local or situation-specific rationality (Bevir 2010) is raised again.

THE DYNAMICS OF REALISATION

Dynamics of a collective sensemaking situation is closely tied to its meaning content, indeed, the possibility of particular meaning content. It was suggested in Chapter 5 that the two defining characteristics of realisation were that:

1) the resulting public meaning had the possibility of being evaluated by others, and that 2) realisation meant some impact on governance path. These defining qualities begin to suggest how public action in public space governance may be defined, and this has implications on how public space is conceptualised for the purposes of governance, and indeed, on how the idea of public may be defined. However, first, what are the dynamical qualities of publicness, and therefore, of realisation?

The biggest one is that 'realisation' is unique of all the conditions because to get to it involves taking into account 'raised stakes' due to the overt nature of public action. 'Publicness' brings into play the intensification of fixedness of meaning position (as in Weick's 'commitment') and of movement (as in Weick's 'manipulation').

Results of the confrontation of data and theory

The data confirms and extends the details for realisation to occur: MCTs and patterns of realisation of public action corroborate Weick's (1995) typology of sensemaking initiation mechanisms: 'argument', 'expectation', 'commitment' and 'manipulation'. The data confirms that it is sufficient agreement (or insufficient disagreement) about governing action that is the result of collective sensemaking and constitutes a shared and public 'fixed point' around which actors' individual trajectories will the move; that is, the convergence of shared action. In dynamics terms what is public about public action is its visibility, and thus potential to intensify the fixedness or movement of a status quo.

EXTENDING THEORY: PUBLICNESS INTENSIFIES FIXEDNESS AND MOVEMENT

Recalling Weick's (1995) four ways in which sensemaking is initiated, through argument, expectation, commitment and manipulation, as discussed in Chapter 5, what the data shows is the impact of 'publicness' or the promise / threat of publicness on the fixedness and movement of meaning positions. It is only 'commitment' and 'manipulation' that are by definition, public; they rely on publicness for their power to fix or move. However, 'argument' and 'expectation' may also be brought out into the public, where they can form bases for commitment (to an argued position) or manipulation (which can make some meaning positions can be become indefensible / inevitable).

FIGURE 7.2 PATTERNS OF SENSEMAKING DYNAMICS

	Impact on belief	Impact on action
Fix	Sensemaking through expectation (also discussed in Chapter 7a)	Sensemaking through commitment: .
Move	Sensemaking through argument (also discussed in Chapter 7a)	Sensemaking through manipulation

By definition, **commitment** is public, relying on publicness for its power of fixing a meaning position. An instance of commitment forms the fixed point around an action, and around which an individual trajectories, and shared paths turn. MCTs create arenas where issues are forced to be overt thus making commitment possible[25]. For example, in SNE (KS8), this commitment is appealed to explicitly time and again, but the access of the appellant to the arena of joint decision-making, the consultation group, was only enabled by their participation in the CSA, as was their confidence to demand commitment to principles of fair access and participation. In SNA (KS2), there is unusual step-by-step articulation of how commitment was obtained at various steps, using the promise of CSA, and then the results of the CSA, and then the results of an additional follow-up survey based on the CSA results, to establish commitment. So, MCTs both engender publicness required for commitment, and also help intensify fixedness to that committed position by being endorsed or third party neutral. This creates the attractive 'stable' position to which commitment is made, and holds actors actions on track. In every single Solution Network explored here, the MCTs have been the basis of 'watershed' moments, the fixed points around which trajectories and paths turn.

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[25] Compare this to the famous case study of non-engagement by Lukes (1974) on the third face of power.

Manipulation is also, by definition, public. It relies on overtness for its power to shift a meaning position. SNA – in fact, Ac3 commitment to the CSA is result of manipulation. Once they had committed to funding something so widely seen as a widely accepted transparent way of consulting on pedestrian environment, and whose results were presented to the public in a public meeting, they had effectively no choice but to set up the Steering Group (KS1). Once they had done that, they then found they had committed to it. In KS2, it is clear how each 'anchor point' of commitment was plotted and set up, through manipulation. The conduct of the follow-up survey was clearly intended to shift governing paths, and it did so. Once the results of the survey were published, this set a shifted point of meaning around which trajectories needed to work. They were fixed at this new shifted point because of commitment to their results in the first instance, but the conduct and publication of the survey was an act of manipulation. All the actors with diverse positions agreed to commit to various positions, without compulsion, and yet, they had not much choice. In both KS1 and KS2, CSA played background, sometimes remote roles in enabling manipulation. However, it was foundational in so many ways, providing both the focus of manipulation, and also sufficient endorsement and status to actually affect a move at all, rather than indifference. It is quite obvious that the MCT only had this effect because of the efforts of actors; otherwise, it is not unconceivable that the CSA report could have simply ended up in the bottom drawer.

Arguments are not, by definition, means of shifting sense that rely on its publicness. However, a clear example of how MCTs affected argument and how this had an impact on a public action is in KS8 (SNE). This demonstrated how the CSA, CSA-based membership of the Consultation Group and the **commitment** to consultation were grasped and deployed by one stakeholder group, as appeals to change the direction and outcome of what bench and bins design was, and how they were procured. The MCT also contributed here indirectly, by being 'trusted bases' upon which the argument was based. This prepared the argument for any future 'making public' of it.

Expectations do not rely on the intensification of fix or move by virtue of overtness, to work. Yet, the decision to realise an action would take into account the projected expectations of other actors, in order to design the most effective course of action, to achieve the enactment of actions leading to desired meaning positions.

SHARPENING THEORY: 'VISIBLE' TO AND EVALUABLE BY RELEVANT STAKEHOLDERS

One clarification from the data is that 'public action' is defined as those which OUGHT to be visible and evaluable by others, whether or not they actually are.

MCTs enabled some public actions simply by making issues 'public' which would otherwise not have been engaged with. They do so in many ways, from new information arising from LEQS surveys, to new juxtapositions of that data (KS5). In KS2, the CSA brought to light a number of major walking issues in SNA that attracted the attention to those officers who could act on them, to engaging local stakeholders in public decision-making about their streets. The deployment of BfL changed housing layout design from the preserve of professionals to those of the elected representatives in SND. The MTH enabled consultation with a large number of local residents about their ambitions for their town.

CONFIRMING THEORY: IRREVERSIBILITY / WATERSHED

Once information is made public, it gains a quality of irreversibility; some publicly declared or accomplished positions are difficult to reverse.

Making something public or formal can intensify or upset the stability of its meaning, which makes it a useful starting point for the next cycle. This is a characteristic that is understood and exploited by governing actors.

In SNE, local residents return to the commitment made by all Steering Group members to the decisions made in that group (KS7). In an effort to communicate how seriously the planning authority was taking BfL as a standard for all housing planning applications over a certain size in SND was

put across as being 'official', with plans to further enshrine it in policy. The steps taken to construct a case for building the bridge in SNA (KS2) demonstrated the care taken to 'fix' every step, first the CSA report was official and presented at a public meeting. Then a follow up survey based on that, and with a large number of stakeholders made it difficult to refute. Third, the survey was designed to focus on a subject which was again hard to refute once made public. Each of these can be seen as an instance of realisation. Another example was in the use of MTH in SNB as a tool for prioritising particular projects for public space. The narrowing down of the long list of projects by the prioritisation is based on MTH findings, which grounds and fixes the meaning position, i.e. create more stability. The MTH results provided the robust evidence base required for re-scoping the sensemaking cycle down to the 'identified projects'.

The theoretical model says that realisation enables the next state of belief, which kicks off the next cycle. Realisation simply provides one of the many cues upon which that next belief is constructed. Notably, because they are public, these have a quality of possible irreversibility, which means they are, to some extent, fixed points. It is these that anchor a path, including a change in path.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL: EPISTEMOLOGICAL MECHANISMS OF MEANING CONSTRUCTION EXPLAINING THE CONVERGENCE (I.E. SHIFT IN TRAJECTORIES) OF ACTIONS

Suggestion is that a proposed 'sensible action' for many / all parties, especially in complex situations, is likely to be accepted, especially if all the 'calculations' including 'realpolitik-al' ones weighing up interests, capacity and opportunity do not throw up any major objections. 'Sensible actions' are a function of how that action is seen – 'does it make sense to enough engaged actors' – and NOT that 'is it rational according to detailed objective technical calculations'. Where actions are required regarding complex or indeed inter-subjective issues, many decisions to do these are based on a mixture of:

- actual technical calculation, for example in KS5.
- actual political / relational calculation, for example in KS1, 2, 3, 7, 8

- trust / belief in others' calculations whether those others are experts or a proxy for expertise as MCTs are, or they are politically influential leaders – the beliefs are tested against frameworks relevant to 'trusting' and possibly, to an extent to the 'technical' or 'political' interests. For example KS6, 7.

- trust / belief is others' without resorting to technical calculation, because no calculation is actually possible, but there is trust in the judgment, often expert, of those others – the beliefs are tested against frameworks relevant to 'trusting' not to the 'technical interests'. For example, KS6, 7. This is a leadership as described by Smircich and Morgan (1982).

CONCLUSIONS

All of this confirmed that the sensemaking model of fixed points in a field of meaning around which inscribed paths shift, is one that can describe why things work out in governing situations as they do. It is about the relative fixedness of points, and about how trajectories or paths accommodate around the more fixed and more acceptable points, thus inscribing a different trajectory of meaning. It is also about how consideration of publicness intensifies the fixedness or the movement of meaning positions. What publicness does is the set the bar higher for fix or move to happen when enactment, or public action, is involved. This means that the meta-meanings have to very clearly, thoroughly and strongly meet the criteria set by rationales, for an actor to decide to act.

Resulting requirements

From this analysis, three requirements for the meeting of the condition of 'realisation' could be surmised.

REQUIREMENT 9: CAPACITY REALISED

Capacity is about whether actors have the ability to impact on public action in a multi-stakeholdered governance situation with inter-sensemaker interactions. With regard to capacity for any action, public or private, the preceding discussion of the empirical data touched upon capacity to articulate to self past and possible future, or imaginability. Capacity in

relation to ability of sensemakers to apply situationally relevant frames was also discussed. These two, in fact, nicely sum up what ought to be the component constructs of capacity to construct meaning (and this is what they will be treated as from this point on):

- **Capacity to articulate**: can you imagine it to juxtapose cue and frame? This is related to the idea of connection of cue and frame to form belief in the sensemaking model.

- **Capacity to test**: Can you test the juxtaposition to come to a meaning? This is related to the idea of the 'relating' (Follett 1924 in Weick 1995), by which is meant the inscribing of the cycle itself that tests the beliefs with action or observation in the world.

REQUIREMENT 10: OPPORTUNITY GRASPED

As discussed, an opportunity is a situation where it is possible for a particular shift in a sensemaking trajectory to be transmitted into a public action **to close the 'discrepant' gap between interests** and **capacity** by moving one or both closer to the other; that is, a better match between capacity and interests. However, the relationship between opportunity and sensemaking in public space governing remains unexplored. So the first research action with regard to opportunity was to search for patterns around opportunities for public action in the data.

REQUIREMENT 11: IMPETUS TO ENACT OVERT ACTION

This is necessary because public action is intentional action: it requires action by actors.

REQUIREMENT 12: THE COMBINATION OF INTERESTS, CAPACITY, AND OPPORTUNITY (I.E. TIMING) OF ACHIEVING DESIRED STATE OF THINGS

The key requirement for public action to happen, once the preceding conditions are in place, is the existence of a particular combination of actual capacity and opportunity to address the interests. There are many examples where the lack of actual capacity prevents action, of course, such as in the projects following the initial riverside improvement in SNB, for which funding did not become available. There are also examples where only confidence but no actual capacity caused a public action, which then shifted the path

anyway, and in this way, it was the awareness of capacity, rather than capacity itself that drove the path shift.

It has to be emphasised, however, that the unique contribution of a sensemaking perspective to this required match of interests, opportunity and capacity, is that it allows for the possibility, indeed, it expects a high probability of interests and capacity and opportunity **accommodating to each other in any number of ways, via any number of mechanisms**, without necessarily resulting in poorer 'value' in the end. This is, according to sensemaking, the nature of how people rationalise, or make sense of their particular situation.

One example is how the different stakeholders rationalised the building of the bridge in SNA, Key Story 2. The senior officer interviewed had in fact, initially presided over the 'no bridge' decision over a decade ago. However, once faced with the irrefutable evidence for the need, his account made him sound as if he was behind it all along anyway. This is a case of interests accommodating to opportunity and capacity positions.

7.6. Conclusion

The aim of Chapters 7a and 7b was to explore data in terms of a sensemaking approach to theory in order to build a model and heuristic framework that will in turn describe how MCTs work.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

"We ought to know what we are doing. We should aim at total knowledge of our situation, and a clear conceptualisation of all our possibilities. Thought and intention must be directed towards definite overt issues or else they are merely daydream. 'Reality' is potentially open to different observers. What is 'inward', what lies in between overt actions, is either impersonal thought or 'shadows' of acts, or else substanceless dream. Mental life is, and logically must be, a shadow of life in public" (Murdoch 1970 p7).

What Weick (1995) demonstrates however, is that while we should aim at clear conceptualisation of all our possibilities, we do not actually achieve this very well, if at all.

So that public governing, supposedly based on a clear conceptualisations of possibilities and total knowledge, is never what it seems, and yet a promise of such clarity is the most attractive thing about it; it is what makes people accept direction of leaders (Smircich and Morgan 1992), and as this research showed, of multi-criteria tools in public space governing.

MCTs mediate each of the following in public space governing: the daydream or 'private belief' of public space actors, the shadows of acts or 'private actions' or testing the beliefs, and the overt actions themselves, or 'public action', in a way that attenuates some desired aspects required by governing 'norms' such as transparency, fairness, responsive and so on, and, in other ways, only attenuate how people *perceive* those desired aspects. MCTs are means of influencing belief, private and public actions. They will be effective if they help actors' public actions result in the enactment of a common or shared action, thus solving a societal problem.

Structure of this chapter

Part 1 sets out the instrumental or operational heuristic framework and model that describes how governing as sensemaking works. It describes the overall shape of the 'field' model of meaning-making, and organises the explanation of this model in terms of states of content and process at different stages of

meaning-making. Part 2 considers the implication of the research findings at three levels, the operational, the strategic and the paradigmatic. Part 3 considers future research based on this framework.

8.1. Part 1: CONCLUSION: A refined explanation of the attenuation of meaning construction

At this point, it is useful to recapitulate the research aims and question.

Research aims: To explain / understand the attenuation of meaning construction in multi-actor negotiation situations in public space governing. To build a theoretically-founded model in order to do so.

Research setting: The single case, or research setting, is MCTs in public space governing.

To 'explain' here is to make intelligible (Rosenberg 1995), in post-positivist / interpretive mould of social science. This is achieved by constructing an intermediate theoretical framework – the instrumental heuristic – that explains meaning construction. This framework draws heavily on the notion of sensemaking (Weick 1995), and to a lesser extent, on constructivist explanations from a range of other areas of scholarship.

The research question: "How is meaning managed in public space governing?"

Refining the explanatory framework: a 'field' model

Elaborated shape of explanation: a 'field' model of meaning-making

Chapter 7a began with a sensemaking account of public space governing. This section refines that account, and boils down. The diagrams below illustrates the shapes inscribed into the conceptual 'field' of meaning. So, this refined account of how governing proceeds could be labelled '**a field model of multi-lateral meaning-making.'**
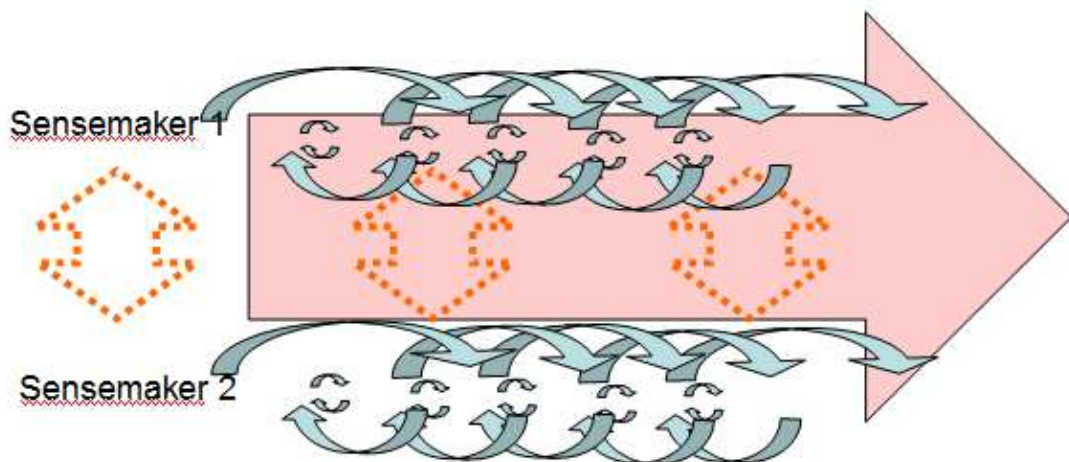
FIGURE 8.1 ELABORATED SHAPE OF EXPLANATION: A 'FIELD' MODEL OF MEANING-MAKING FOR AN INDIVIDUAL SENSEMAKER

The 'aim' of governing is to achieve, for the individual governing actor, an optimal stable conceptual location in a multi-dimensional field of meaning. To achieve this location, the process needs to undergo a particular dynamic (either 'fix' or 'move') toward that location via a spiral-shaped trajectory. This is achieved by making the target conceptual location attractive for the sensemaker. Building up from the basic 'cycle', over time, any shifts in belief or any actions cause a spiral to be inscribed. With and decisive shifts, a trajectory with decisive shifts of meaning, is inscribed, for the individual sensemaker.
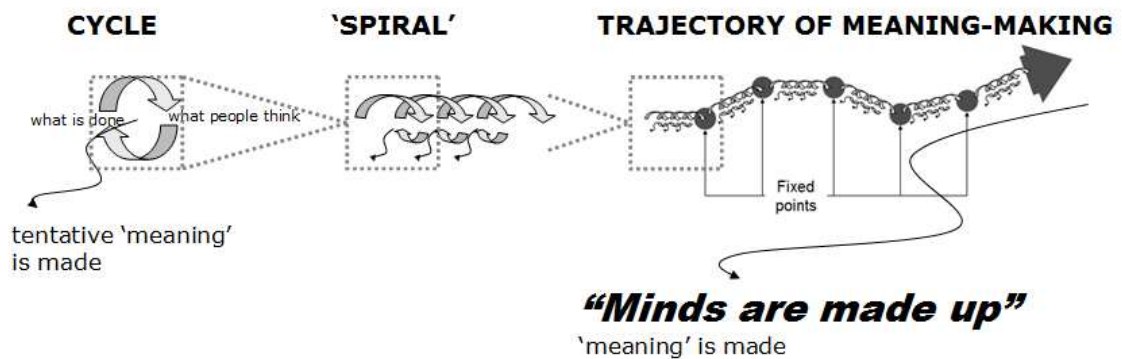
FIGURE 8.2 ELABORATED SHAPE OF EXPLANATION: MUTUAL INFLUENCE BETWEEN SENSEMAKERS IN A 'FIELD' MODEL OF COLLECTIVE MEANING-MAKING

However, in a governing situation, which is, by definition, public, a stable conceptual location must also be evaluated as 'acceptable' by other governing actors.

FIGURE 8.3 ELABORATED SHAPE OF EXPLANATION: COMPLEX SPIRAL TRAJECTORY FOR INDIVIDUAL SENSEMAKER AS A RESULT OF INFLUENCE OF 'THE PUBLIC' OR THE NEED TO GO PUBLIC

There is mutual influence between actors sensemaking and sense made causing a complex spiral path for each individual actor that takes into account an inner cycle of private sensemaking and an other cycle of public sensemaking.
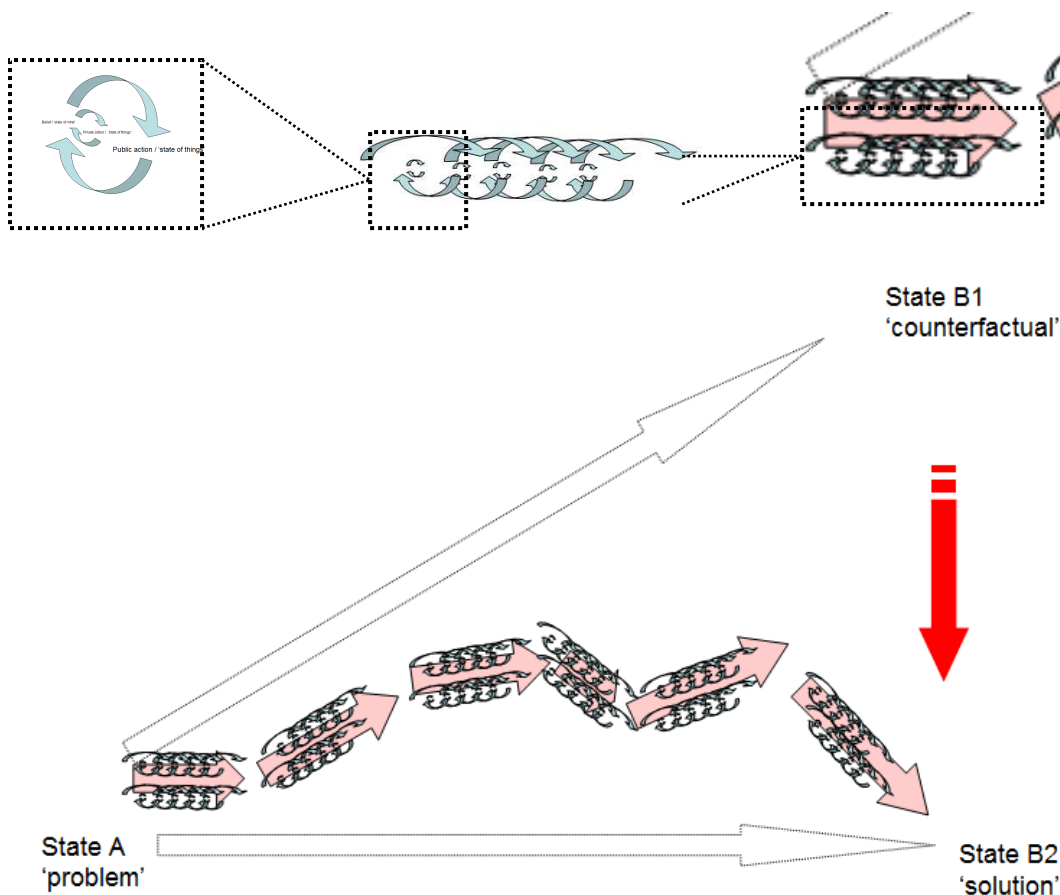
Ultimately, what results is a governance path that is made of multiple multilateral influences, between two, usually more actors (only 2 spirals are depicted in this diagram.

A conceptual location is attractive when it, and the way to get there, **meets with sensemaker's rationales** (including reasonableness, educative authenticity, morality, emotion, relationship based on identification with, relationship based on trust in actors, power / empowerment, structural,

resolution to act / impetus). Whether the location or the means to get there meets rationales would require that both the location and the way to it, be evaluated (i.e. meta-meaning determined). Note: rationales are discussed in detail below.

So, this requires the location and the way to it, themselves meanings, to be assessed, the assessment result being the **meta-meaning**. These are assessed against those same rationales (including reasonableness, educative authenticity, morality, emotion, relationship based on identification with, relationship based on trust in actors, power / empowerment, structural, resolution to act / impetus), even if the rationales are manifest in different forms.

FIGURE 8.4 GRID DESCRIBING THE EXPLANATION

	Content	Process	Requirement in the realm of Meaning that explains states and conditions
Basic elements	Cue + Frame	Fix / move	n/a
States States describe relationships of or results of relating of basic elements.	**States of content**: 1. Connect(ion) - belief 2. Relate(ing) / evaluate(ion) – private action 3. Enact(ment) – public action	**States of process**, in terms of inscriptions: 1. Cycle – from action to belief 2. Spiral trajectory – from belief to action – results in shifted individual conceptual positions 3. Path – public action agreed / enacted.	The stability **tendency** and progress of cycle, trajectory, and path. Note: Tendencies are discussed in detail below. The optimisation of conceptual locations (given ultimately by **rationales**)
Types of Conditions Conditions describe the required characteristics of states that help explain the achievement of subsequent states in the cycle. They also explain the achievement of particular conceptual locations.	**Juxtaposition** required for achieving connection or relation. Basic elements must be juxtaposed and juxtaposed three ways, between cue, frame and sensemaker, so that results are noticed, evaluated and projected, before rationales can be applied to them. Rationales are applied to decide whether to fix or move conceptual position. 1. Connect(ion) involves the conditions of 'purchase' then 'connection itself. 2. Relate(ion) / evaluate(ion) involves the conditions of attention then evaluation 3. Enact(ment) involves projection then realisation.	**Capacity, sufficient interest (impetus) and opportunity to assess juxtaposition** - required for achieving connection, relation but particularly, enactment. To assess is meta-evaluation and also requires epistemological awareness.	The 'state' meets or does not sufficiently contradict **rationales.**

HOW the fix/move happens between the cycle sub-locations of 'belief', 'private action' and 'public action' can be described by characteristics of these **stages**. These can be systematically articulated by reference to, on the one hand, a build up of **basic elements**, their **states** or relationships between or results of relating these elements, the **types of conditions** required to achieve we identify by inducting from the data, that MCTs put in place conditions conducive to fix/move, and fix/move in a given trajectorial direction, and on other hand, to whether these apply to **content** or **process** of sensemaking.

'**Basic elements**' are, **for content**, 'cue' and 'frame'. This model is taken from the understanding of belief being the juxtaposition of cue and frame. Although Weick (1995) describes this as 'a unit of meaning', it would be more accurate to call it 'a unit of belief'.
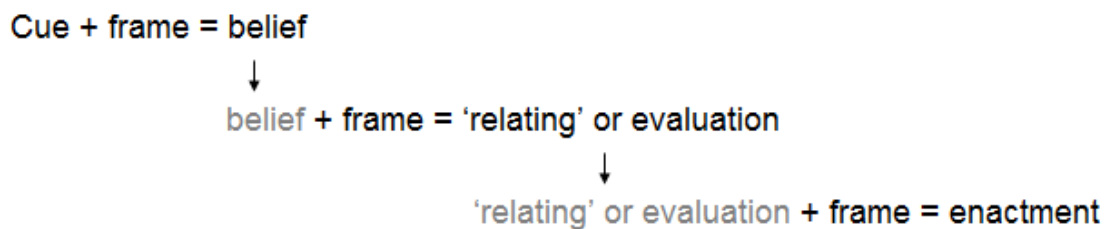
Basic elements for process are simply either the fixing of a meaning position, or movement to a different meaning position. For this, we have to imagine that the meaning positions are inscribed in a conceptual field of meaning, which is a multi-dimensional space. This fix or move applies throughout the stages of meaning-making.

'**States**' describe relationships of or results of relating of basic elements. For **content**, what is an important insight emerging from Chapters 7 is that actually, the belief that arises out of the basic cue-frame juxtaposition, which is a **connection**, itself becomes a cue. So that a '**relating**' (Parker Follett 1924 in Weick 1995), or an **evaluation** of the belief coming out of a private action, is the juxtaposition of a belief and further frames, and finally, an **enactment** that involves public action is a juxtaposition of an evaluated belief and further frames. For a meaning to be precipitated, all these stages have to be passed through.
Connection, relating and enactment relate to the three stage of a sensemaking cycle:

- **'belief construction'** which involves the linking of a **cue** (from the primary focus of observation, here, some signal from public space) and **frame** to form a **connection**.

- when the belief, or connection is evaluated against and therefore linked to / tested against another **frame** to form what Follett (1924 in Weick 1995) called a **'relating'**. This may be publicly shared, but for the purposes of the present research, a distinction will be drawn, and this stage will be designated a 'covert' or **'private action'** .

- when that 'relating' is juxtaposed against yet another **frame** to achieve the realisation or **enactment**, which is a **public** or **'overt' action**. This is the stage that is most critical in public governing, because it is overt and is therefore critical for governing, and also the stage which generates cues for further cycles of others' sensemaking.

FIGURE 8.5 THE THREE STAGES OF A SENSEMAKING CYCLE IN TERMS OF ELEMENTS

Cue + frame = belief
↓
belief + frame = 'relating' or evaluation
↓
'relating' or evaluation + frame = enactment

Note the cues in the second and third stages are meanings resulting from the previous stage. Frames are given by meta-meanings, or meanings about meanings. Normative values for frames relate ultimately to the **rationales** discussed in Chapter 5 and later on in this one. The channels that bring ultimate rationales to bear on beliefs and actions in practice can be categorised into those to do with **substantive content** of that which is governed, or **'interests'**, and those to do with the **processes / context** of governing, or **'capacity** of actors' and '**opportunity** within context'.

For **process**, the states of process may be described by the movement itself, and by the inscription by those processes in the field of meaning. The inscription that is the **'cycle'** captures the movement of meaning position

from action to belief, and then from belief to the next action. The inscription of **'spiral trajectory'** is made when the cycle goes around several times, **from belief, to action, to a slightly modified belief, to a modified action, and so on**. The spiral results in shifted individual conceptual positions. Finally, the **'governing path'** is inscribed when a public action happens, to which all relevant stakeholders do not find unacceptable, or are unable to oppose. **Public actions could fix points** on this path, around which all other subsequent beliefs, actions and meanings have to accommodate around. What meanings become fixed points, and where meanings move is explained by the relative attractiveness of each point, or each potential point to move to, as discussed earlier. The criteria for deciding the attractiveness is given by **rationales**, applied to meta-meaning. The **tendency towards the expedient stability of a cycle** also accounts for why some positions are preferred over others.

The state of content, 'connection' and the formation of belief happens when action shifts to belief in the cyclical movement. When belief shifts to action, then an evaluation or 'relating' of that belief occurs. This shift is termed 'private' action; it is not yet overt. A number of these result in the spiral trajectory and changing individual conceptual positions. Should any of these individual positions be assessed and lead to a public action, or enactment, then this will be captured in the shared governance path.

'Conditions' are characteristics of either states of content or states of processes that lead to the movement of a cycle move or a path shift. Within any given instance of sensemaking, MCTs put conditions into place in multiple locations in the cycle, on content as well as on process.

FIGURE 8.6 MORE ABOUT CONDITIONS, FROM DATA

Stage (3)	End states (3)	Conditions (6)	State of content for conditions, describing juxtaposition	State of process for conditions, describing the capacity, sufficient interest (impetus) and opportunity to assess juxtaposition, i.e. demonstrating and exercising epistemological awareness. All frames based in rationales. All assume sufficient capacity and interests. Realisability requires opportunity.
Belief	Connected	Purchase	= **Co-presence of cue and frame**	*From previous cycle:* *Capacity realised, Opportunity grasped, Impetus to enact public / overt action. Creates new cues.* **Accessibility:** Epistemological awareness of co-presence.
Belief	Connected	Connection	= **Juxtaposition of cue and frame.**	**Imaginability:** capacity and interest of juxtaposing at all. Understand the implications of accessibility. Frames are that which make belief **understandable** to sensemaker.
Private action	Relating / evaluated	Attention	= **Relevant discrepancy** noticed once cue and frame juxtaposed.	**Visibility:** Epistemological awareness of relevant discrepancy. i.e. Frames need to be valid / relevant in relation to situation on ground and to stakeholder. It is an 'opportunity' for issue to be addressed.
Private action	Related / evaluated	Evaluation	= **Juxtaposition of belief and frame**	**Evaluability:** capacity and interest to evaluate at all. Understand the implications of visibility. Frames are that which make evaluation **meaningful** to the sensemaker, i.e. must be of interest. It is an 'opportunity' for the sensemaker to meet his / her desires.
Public action	Enacted	Projection	= **Opportunity imaginable** once belief and frame juxtaposed.	**Projectability:** Epistemological awareness of opportunity present to ourselves and others, in relation to our own and others' capacity and interest.
Public action	Enacted	Realisation	= **Juxtaposition of evaluation (i.e. interests) and frame**	**Realisability:** capacity and interest to realise at all. Understand the implications of projectability. Frames are that which help assess if realisation is **possible and beneficial.** i.e. Frames are the combination of capacity and opportunity (i.e. timing) of achieving interests (applied to evaluation of interests). The frames for 'realisation' include **raised stakes** due to the overt nature of public action. 'Publicness' brings into play the intensification of fixedness of meaning position (as in Weick's 'commitment') and of movement (as in Weick's 'manipulation').

There are two aspects to conditions: conditions of 'content' and conditions of 'processes'.

- **Conditions of content** are always **a juxtaposition**.
- **Conditions of process** are always **the capacity, interest and opportunity to assess that juxtaposition**, without which it is not possible to move the cycle forward.

The **conditions of the states of content** simply reflect whether the relevant juxtaposition can happen or not. This consists of **one pre-juxtaposition condition** and **one of juxtaposition itself**, one each for the following three stages:

- **Connection** or the formation of belief requires a pre-juxtaposition condition of 'co-presence' of cue, frame and sensemaker, and the juxtaposition of relevant cue and frame to produce **understandable belief.**
- **Relating / evaluation**, or the conduct of private action requires a pre-juxtaposition condition of 'relevant discrepancy' which means that attention of sensemaker is drawn to the issue at hand. It requires a juxtaposition of belief (from stage 1) with frames that make that belief as cue **meaningful** to the sensemaker.
- **Enactment**, or the conduct of public action requires a pre-juxtaposition condition of opportunity being imaginable, given capacity and interests of actors. Opportunity may 'cause' projectability, but projectability and the ability to imagine opportunity may also 'cause' opportunity itself. Enactment requires a juxtaposition of evaluated interest position with frames that assess **if acting on the interest position is possible and beneficial**. Frames are the combination of capacity and opportunity to achieve desired meaning positions, but also take into account the higher stakes of a public enactment. Enactment happens only when the relevant information is actually made public, and when relevant others can apprehend it. Public action would demonstrate and exercise epistemological awareness. Public action is more than making sense, it is entering the area that draws on phronesis or practical wisdom.

Basic elements must be juxtaposed and **juxtaposed three ways**, between cue, frame and sensemaker, so that results are accessible, , evaluated and projected, at which points rationales can be applied to them. Rationales are applied to decide whether to fix or move conceptual position.

The **conditions of states of process** are set out **in terms of the combination of capacity, sufficient interest (impetus) and opportunity to assess juxtaposition**. If assessed to have the 'right' combination of values coupled with epistemological effort on the part of the sensemaker would be able to explain the moving of a cycle forward to the next stage.

- The pre-juxtaposition condition of 'co-presence' contributes to accessibility and the epistemological awareness of co-presence is required to achieve the imaginability of connection, and hence the juxtaposition of cue and frame to form that connection.

- The pre-juxtaposition condition of 'relevant discrepancy' contributes to visibility as sensemaker takes notice, and the epistemological awareness of this discrepancy is required to achieve the evaluability of belief, and hence the juxtaposition of belief and frame to form relating / evaluation.

- The pre-juxtaposition condition of 'imaginable opportunity' contributes to the projectability of the states of meaning post-enactment, and the epistemological awareness of opportunity is required to achieve realisability of interests (that arise out of evaluation), and hence the juxtaposition of evaluation and frame to form an enactment of a public action.

More about rationales and tendencies are the bases for frames and meta-frames: the 'end' of explanation

Each state of content and process is judged acceptable or not, when it is itself assessed against **sensemaker's rationales**. For instance, if an 'efficient process' and 'positive output' is achieved in a design project, the whole process itself will still need to be assessed for, for instance, fairness of its achievement; it must not violate the sensemakers' rationales. However, the tendency inbuilt in sensemaking also means that the possibility of the

expedient achievement of a stable cycle is also an important meta-consideration.

Overall, if the substantive content is both rationally sufficiently positive overall (i.e. net) - acceptable meaning vis a vis **rationales** - AND sufficiently expediently understandable - **tendency** towards a stable cycle - then 'move' in path is achieved. Otherwise, there is a fix (i.e. existing state is more attractive, and no 'move' happens).

Rationales explain attractiveness of particular states / juxtapositions, therefore any movement in the cycle. or direction of trajectory or path. They are meanings that apply at both primary and meta-levels of content and process.

Rationales are the ultimate 'end' explanation, which is to explicate what others ultimately appeal to when making intentional decisions, actions and justify them, lies, at least in this research, with how well a situation meets the sensemaker's 'rationales'. Rationales are values of meta-meanings, or meanings about meanings. Rationales need to be acceptable to the sensemaker, by matching the degree of the particular rationale's appeal to him / her.

FIGURE 8.7 RATIONALES

Rationales emerging from literature and data include:

- reasonableness
- educative authenticity
- morality
- emotion
- relational based on identification
- relational based on trust in actors
- power / empowerment
- structural
- resolution to act / impetus
- rationales for meta-values of the preceding dimensions.

Rationales are 'ultimate' explanations or 'frames' for intentional decision making (whether that intention is made explicit or not). 'Rationales' are the underlying 'third order controls' (Weick 1995), or assumed principles based on folk psychology (Rosenberg 1995).

The evidence suggests there are some typical ways in which cycle / shift actually happens, based on the data: compulsion, relationship, reasoned agreement or institutional / structural constraints. These could be associated with particular combinations of 'possibility of applying pressure' – consideration of interest, opportunity and capacity at point of evaluation, of the 'type of pressure' that might be most likely applied or be effective in a situation of compulsion, relationship, reasoned agreement and institutional constraints and opportunities.

Rationales define acceptability of values of meta-meanings, or meanings about meanings. Rationales are ultimately appealed to to determine the fixedness or moveability of a particular meaning position. If appealed to, rationales need to be reasons acceptable to the sensemaker, wherein acceptability means that the sensemaker accepts the principle set out by the rationale as his/her own. Put another way, the rationale is appealed to by the sensemaker when making sense and explaining, either to him/herself or other people, his/her decisions.
Moves/fixedness can also be explained by tendencies, which are usually towards stable meaning, expediently achieved, and which must also be acceptable.

While rationales for meta-values define what is attractive (and thus, fixed or to which meanings will move), rationales and meta-values also apply to each of the other dimensions, and identify which pressure points, possibility and mode of application are acceptable.

FIGURE 8.8 TENDENCIES

Moves in meaning states can also be explained by tendencies. These are tendencies towards:

- **acceptable meaning**, already articulated by the rationales. This addresses the psychological need for self-enhancement.
- **stable meaning cycle**, as this addresses the need for self-efficacy.
- **expedient achievement of that stable cycle**, as this addresses the need for self-efficiency.

These three dimensions must be taken together; that is, meaning should be acceptable AND stable AND expediently achieved. Acceptability and expedience without stability leads to unstable situation on which it is difficult to move trajectory in a directed fashion, thus no satisfactory public action can be taken. Acceptability and stability without expedience is unsatisfactory because, again, it delays the possibility of moving trajectory decisively in the public sphere. Stability and expedience without acceptability leads to the classic 'hurting stalemate' situation already discussed; the trajectory is stuck with negative meaning, but no one can do anything about it.

So, how do MCTs work, according to the field model? Patterns of MCT operation

That was the model of how MCTs work, but how *do* they work? The data showed that MCTs acted on rationales and tendencies and made particular meanings relatively more or less attractive, at various points in the sensemaking process. This affected the sensemaking cycle, the individuals' meaning trajectories, and eventually, the governance paths.

In the data, a pattern of how MCTs worked emerged, which were common 'packages' of MCT impacts. MCTs were found to impact on public space governing situations in ways across the spectrum of activeness to passivity of actors. The extremes of this spectrum has resonance, if not quite analogous, with across four other dimensions, which are those of **pessimism to optimism** of basic assumptions, **compulsion to trust** deployed, the **levels of harmonisation between actors of action (minimal) to belief to paradigm**

(maximum), and **the type of vehicles of 'shift'** MCTs employ, for example, is it simply providing information, or are 'harder' strategies such as rewards and sanctions, deployed?

Like the abstract theorisation previously discussed, this description emerged from the confrontation of theory and data described in Chapters 6, 7a and 7b.

The confrontation showed that MCTs were found to affect the governance path through four patterns, that is, solution by: compulsion, reasoned agreement, relationship-based and institutional or structural, including shared ideologies. These are typical ways in which a solution, that is, a decisive shift in governance path can be achieved on the basis of shared action, the key reason for shift, if such a reason can be identified at all.

Solutions associated with each of the four patterns were analysed for what combination of individuals' 'rationales' and mediating conditions were in play, and therefore 'explain' why MCTs work to drive belief to private action, from private action to public action, and from public action to belief. Rationales may be motivational, cognitive, situational, or personality-driven of governing actors which shape their belief and private actions. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 7, these were reasonableness, educative authenticity, morality, emotion, relational identification with others, relational or trust in others, power or empowerment and structural conventions.

Of note, **conditions that particularly mediate** between private and public actions include interests, capacity and awareness of it, and opportunity and awareness of it. These were directly inducted from the data, building on theories such as the garbage can model and institutional capacity.

COMPULSION

The key rationale that would explain the possibility of compulsion is obviously power, as discussed in Chapter 4. Reasonableness also contributes, and enables actors to respond to the exertion of power.

One example from the data where compulsion was the means of arriving at a Solution include where the promise of the increase in power by being able to wield the threat of the withholding of planning permission for housing developments that do not meet a minimum BfL standard in SND. Here, the power differential arises because of the adoption of the BfL standard as policy guidance which is supported by statute, and the remit of the planning authority to ensure that policy is complied with. Effectively, this gives whichever party that complies with the policy power over those who do not.

REASONED AGREEMENT

Public action based on based on reasoned agreement happens when interests of multiple stakeholders may be so arrayed that shared action can deliver the desired meta-meanings for each stakeholder. So, the impact of diverse stakeholders must be a common public action, although the stakeholders may take that action for quite different reasons, or non-identical reasons. Reasoned agreement usually requires some shared foundational understandings of the world, and the ability to communicate with each other based on this shared understanding. So public action based on reasoned agreement is more likely to be successful when there is at least a common language between stakeholders. When a solution is based on reasoned agreement, actors most likely wield technological capacity to achieve it. Opportunities, while not critical to this way of achieving a solution, nevertheless arise for reasoned agreement when the possibility of a reasonable argument can be imagined, that is, there is some shared foundational understandings about the nature of public space and its governance.

Reasoned agreement draws on the need for sensemakers to feel that they are rational, but where the rationality is what Bevir (2010) described as 'local' or situation-specific rationality, rather than any purportedly universal rationality. The need for at least some common foundational understanding for reasoned agreement to take place also suggests that, since sensemakers tend to hold on quite tightly to understandings they have established, people are more likely to come to reasoned agreement if they already share the relevant

foundational understanding. This may take the shape of having a common disciplinary training, or a common high level goal which may be appealed to. This is discussed in the section on 'shared ideologies' later.

There are many examples of reasoned agreement in the data, and MCTs' most explicit and self-advertised role is to enable governance by reasoned agreement. For example, the step-by-step building up of evidence in getting the canal feeder bridge built in SNA was, for most steps, exercises in making small arguments to achieve reasoned agreements.

INSTITUTIONAL CONSTRAINTS

Finally, public action based on institutional or structural constraints are those which are enacted without revisiting, from first principles, the belief-action reasoning. Instead, action is taken through paths or trajectories similar to ones previously traversed. Institutional structures are a perceived 'objective reality' that is shapes action. This becomes clearer when we consider what 'the institutional' is, and how it sets up constraining structures that can have major influence on people's actions. For Weick (1995), sensemaking is the feedstock for institutionalisation. Institutionalisation simply means the way that the "socially created world becomes a world that constrains actions and orientations. 'What was once recognised as a socially constructed transaction takes on the form of an externally specified objective reality, where transacting parties play out preordained roles and "action routine"' (Ring and Van de Ven 1989 in Weick 1995 p36). Institutions are characterised as being "'extrasubjective'. A generic self that occupies roles is now replaced by 'pure meanings' (Popper 1972 in Weick 1995) without a knowing subject. This is a level of symbolic reality such as we might associate with capitalism or mathematics…. (The institutional realm) is conceptualised as an abstract idealized framework derived from prior interaction…. 'scripts link the institutional realm to the realm of action'" (Barley 1986 in Weick 1995 p72). Public action based on institutional or structural constraints can only happen if there is knowledge of such structures, real or imagined, and there is established practice of conforming to them.

'Shared ideologies' is the type of institutional constraint influenced by MCTs. Public action based on shared ideologies happen when there are common underlying beliefs. Ideologies are "shared, relatively coherently interrelated set(s) of emotionally shared beliefs, values and norms that bind some people together and help them to make sense of their worlds" (Trice and Beyer 1993 in Weick 1995 p111). They act as very strong filters that reduce equivocality. Public actions on the basis of shared ideologies happen in a similar way to that of reasoned agreement but the argument may be expedited as there is foundational shared knowledge taken for granted and because of an ideology's simplifying effect. Meaning positions may be more stable on account of the emotionally held beliefs, with less possibility of admitting challenging dissent as that has been filtered out. For an ideology to be the rationale for a public action, the ideology must be perceivable, and imaginable, as well as shared. Actors must hold these ideologies and be able to articulate some of their critical aspects. Finally, although actors no longer apply reasonableness at the point which this rationale comes into play, reasonableness is sometimes a reason why the actor originally came to hold this ideology. However, emotion might have equally been an underlying reason.

One example of where deeply held beliefs are appealed to is where in SNA, the 'safeguarding school children's journey to school' became the underlying shared and difficult-to-question principle that led to the agreement to build a bridge, and which overrode more narrowly selfish 'fear of anti-social behaviour'. Another example was the appeal made by local stakeholders to officers and councillors based on equality of voice within the Steering Groups in SNE, which persuaded the Groups to take their demands seriously.

RELATIONSHIP-BASED

Public action based on relationship between the relevant stakeholders may have nothing to do with the technological issues, although extreme contradiction of technological sense would be difficult to justify in a governance situation that requires 'rationality' as a norm for decision-making. Relationship-based public action means that the main rationale for

constructing acceptable meta-meanings regarding the primary meaning position based on that public action, is that of maintaining relationships with other stakeholders, rather than seeking a technologically maximising solution. Also, the overriding concern for the sensemaker is the maintenance of relationships, rather than technical 'correctness'. When a solution is based on relationships, this means that actors must have high relational, but specifically, social capacity in order to persuade others to share public action, irrespective of the technological facts, even in contradiction of them. Public action based on relationship can only happen if opportunities are arrayed such that a relationship exists, is perceived and likely, reciprocated, or that there is potential for that relationship to exist. This may require some basis of rapport, trust, or reciprocity to exist between people, and not necessarily based on the technological issues at hand.

As discussed earlier, two approaches to social relationships are particularly pertinent here, which offer reasons why relationships can become rationales for social actions. The first is the psychology of groups (Hogg 2010), and the second is conflict theory (De Dreu 2010). These make different explanatory assumptions about why people behave as they do with other people. For example, they want to avoid censure, or to belong to a group, or be cause they have a fear of being taken advantage of, or that they trust the other actors. Thus, relationships can work in either a compulsion-based or trust-based manner.

Relationships have little or no status in the universal rationality that supposedly governs public decision-making. However, it is inescapable that in such a complex and negotiated area of governance such as that for public space relies more heavily than most actors readily admit, on relationships. Some MCTs provide the arenas for relationships to occur, and the data reflected this particularly in SNE, where relationships were improved between some stakeholders, and re-cast between others. In SNB, new relationships founded on action initiated by the MTH became the foundation for further cooperation between the parties. In this research about MCTs, quite a lot of the interview data about the reasons for particular decisions and actions lie

outside the immediate influence of MCTs demonstrated the importance of 'relationships' as a rationale.

How do all of this constitute an explanation?

How does this framework constitute an 'explanation' of the attenuation of meaning construction in multi-actor negotiation? In the interpretivist mould of social sciences, explanation is 'the making intelligible' of human action, as opposed to the positivist explanation which is to (dis)confirm causes of human actions. The sensemaking-based explanation would those who were interviewed, and others like them – i.e. users of MCTs – to begin to recognise and become more self-aware of their motives and decision-making tendencies. To this end, it increases self-understanding.

In line with this redefinition of 'explanation' itself, the contribution of this research also includes the recasting of the very shape of explanation itself into the interpretivist definition of explanation, which is 'making intelligible'. This is a move away from the 'if A then B' linear causal variety, to the much more complex (and perhaps more widely meaningful) shape which involves a 'if P then Q, then P1 then Q1, then P2 etc' cycle that is 'inscribed' on a conceptual meaning field for any given instance of governing. Public actions within this field inscribe a different path of inscription to happen, thus changing the meaning of that instance of governing. The 'causes' of shift are here are really 'conditions *for* shift', and are ascribed to the intentional rationales, and unintentional tendencies of actors, who are sensemakers. Both rationales and tendencies have been previously observed and reported in literature, but are confirmed and articulated by the present research's empirical data.

8.2. Part 2: Implications of research findings

The potential of this instrumental or operational heuristic framework and model can be seen at different levels of abstraction – the operational and day-to-day level, the strategic management level, and the level of paradigmatic assumptions. The framework has potential impact across the realm of theory and of practical, real and well-documented problems in public space governing.

(1) Operational level implications

Three notable implications are as follows:

- MCTs and their role in public space governing become better understood, and provide insights for future models of accountability.
- The scope of meaning resources is redefined to take into account political as well as technical considerations.
- The meaning investment processes become better understood and knowledge may allow actors to become more effective in governing.

Over the course of this study, the UK government has changed, and with it has come an acceleration of shift in public policy direction towards the alternative models of providing what were public services. In essence, while retaining many of the core functions and technical policy aims of the previous government, the flavour and focus of the public sector has **moved from being simply networked and beyond-the-state to an apparent attempt at being 'communitarian'.** Whatever the arguments of the government's intention towards reducing the role of the state and trying to increase the role of the private, voluntary and community sectors to provide the necessary services, as far as public space is concerned, this is simply the acceleration in a direction in which it was already moving, and in which MCTs have been carving a place out for themselves. Just as the move from Weberian bureaucracy to the 'new networked governance' could be thought of as a shift from 'power over' to 'power to', this latest move might be characterised as a shift from 'power to' to 'power with', at least on paper.

One implication of the research findings is the deepening of insight for definition and models of accountability in such a mode of governance. The aims and structures of **accountability** (with which MCTs have been associated anyway), may change, with reporting **no longer from local to central**, the historic route since the beginning of such reporting in the Westminster systems, but from service provider directly to stakeholder / user (For example, Goetz and Jenkins 2001, Rowe 1999, Halachmi and Holzer 2010). Of course MCTs themselves have long moved beyond the limiting role

of performance measures, as this research shows. Drawing on the proposed conceptualisation of MCTs as 'aids to managing sensemaking', they, and the insights of this research into the construction of accountability, are well-placed to be central to ensuring community actors have sufficient knowledge and with that, more power to act where necessary to change the nature of the services being received. As for public space itself, the communitarian emphasis may be an opportunity which could be harnessed to re-cast public space as 'resource' to help build community cohesion, rather than being seen as a governing problem.

Redefining the scope of meaning resources

A sensemaking model focused on how people received communications and signals from the environment and how they use those to shape what they know and what they do when acting intentionally. In doing, analysis based on it ignores the type of information source, whether it is a policy or a bollard, treating all of those as things that can be known about, and treating all of it as 'information that informs action'. This allows for the influence of the situational, institutional and political contexts, not just technical ones, and also for biases; all that is 'fair game' for analysis. Therefore governing becomes about managing how and therefore what people know, and therefore intend to do, and ultimately, therefore, do.

Understanding 'meaning investment processes'

How actors receive signals and construct knowledge depends a great deal on who they are. So although a common question that is asked is "What is public space value?", a more useful question, and one that is important where there are multiple actors engaged in decision-making is, "**Whose value** should it be?"

In public space governing, the need to focus on 'who' and not just 'what' is well-illustrated by the fact that there are many fields of knowledge that lay claim to be the discipline at the heart of public space: urban design, traffic management, spatial behavioural studies, real estate investment, town planning, cultural geography. Competing and conflicting conceptualisations,

tools, assumptions, foci of and solutions for public space jostle to inform governing decisions only because they represent views of various groups and individuals who push them forward. For practitioner to be effective, the key question is, "**How** shall we manage these people's value construction to ensure the decision favours our position?"

(2) Strategic level implications

Two are discussed here.

- The change of focus of public governing of public space: governing is reconceptualised and redefined.
- The reconceptualisation of 'the public' for public space governance

A change of focus of public governing of public space: governing is reconceptualised and redefined

Any 'model of the world' foregrounds some issues, and backgrounds others. A model of what MCTs do for public space governance based on positivist approaches to social knowledge would focus on directly observable impacts of MCTs. This would have been frustrating, as so much of what MCTs do is self-evidently in how people interpret MCT results, and how they then act on the meanings precipitated. Sensemaking refocused attention on governing actors and how they came to act as they did and the impact of those actions on governance 'outcomes'. The focus is on 'who', not 'what', highlighting the need to deal with the implication of sensemaking on the conceptualisation of 'the public'. It is also on, not just what actors know, but also how they know.

Suggests the reconceptualisation of 'the publics'

Hauser (1998), in discussing a rhetorical model of public opinion suggests that 'the public' or 'publics' should be formed by "active members of society who (might) lack official status (but may nevertheless be seen as legitimately defining 'a public') through their participation in rhetorical encounters that define a public sphere" (p86), where a 'public sphere' is "a discursive space in which individuals and groups congregate to discuss matters of mutual interest and, where possible, to reach a common judgment" (p86). Reflecting on the

twin issues that, first, public representations are "world-making… they do not just "reflect social reality but constituted that social reality" (Elcheroth et al 2011 p734), and second, the nature of public space production as being co-produced, however, and indeed, produceable by any user, questions remain about whether 'the public' should be limited to those who take a **purposive** part in the shaping of space, or just anyone who might accidentally shape that space. Indeed, a key problem in public space governance is less that there is a lack of access to decision-making arenas, but that there is a lack of interest in contributing to them (for instance, Deneulin and Townsend 2006).

(3) Paradigmatic level implications

The research findings point to the greater empirical fidelity of an interpretivist paradigm focused on constructivism, rather than a positivist paradigm for explaining what MCTs do in public space governing. The implications for usefulness in practice just discussed at the 'strategic level' also suggest that a constructivist approach is a useful as well as plausible way of looking at society. This is a similar question addressed by the likes of Flyvbjerg (2002), Rosenberg (1995), and hinted at by Bevir (2010). Thus, the research findings add empirical weight to the position of moving away from a social science that aims to (dis)confirm universal social laws empirically, to a social science that aims to make human societal actions intelligible in its context. The research investigated particularly, a focus on the construction of reasons or human societal actions, and therefore its implications on such a post-positivist paradigm are considered here.

<u>A constructivist conceptualisation of public space governing</u>

Learning from sensemaking, the prescription for governors should be "to grasp **both aspects** of (a governing situation's) simultaneity: the **materialization of ideas and the symbolic and practical aspects of things**" (after Czarniawska-Joerges 1992 in Weick 1995 p165).

As already argued, there is "a distinct activity, a way of acting on others by acting on their conceptions" (Finlayson 2007 p553). "Forming an opinion… requires the ability to see things from the multiple perspectives of those who

are present in the public realm, or what Arendt (1977) terms representative thinking" (Hauser 1998 p94). By analysing what and how sensemakers' form opinions and how this informs and is informed by their interests, capacity and opportunities, and the sorts of meanings that emerge, the extended sensemaking model helps us understand why particular governing situations resolved as they did, whether through collaboration, coercion or because of contextual factors.

Finlayson noted (2007 p547-548): "Bevir thus constitutes a specific object of study: the beliefs held by individuals and the situated reasoning they employ…. (people inhabit) reasonably determinate but not determining traditions on the basis of which they formulate defensible plans of action." This approach stands in contrast to rational choice approaches to understanding governance and decision-making (Bevir 2010). Finlayson goes on to argue that "we need to examine not ideas but arguments and that to analyse political persuasion and preference transformation we must reacquaint ourselves with the rhetorical tradition." (p546). To do so, there is a need to conceptualise motivations with regards the acceptance or rejection of positions put forward by others, through argumentation (Finlayson 2007). He goes on to say that "argumentative action… persuasive, argumentative communication (is) a particular kind of **public action**; with the use of words to affect others in particular ways, so as to move them to act; with the nature of argument, reason giving and proving in complex, contingent and conflictual civic contexts" (Finlayson 2007 p553). This is a more abstract version of what Hauser (1998) argued regarding the studying of public opinion: "A conceptual model based on actual discursive practices promises a more informative account of public opinion than models that emphasize rational deliberation… (p85).

All of this point to the same thing: scholars need to look at the processes of how meanings come to be, in the argumentation, negotiation, deliberation, conflict and cooperation between stakeholders. That is, group sensemaking. Such an approach "would italicize the discursive endeavors of those whose symbolic formations authorize public acts and conduct taken in their name

(Bitzer 1978 in Hauser 1998 p85). Repositioning discourse at the center of (the formation of opinion) promises rich possibilities for divulging (those opinions), understanding its formation and interpreting its meaning." (Hauser 1998 p85).

Through this lens, **public space governing can thus be seen as 'managing sensemaking' about issues of and objects that either have an impact on, or are impacted on by public space.** Conceptualisation of public space governing is no longer just about making policies or creating incentives or improving the quality of construction. Instead, public space governing should focus on understanding and managing how these policies, incentives and improvements are both wielded and received and valued by stakeholders.

8.3. Part 3: Future research

<u>The potential of sensemaking</u>

A GOOD 'FOUNDATIONAL' EXPLANATORY MODEL, WITH HIGH EMPIRICAL FIDELITY

Sensemaking has been shown to be a good 'foundational' explanatory model primarily because of its focus on the very foundational mechanisms of construction and realisation of meaning, or 'value', and which it itself shaped by actions, our own and others'. This means that everything we can know and everything we do intentionally goes through the process of sensemaking. Since the process of sensemaking has as much influence than substantive content on the sense actually made – that is, 'how' something is said can often be more important than 'what' is said – influencing this 'how' can be an effective way of managing meaning. This study has explored just one instance, (using MCTs), of how the 'how' affects the sense made, but the generality of the sensemaking model means that it is widely applicable.

Sensemaking provides a closer fit to the data we have, and would help scholars and practitioners make better and in many cases, more relevant sense of the things that the positivist and linear causal model ignored. "By including society's ongoing conversation within the domain of discourse, the

resulting dialogical model of public opinion would refocus attention on praxis, at once more complex, but also more faithful to the practices of actors themselves." (Hauser 1998 p85).

Sensemaking is one possible model for operationalising an interpretivist model and purpose of social science inquiry.

THE POINT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE INQUIRY: INTELLIGIBILITY, NOT CAUSALITY ACCORDING TO UNIVERSAL LAWS

If the point of social science inquiry is not to "(dis)confirm universal social laws empirically" but to "make human societal actions intelligible in its context", then Lincoln and Guba's (1989) insistence that inquiry into the nature of social reality, is not about getting an objectively proven understanding of possible causal relations between a narrowly defined cause and a narrowly defined observed action, but developing evermore more sophisticated and relevant conceptualisations and understandings of the phenomenon. An understanding that fit our experience of the phenomenon better and / or are more useful in addressing problems with that phenomenon. After all, they argue, in one sense, conceptualisations are all we have.

Sensemaking enables a useful operationalisation of this conceptualisation of social science inquiry because it can deal with both the technical considerations as well as political ones, and this is where some theorists argue that social science should be going (for example, Flyvbjerg 2002, Lincoln and Guba 1989). Conceptualising in terms of sensemaking makes a new contribution to how this can be thought about, and perhaps approached, if not achieved. This is done by bridging the gap between the political aspects and technical aspects. In public space, at any rate, these have, up until now constituted two bodies of scholarship. In so doing, that gap is bridged by the high level notion of sensemaking and the construction of value.

"ALL MODELS ARE WRONG, ALTHOUGH SOME MODELS ARE USEFUL": THE NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE IN SOCIAL SCIENCE INQUIRY

W. Edwards Deming was reputed to have said that all models are anyway wrong, although some models are useful. Deming would argue for a pragmatic selection of which one to apply in a given situation; neither is right, but both are useful in different circumstances, when different types of decision need to be made.

Selecting a paradigm and a model requires trade-offs. Different models will highlight different aspects of the world that need addressing, and will suggest different techniques with which to address them. The model used will also affect the resulting valuation. How you look affects what you see: "… the choice of a definition of… a problem… typically determines its 'solution'" (Harmon and Mayer 1986 In Hillier 2001), and because of the tendency of models to develop their users' "perceptual blinders" (Bellone 1980 p9), no model can address every issue, certainly not every issue equally; they will tend to ignore or diminish those that lie outside the internal coherence within its closed feedback loop. Wittgenstein said, "Tell me how you are looking and I will tell you what you are looking for" (Wittgenstein 1964, in Malcolm 1967).

So, the key is relevance: select a paradigm bearing in mind the result of value construction desired at the end.

If we apply Deming's pragmatic principle to the question of 'which paradigm', we will see that for describing what MCTs do and explaining their impact, a interpretivist paradigm, powered by a constructivist approach can go much further than a positivist one. However, if 'objective-looking answers' are required, and fast, then the positivist paradigm might well provide that more effectively.

In line with Lincoln and Guba's (1989) advocacy of a focus on 'how meaning comes to be' since a major contributing factor to observed intentional actions is how the actors have processed information and then acted on that knowledge,
sensemaking may be seen as a possible solution. It does so by not doing so, instead, it bridges the explanatory gap between what is an idealised model

and what actually happens in practice, thus satisfying to an extent, both those with interpretivist and positivist lenses on. The focus of the constructivist approach it advocates is on (or at least begins with) the consumption / reception / realisation of meaning of governing actions and of the value of their impact on public space by relevant sensemakers, rather than what the space actually is or does. This echoes the now established move in performance management both in private and public sectors to focus on results or outcomes.

THE POTENTIAL OF EXPLANATIONS BASED ON MUTUAL CAUSALITY FOR INTELLIGIBILITY

The sensemaking 'model' of cyclical mutual causality is a powerful, novel and relatively easily communicated explanatory template that allows us understand sophisticated epistemological constructions amongst and with multiple stakeholders, to make social phenomena intelligible. This enables conceptualisations of multi-actor negotiative situations that are more relevant for conceptualisation of what happens in non-hierarchical and often deliberative governing such as that in public space. Certainly it has been indispensable in researchers as well as for practice, but it also allows a more sophisticated making useful sense, or sense at all, of what MCTs do in public space governing.

Application: possible research areas

The sensemaking heuristic framework could be applied to a broad area which could be labelled the 'epistemology of built environment production'. Thus, it could be applied to other areas of built environment governing, for instance, planning, regeneration, and not just public space. Specifically, I would be interested in examining the application of the framework to built environment governing in non-western liberal democratic cities, since the 'rationales' may be different. In particular for public space governing, it would be useful to explore the implications for the construction and its management, of 'the publics'. It would also be useful to further explore, using sensemaking, the nature of knowledge in the built environment disciplines, in particular, as social scientific knowledge. Since the built environment has a physical tangible reality, to what extent do they affect social constructions, or are

affected by them? The application of framework to accountability involving multi-stakeholdered governing would be another area of interest, which also has relevance to the built environment. All will involve continual testing, refinement and adjustment of the framework.

"Those who first invented and then named the constellations were storytellers. Tracing an imaginary line between a cluster of stars gave them an image and an identity. The stars threaded on that line were like events threaded on a narrative. Imagining the constellations did not of course change the stars, nor did it change the black emptiness that surrounds them. What it changed was the way people read the night sky" (Berger 1984, p8).

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VOLUME 2 APPENDICES