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Clarifying Collaborative Dynamics in Governance Networks

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Citation for published version (Harvard):

Stout, M, Bartels, K & Love, JM 2018, Clarifying Collaborative Dynamics in Governance Networks. in M Stout (ed.), From Austerity to Abundance?: Creative Approaches to Coordinating the Common Good. Emerald, Bingley, pp. 91-115.

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Margaret Stout , , Koen P. R. Bartels , , Jeannine M. Love , (2018), Clarifying Collaborative Dynamics in Governance Networks, in Margaret Stout (ed.) From Austerity to Abundance? (Critical Perspectives on International Public Sector Management, Volume 6) Emerald Publishing Limited, pp.91 - 115

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Clarifying Collaborative Dynamics in Governance Networks

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Abstract

Governance network managers are charged with triggering and sustaining collaborative dynamics, but often struggle to do so because they come from and interact with hierarchical and competitive organizations and systems. Thus, an important step toward studying how to effectively manage governance networks is to clarify what collaborative dynamics look like. While the recently proposed Collaborative Governance Regime (CGR) model provides a good start, it lacks both the clarity and parsimony needed in a useful analytical tool. This paper uses

the logic model framework for clarification and Follett's theory of integrative process to present a parsimonious understanding of collaborative dynamics. Uniquely, Follett draws from practically grounded political and organizational theory to frame the manner in which integrative process could permeate all social action. We argue that the disposition, style of relating, and mode of association in her method of integrative process foster collaborative dynamics while avoiding the counterproductive characteristics of hierarchy and competition in network governance. We develop an alternative logic model for studying collaborative dynamics that simplifies the CGR model while clarifying and defining these dynamics for operationalization and continued theory building.

Key Words

Collaborative governance, integration, network management, process evaluation, Follett

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Introduction

Network management and collaborative governance are frequently conflated. However, working together through a network configuration is one thing; achieving “collaborative advantage” (Huxham et al. 2000) is another. Public managers need to trigger and sustain collaborative dynamics while often coming from and interacting with hierarchical and competitive organizations and systems (Huxham et al. 2000, Agranoff and McGuire 2011, Bussu and Bartels 2013, Herranz Jr. 2008). Indeed, many “networks” are not collaborative as they continue to employ hierarchy and/or competition in their operations (Lowndes and Skelcher 1998, Mandell and Keast 2007, Davies 2004). Simplistic structural changes are insufficient for achieving the benefits of collaboration. Thus, an important step toward understanding how *collaborative* networks can be managed more effectively is to theoretically clarify collaborative dynamics.

The Collaborative Governance Regime (CGR) model provides a framework for understanding collaborative as opposed to hierarchical or competitive network management as it “synthesizes and extends” many “conceptual frameworks, research findings, and practice-based knowledge into an integrative framework for researching, practicing, and evaluating collaborative governance” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 2). Its authors draw from two distinct perspectives on collaborative governance: (1) *organizational* collaboration amongst formal actors (see for example, Agranoff and McGuire 1998, Kettl 2006, Bingham and O’Leary 2008, Milward and Provan 1998, Sørensen and Torfing 2005, Fung 2006); and (2) *community* collaboration between organizational actors and citizens (Cooper, Bryer, and Meek 2006, see for example, Bingham, Nabatchi, and O’Leary 2005, Nabatchi 2010, Box 1998, King 2011, King, Feltey, and Susel 1998, King, Stivers, and Collaborators 1998, King and Zanetti 2005). In some

initiatives the two types are combined and in all kinds, “the purpose of collaboration is to generate desired outcomes together that could not be accomplished separately” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 14).

Although the theory informing these two streams of collaboration can differ on important points based on the emphasis of instrumental versus participatory democratic outcomes, the CGR model bridges these two perspectives by asserting the *methods* of collaboration are universal. We agree and further argue that a more careful theoretical definition of collaboration is necessary to functionally (as opposed to structurally) differentiate networks from hierarchies and markets. Therefore, in response to the characterization of the CGR model as “preliminary working assumptions” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 19), this theoretical analysis reorganizes and simplifies the model and offers complementary ideas that clarify collaborative dynamics for continued development and application. Specifically, we use a logic model approach to improve clarity and parsimony, and use Follett’s theory of *integrative process* (Authors 2015b), to offer a theoretical definition of *collaboration as a participatory mode of association* that produces actions different from hierarchical and competitive modes of association. Further, we explain patterns of interpersonal dynamics—attitudinal *dispositions* and *styles of relating*—that foster or hinder collaborative *actions* from achieving desired instrumental and normative benefits.

Theoretically, the value produced by collaboration as a participatory mode of association is generated by the removal of hierarchical command and control structures as well as the excessive competition of markets. In this way, *collaborative* governance is a subset of *network* governance (Lowndes and Skelcher 1998). Following the community collaboration perspective, this mode of association offers an egalitarian, participatory, integrative, networked style of organizing collective action amongst actors who are motivated to work cooperatively. Yet, we

also know that in attempts to collaborate in this way, many actors bring to the table power dynamics grounded in their relative social, economic, and organizational status in other contexts (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1999). We argue such hierarchical and competitive experiences carry forward matching attitudinal dispositions and relational styles, thereby hindering the collaborative dynamics of the group.

Therefore, from a collaborative lens, in assessing the *instrumental* value produced by networks (e.g., cost-efficiency, effectiveness, and degree of innovation), we must analyse the degree to which participatory *democratic* values (e.g., empowerment, equality, and inclusion) are enacted within the network and in its interactions with the context (Dickinson and Sullivan 2014). Echoing arguments of many during the Progressive Era (see Author 2010), we argue that the relational dispositions and dynamics associated with participatory democracy within the CGR are precisely the characteristics that foster successful instrumental outcomes—individual and societal progress—i.e., they are not mutually exclusive trade-offs. To understand why these outcomes are not always achieved, researchers and evaluators must ask the right questions: How egalitarian and participatory are the relationships among actors? Do the rules of engagement match the integrative characteristics of collaboration? Or do behaviours grounded in hierarchy or competition limit outcomes to domination or compromise?

To clarify these collaborative dynamics, we draw upon Mary Follett (1919, 1918, 1924, Metcalf and Urwick 1942, Urwick 1949) to augment the CGR model while increasing parsimony. We “closely examine the components and their interrelationships to describe their strengths and weaknesses ... and the potential role of various disciplines in contributing to pieces of the framework” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 21). Follett is uniquely positioned to close the theoretical gap between instrumental and democratic outcome objectives because she

draws from practically grounded organizational and political theory to frame the manner in which integrative process could permeate all social action. Drawing from disciplines as diverse as philosophy, political theory, law, sociology, psychology, biology, physiology, and mathematics, Follett's theories clarify dispositions and relational styles in both leadership and interpersonal dynamics. Her analyses explain how modes of association either foster or constrain collaboration. While micro-level administrative theory such as negotiation and macro-level governance theory each "finds some of its earliest citations in the sociological work of Mary Parker Follett and her theory of 'integration'" (Cohen 2008, 520), an in-depth argument has been made in regard to the misinterpretation of integration in these literatures (Authors 2014); hence the need to go back to the source for conceptual clarification.

The sections that follow first provide an explanation of why we use a logic model approach to developing an analytical model for studying collaborative networks. We then offer an overview of the CGR model, providing an assessment of its shortcomings in terms of analytical capacity and offering adjustments that improve its clarity and parsimony. We then provide further amendments using Follett's theory of integrative process to complete an alternative logic model for what has been called "integrative governance" (Authors 2013a, b). We argue this logic model provides a more useful framework for operationalizing collaborative dynamics for further study and evaluation.

Logic Models as Analytical Frameworks

Logic models, while popularized in the practice of program and project evaluation, are useful analytical tools regardless of the purpose of study. Put simply, logic models are narrative and graphical depictions of the logical causal relationships between the resources, activities, outputs, and outcomes of an endeavor (Herranz Jr. 2010). While not indicated in Figure 1, a

general assumption about these causal relationships is that they are complicated by feedback loops—particularly in the manner in which outcomes influence the originating needs and opportunities. However, in many cases process outcomes also cause adaptation to resource inputs, internal functions, and outputs. These feedback loops indicate the complexity of both proximal and distal impacts on all mutually causal relationships. Therefore, the apparent linearity of a logic model is understood as a simplification made for the purpose of analytical prioritization for parsimony and clarity. Awareness of mutual causality and iterative change and adaptation should be assumed in its application.

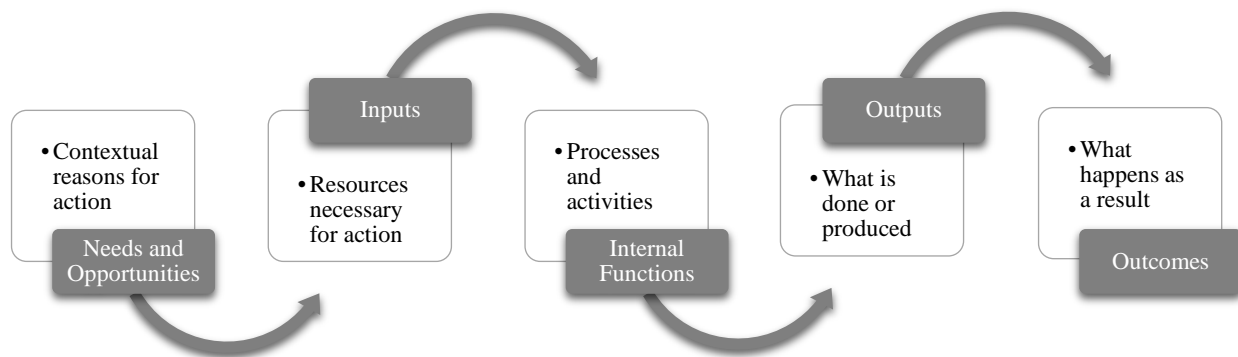


Figure 1: Generic Logic Model

As depicted in Figure 1, *Needs and Opportunities* in the context, including all important contributing factors, provide the reasons for action. *Inputs* describe all resources necessary to take action. *Internal functions* describe what happens within the group and how it happens. *Outputs* are actions taken with the intention of affecting the originating needs and opportunities. *Outcomes* are what happens in response to outputs, including no change (which is why the term impact should not be used here), desired change, unintended consequences, and various adaptations. These effects may be seen on the needs and opportunities, the inputs, the internal functions, or the outputs (the *feedback loops*).

The Collaborative Governance Regime Model

The Collaborative Governance Regime model (CGR) is an ambitious framework that integrates scholarly and professional literature on collaboration in organizational and community governance networks (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012). Collaborative governance is defined as “the processes and structures of public policy decision making and management that engage people constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 2). Drawing from Crosby and Bryson (2005), the authors “use the term ‘regime’ to encompass the particular mode of, or system for, public decision making” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 6).

In their presentation of the CGR model, Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh (2012) point to the need to “operationalize the components” (22) and to develop “indicators and measures for the dimensions, components, and elements” (23). We argue that such operationalization must begin with clarifying and defining each component of the model (indicators) so that concepts can then be translated into data collection and analytical tools (measures). Thus, the CGR model would benefit from greater parsimony to enable more effective application and continued theory building.

First it is helpful to recognize that the CGR is a systems model that utilizes different terminology but most of the same principles as a logic model; indeed, the authors call it “a diagnostic or logic model approach” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 7). As shown in Figure 2, it considers the political, legal, socioeconomic, environmental, and cultural *system context* (needs and opportunities), the *drivers* (inputs) to the establishment of a CGR, *collaboration dynamics* (internal functions), *actions* (outputs), *impacts* (outcomes), and

adaptation (feedback loops) to both actions and impacts in the context and within the CGR (see Figure 1). To identify universal characteristics of collaborative governance without becoming mired in the substantive differences across CGR actions and impacts, discussion of the model focuses heavily on drivers and collaboration dynamics.

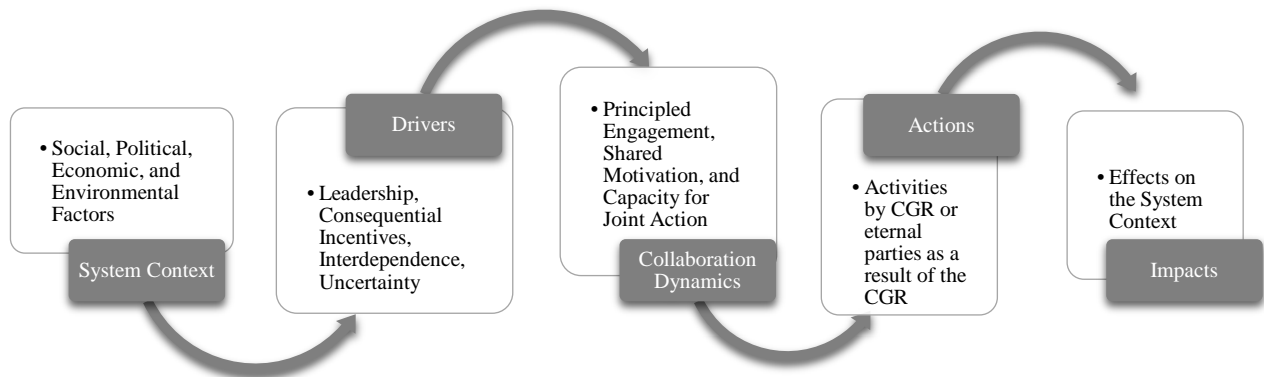


Figure 2: Simplified CGR Logic Model. *Source:* adapted from (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012)

While this graphical depiction is more straightforward than the original diagram, most components or subcomponents in the CGR model are described in the narrative as a driver, a collaboration dynamic, and an impact, regardless of where it is placed in the original diagram (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012). Having the same factors described as both independent and dependent variables does not lend itself well to study, whether it is for knowledge-building (scholarly inquiry) or continuous improvement (applied evaluation). This is why parsimony and clarity are desirable qualities in theoretical models. More importantly, without this clarity, one does not know what to consider when looking at any part of the model during analysis—is the factor being considered as a characteristic, an action, or an effect? These specifics are crucial for operationalizing the model. Therefore, we now turn to an analysis of the CGR model using logic model terminology to both reveal its muddiness for such application and point toward a more logical way to reorganize the model.

Perhaps the most direct explanation is the System Context, which describes the typical factors that contribute to needs and opportunities. The drivers that catalyze CGR formation include *leadership*, *consequential incentives*, *interdependence*, and *uncertainty*. Leadership is described as neutral convening and the provision of adequate resources, but as a driver (input) leadership would be better understood as convening and facilitative capacity, a practice which is adequately explained in the dialogue and deliberation literature (see for example, Susskind, McKernan, and Thomas-Larme 1999, Crosby and Bryson 2005, Escobar 2011). Provision of resources should be the responsibility of *all* members of the CGR, as all have something to bring to the collective effort (input).

Consequential incentives are the anticipated change that would be made possible by collaboration (needs and opportunities). Interdependence is the belief that a collaborative response will be more effective. Uncertainty in the system context is another reason for collaborating and would be better understood as a need. Thus, a belief in interdependence is the principle driver to collaborate rather than act alone in response to the system context's needs and opportunities. However convening capacity is necessary to move that desire into collaborative action.

Collaboration dynamics include *shared motivation*, *principled engagement*, and *capacity for joint action*. Shared motivation includes elements of mutual trust, mutual understanding, internal legitimacy, and shared commitment. As well explained in the social capital literature, mutual trust and understanding are generalized attitudes of reciprocity that develop through ongoing social interaction with positive outcomes (Putnam 1994, 2000). Thus, they are *proximal outcomes* of successful collaboration (outputs), rather than the dynamics themselves. This places them in a feedback loop position that increases the belief in interdependence and facilitative

capacity (inputs). Furthermore, the dynamics must have a particular character to produce those outcomes—what is described as principled engagement.

Internal legitimacy and shared commitment to a theory of change are a bit different; these beliefs emerge from the activities described under principled engagement as discovery, definition, deliberation, and determination (decision)—the core activities of the planning and decision making process. Here again, these factors are proximal outcomes of consensus-oriented planning and decision making (Yankelovich 1991, Innes and Booher 1999, Forester 2009). However, the activities themselves are functions—a “dynamic social learning process” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 11)—not particular process dynamics. For these engagements to be *principled*, they must have the characteristics also described in the narrative: fair and civil discourse, open and inclusive communications, balanced representation of all significant interests, and equal relative power. These are the types of dynamics that can be called *collaborative* and which build social capital and shared commitment as proximal outcomes.

Capacity for joint action includes elements of procedural/institutional arrangements, leadership, knowledge, and resources. It is better understood as an input to and an outcome of collaboration dynamics. It must be present in some degree as a precursor to collaboration for it to be initiated, as noted in the narrative as “an inducement to collaboration” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 15). Indeed, convening and facilitation are aspects of this capacity, as is a belief in interdependence. In any case, leadership is repeated in the model here and should either be removed or fully described in a unique fashion for its meaning in this position—if convening and facilitating is an input, perhaps more traditional forms of leadership are emergent in the functions at hand (discovery, definition, deliberation, and decision). Substantive knowledge and resources, as noted in the discussion of the leadership driver above, are inputs to collaboration

not dynamics. This leaves procedural/institutional arrangements in this position, which are precisely the rules of engagement that ensure collaborative, as opposed to other types of dynamics.

The Actions (output) position in the CGR model includes activities relevant to purpose on the part of CGR members as well as external parties as a result of CGR recommendations. The model should clearly delineate the differences between individual and group action to capture the counterfactual of the CGR and its added value—in other words, what are members doing that they would not have done on their own? But the model makes another poor placement here: The efforts of others as a result of CGR recommendations would be an outcome of the CGR, not one of its actions. This is a common error in evaluation, wherein catalyst agents lay claim to the outcomes of third parties that they have merely incited to act (Rossi, Lipsey, and Freeman 2004).

In the final position, the term “impact” is used as opposed to outcome. This term infers a change to the system context and does not satisfactorily include more immediate outcomes. Evaluators know that proving impact in a system as complex as that described in the model is extremely difficult at best, and generally very long term (Barbu and White 1998). Therefore, it would be better to avoid using this term. Adaptation is called out as a particular form of outcome—one which accommodates adaptation in the system context as well as the CGR. Again, adaptation in the system context is an outcome. Adaptation in the CGR itself is a proximal outcome and feedback loop in the logic model.

Based on this examination of the CGR model components and their interrelationships, the logic model should be revised as shown in Figure 3. Consequential incentives are moved into the system context. As inputs, the drivers are now leadership defined as convening and facilitative

capacity, interdependence, uncertainty, the shared motivation aspects of mutual trust and understanding, as well as the capacity for joint action elements of facilitative leadership and all substantive resources, including knowledge. As collaborative dynamics within the internal functions of planning and decision making, the characteristics of principled engagement and their associated procedural and institutional arrangements remain in place. As outputs, the actions of CGR members are considered both independently and jointly. As outcomes, all proximal outcomes noted as adaptations to the CGR are considered, along with adaptations in third parties as well as impacts to the system context.

While these moves increase the analytical capacity of the model through more logical placement of its components, there remains a problem of parsimony within the components themselves. We argue that the key factors in the various positions can be augmented with concepts from Follett’s integrative process in a manner that cuts to the quick of each element, while doing away with hierarchical and competitive meanings that hinder collaboration and attainment of its advantages.

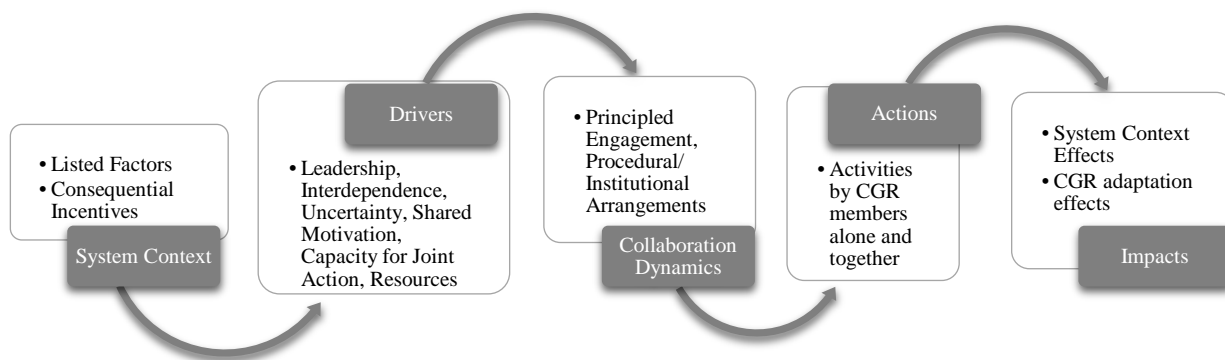


Figure 3. Reorganized CGR Logic Model

Specifically, Follett's integrative concepts are most pertinent to the CGR elements of leadership, shared motivation, principled engagement, and capacity for joint action *within* the CGR. These elements represent the human and social capital within the regime, as opposed to other resources such as information or organizational capacity for operations and finances required for action. We explore how these elements can best "produce desired states" (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 8) by providing more detailed explications and considering how they might be assessed for the purposes of study and evaluation. First, we provide a brief summary of Follett's thinking, then we reinterpret the reorganized CGR logic model using these concepts and explain how the revised model can be used in analysis.

Follett's Integrative Process

Follett's prescriptions are grounded in practice and theory in a manner that informs both politics and organizational management—an ideal combination for collaborative governance. Indeed, Follett is recognized as a founder of the field of public administration (Fry and Raadschelders 2013) and many scholars use her theories to inform public engagement in collaborative governance (see for example, King 2011, King, Feltey, and Susel 1998, Stivers 2000, Stout 2013, King and Zanetti 2005, Elias and Alkadry 2011). Because detailed analysis of her work is available elsewhere (see Authors 2014, 2015a, b), here we summarize quite briefly.

Through her reflection on practice and careful interpretation of meanings in the varied theoretical sources from which she draws, Follett formulates a cohesive and inclusive set of conceptual elements through critique of standard approaches to group dynamics and affirmation of alternatives. Indeed, Follett's ideas are characterized by one principle or theory permeating all of social action (Haldane 1920)—a relational process ontology that prefigures a socially-situated individualism, an experiential epistemology, and relational, process-oriented practices. This

theory has been called “integrative process” (Authors 2015b), which entails three cross-cutting ideas that fundamentally alter the terms commonly used in ethics, political theory, economic theory, and administrative theory: the situation, the law of the situation, and the method of integration (Authors 2015a).

The (Total) Situation

Using a systems approach long before such terminology existed Follett conceptualizes the environmental context as *the total situation*. Situations are dynamic fields of mutual influence in which factors “all together constitute a certain situation, but they constitute that situation through their relation to one another. They don’t form a total situation merely by existing side by side” (Follett 2013c, 79). This perspective is grounded in a relational process philosophy—a belief that the individual is fundamentally interconnected with everything else in the universe through a deeply nesting, widely inclusive network of becoming (Authors 2013b). Each “evolving situation” (Follett 2013b, 55) interconnects with other situations, producing “the total situation” (Follett 2013b, 55). This includes all physical and social aspects of the situation, with consideration of those not actually present. In sum, the situation and all within it—human and otherwise—is in dynamic, relational influence.

The Law of the Situation

From Follett’s pragmatist perspective, to achieve the best individual and societal outcomes group members should be responsive to the situation, and, to the greatest degree possible, to the total situation as well. Follett conceives these dynamic contextual drivers of both instigation and adaptation as “the law of the situation” (Follett 2003e, 104). Knowing when this law has been found must be sensed by the group and re-evaluated as the situation evolves. Thus,

obeying the law of the situation gives authority to the total situation, the situation, and group process, as opposed to specific individuals, positions, or organizations.

The law of the situation is determined through specific ways of knowing, understanding, and finding agreement. Therefore, Follett explains this process in both epistemological and ethical terms. In Follett's pragmatist epistemology, knowledge is constantly being co-created through active experimentation and integration based on a willingness to see things with alternative understandings—what she refers to as a “scientific attitude of mind” (Follett 2013b, 29). Through this approach to shared understanding, ethics is not the *substance* of the collective will but rather an integrative and relational process of generating an ethic. It is not procedural and formal, as in communicative ethics (Habermas and Cooke 1998). Integration generates a mutualistic group ethic; all share responsibility for demanding and giving obedience through a sense of commitment that is experientially founded.

The Method of Integration

The group process of integrating is intentionally seeking self-organizing, coordinated harmony as opposed to hierarchically or majority imposed control. Although this does not always occur, “there *is* a technique for integration” (Follett 2013a, 68): a number of processual elements that are iterative rather than linear in nature form “the method of integration” (Follett 2013b, 178).

Integrating begins with an attitude—a relational disposition that she describes as “*the will to will the common will*” (Follett 1998, 49). This relational disposition generates cooperative styles of relating and participatory interactions—or “*modes of association*” (Follett 1998, 147)—in which we feel an obligation to engage in public life and to consider others in all we do. Thus,

the second characteristic of integrating is genuine participation: “You have to have participation before you can get co-operation” (Follett 2003c, 171).

In this participatory cooperation, the group co-produces knowledge, shared desire, purpose, choice of method, and so forth—in short, all activities common to the policy or decision making process. In these activities, integrating seeks “the interpenetration of the ideas of the parties concerned” (Follett 2003f, 212). To achieve this end, integration occurs not through standard deliberation which tends toward debate among competing interests, but rather dialogic “interpermeation” (Follett 1998, 209) that includes “a cooperative gathering of facts” (Follett 2013b, 17) and “genuine discussion” (Follett 1998, 210) in the situation. Its synergistic effect produces more creative and effective decision making and outcomes because nothing is lost through domination or compromise.

It “often takes ingenuity, a ‘creative intelligence,’ to find the integration” (Follett 2013b, 163). But through *constructive conflict* (Follett 2003a), differing interests are more easily integrated using the techniques of disintegration and revaluation. Disintegration moves individuals from fully formulated *a priori* positions to the nuanced driving desires underneath. *Interests* are typically composed of a desire, an idea about how to get the desire met, and a passion to make it happen. Desire must be split from method in order to enable integration, which may be achieved either through change in the desire or change in the preferred method of fulfilment. Once divided, an organic change of opinion can be achieved through dialogue and value comparison.

Follett (2013b) notes that such revaluation responds to changes in the situation, changes in oneself, and new sources of knowledge. Regardless of the relational source, “through an interpenetrating of understanding, the quality of one’s own thinking is changed” (Follett 2013b,

163). “The course of action decided upon is what we all together want, and I see that it is better than what I had wanted alone. It is what *I* now want” (Follett 1998, 25). Today, we would call this a consensus building process (Susskind, McKernan, and Thomas-Larme 1999) or conflict resolution process that addresses both normative and causal beliefs (Sabatier 1988).

Because of this integration of desires and/or preferred methods, commitment to what is co-created is ensured not through consent or the binding authority of law or contract, “but in the fact that it has been produced by the community” (Follett 1998, 130); loyalty is experientially founded. Similarly, a sense of mutual responsibility is engendered by this shared ownership: “collective responsibility is not a matter of adding but of interweaving” (Follett 2013a, 75).

Application to Practice

Follett applies integrative process to all types of groups, envisioning an alternative approach to management in which coordination happens through: (1) *authority* as a group process where all follow what the situation demands; and (2) *functional unifying* in which interrelated parts are mutually and dynamically influencing. In essence, these two characteristics fundamentally change the *role* of the manager in pursuit of a new *goal* of management: *coordinating the integrative process of unifying functions*. These changes are cross-cutting in their implications for every aspect of administrative practice.

Specifically, unity of command and managerial control are redefined as emergent authority and orders that are situation-determined; hierarchical organizing shifts to non-hierarchical coordination among federated networks; accountability and responsibility are synthesized in mutual answerability; the functional division of labor becomes a cooperative, self-organizing process of coordinating integrative activities in which leadership is emergent; and planning and decision making is guided by participatory collaboration rather than managerial

direction or pluralist competition and negotiation. We argue that these transformed management practices are the characteristics of effective collaborative dynamics.

An Integrative Governance Logic Model

This section interweaves concepts from the CGR model and integrative process in order to propose a revised Integrative Governance Logic Model. Follett's prescriptions for practice are invaluable to better defining and streamlining the CGR elements of leadership, shared motivation, principled engagement, and capacity for joint action—the human and social capital being brought into collaborative governance. Honing in on these particular elements helps to clarify what is happening in these dimensions and how to assess them. We argue that this is important because, as Cohen (2008) notes in regard to the administrative practice of negotiation, new governance theory augments the literature by placing its “problem-solving techniques into a macro political context,” while the negotiation literature provides new governance theorists with “a theory and a set of prescriptions for dealing with micro interactions that they currently lack” (514). As noted in the introduction, we have bypassed the contemporary negotiation literature, much of which is hybridized with hierarchical and competitive concepts, and go back to Follett as a principal source.

Drawing from Follett's formulation of integrative process, the reorganized components of the CGR logic model can be simplified and clarified (see Figure 4). From this integrative perspective, *needs and opportunities* in the **Total Situation** give rise to an actor (or actors) with a **facilitative leadership style** and the capacity for convening and coordinating, who establishes a **Network Situation**. Others with a **relational disposition** are invited to join the group effort, bringing their human, financial, and technical resources (*input*) to the **Network Situation**.

These relational dispositions and facilitative leadership styles prefigure **cooperative styles of relating** and the choices made within the network for its **participatory mode of association** and the **method of integration** (*internal functions*). This **Integrative Group Process** enables participatory planning and decision making; a principle determinant of **Integrative Action** (*outputs*) and **Progress** attained (*outcomes*). The effect of and response to these actions will include both proximal and distal outcomes that cause integrative change in all aspects of the logic model (*feedback loops*). The following sections provide more detailed explanation of the human components of this logic model following Follett’s integrative process.

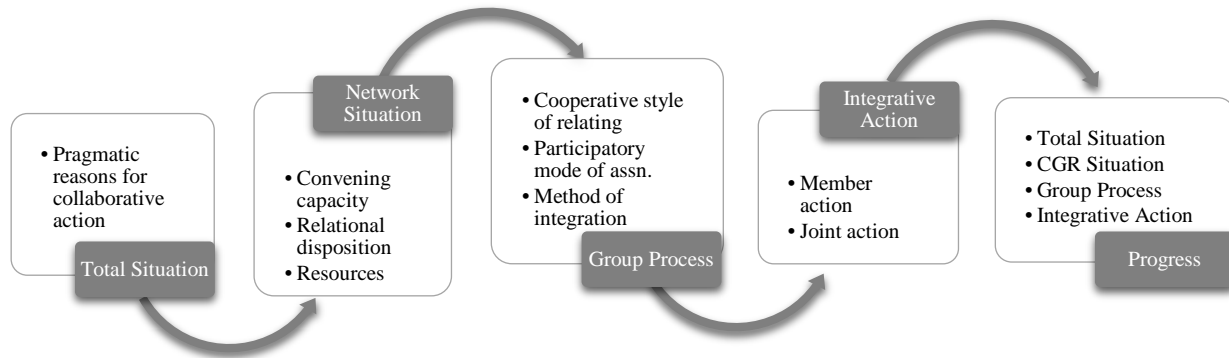


Figure 4: Integrative Governance Logic Model

The Network Situation

The Network Situation includes the logic model *inputs* of a relational disposition, facilitative leadership and convening capacity, and all other human and nonhuman resources. Leaders of CGRs “should possess [1] a commitment to collaborative problem solving, [2] a willingness not to advocate for a particular solution, and [3] exhibit impartiality with respect to the preferences of participants” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 9). While the first characteristic fits Follett’s relational disposition, the other two characteristics appear to be drawn from contemporary definitions of facilitators rather than leaders. This disempowers participants from engaging as a substantive leader, which should not be the case permanently as discussed

below. However, in terms of group process, Follett argues that a relational disposition to co-create and follow the collective will should be present in *all* group members, while leaders should exhibit facilitative capacities.

For all group participants, a relational disposition engenders a desire to consider the ideas others bring to the situation while advocating for one's own because it is neither individualist nor collectivist in orientation. In other words, neither the group nor the individual is prioritized, but rather the interaction between the two. This relational disposition becomes of key concern in “getting the ‘right’ people to the table” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 11) in network formation. Not only is it critical to be inclusive of all those substantively concerned with the issue at hand—the typical focus—but it is important that these individuals share a relational disposition while playing any role.

Facilitative Leadership

For the facilitative role, Follett re-conceptualizes leadership and followership as emergent in response to the situation. We must “depersonalize” (Follett 2003b, 58) the role of leader and thereby open the role to all participants in a self-organizing process of governance (see for example Bussu and Bartels 2013). Any member can play a leadership role from time to time based on the function demanded by the situation—it is emergent. Substantively, no individual's perspective or knowledge should be “deactivated” during integration. However, Follett does note that the most important functions of non-substantive leadership are “evoking, interacting, integrating, and emerging” (Follett 2003d, 267). By this, she is referring to what we would now call facilitation. Evoking draws out the best abilities from all. Interacting and integrating refer to practicing the method of integration. Emerging refers to allowing the law of the situation to unfold and substantive leadership to emerge during the integrative group process. Thus, this

approach fosters what Follett (2003d) terms “multiple leadership” (251) through the development of **power-with** instead of **power-over**.

Integrative Group Process

The group process represents the *internal functions* of the logic model. Principled engagement enables actors to cooperate even in the presence of difference and conflict during activities of discovery, definition, deliberation, and determination (decision). The CGR authors call this a “dynamic social learning process” through which the group creates “a shared sense of purpose and a shared theory of action for achieving that purpose” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 11). Follett’s method of integration explains the cooperative and participatory process of deliberation through which consensus is built in regard to knowledge and truth (discovery), meanings of right and good (definition), and shared decisions and answerability (determination). This method employs Follett’s understanding of **constructive conflict** wherein participants collectively analyse differing interests in order to move from advocacy of *a priori* positions to the underlying driving desires, which may then provide the basis for integration through change in desires or change in preferred methods for achieving outcomes. A cooperative style of relating and participatory mode of association ensures these activities are conducted in the most productive manner, minimizing dynamics associated with hierarchy and competition.

Participatory Mode of Association

In the CGR model, the capacity for joint action includes elements of procedural and institutional arrangements, which must be defined both within and between organizations. According to Follett, successful organizational arrangements are characterized by a **participatory mode of association**. Follett’s method of integration requires all perspectives to be included and considered, with all group members actively engaged in determining what the

situation demands. However, this is not always easy to achieve in a CGR because each member comes from a different organizational context—many of which are often hierarchical or competitive in mode of association.

Functional Unifying

Internal functions of the CGR include discovery, definition, deliberation, and determination—the typical elements of the planning and decision making process. Follett’s approach would suggest these activities are part and parcel of **functional unifying**—the cooperative coordination of participatory integrative process.

In collaborative discovery participants in the CGR build shared knowledge and mutual understanding, including respective value positions as well as “fact-finding and more analytic investigation” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 12). This combination of fact and value is reflected in Follett’s combination of pragmatist epistemology and ethics evolving from experiential participatory process in integrative process. Thus, it is in discovery that the development of shared motivation begins and collaborative dynamics emerge.

In the CGR model, there are a variety of definitional targets, including the key policy or decision making activities of describing problems, opportunities, and “shared criteria with which to assess information and alternatives” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 12). However, coming to agreement on such definitions entails building mutual understanding drawn from participatory discovery, thereby continuing development of shared motivation. This is best accomplished through the disintegration and revaluation process described by Follett.

The conceptualization of deliberation in the CGR model is crafted from a somewhat mismatched set of practice-based theories of dialogue and the deliberative democracy literature, much of which is grounded in communicative action and ethics (Habermas 1998, Habermas and

Cooke 1998). While it achieves the goal of moving beyond “the aggregation of interests” (Roberts 2004, 332), it is a highly rational approach to deliberation that relies on pre-determined understandings of right and is heavily weighted toward argumentation and persuasion—the best argument wins. Communicative action is not specifically designed for building consensus through mutual responsiveness and often results in compromise or *de facto*, if not overt domination (Kim and Kim 2008, Mansbridge et al. 2006, Bartels 2013). Therefore, we argue that Follett provides a more useful approach to deliberate toward consensus: the dialogical **method of integration**. Successful integrating of differences will depend upon the degree to which these foundational attitudes and collaborative activities are present in the group.

The CGR model includes both procedural and substantive determinations in decision making. Following from deliberation, Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh (2012) recommend that decisions be made according to consensus rules when possible and appropriate, noting that it is not always necessary. While Follett agrees that integration is not always possible, she argues it is possible more often than we typically imagine. However, reaching consensus—what she also calls **synthesis** (Follett 1998)—does require executing the method of integration in full. Otherwise, hierarchical domination or competitive compromise is likely to constrain collaborative dynamics to unproductive power plays and persuasion, argumentation, and debate.

Integrative Action and Progress

The *outcomes* of the logic model include both proximal and distal effects of the network’s **Integrative Action**. With our focus on the human elements of the model, we consider the fruitful cycle produced by **Integrative Group Process** and its feedback to the **Network Situation** and so forth (proximal outcomes). Based on social capital theory, Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh (2012) refer to shared motivation as the “relational” element of the CGR model

which is comprised of trust, mutual understanding, internal legitimacy, and commitment. We suggest that all five qualities are *proximal outcomes* of collaborative dynamics; they are produced by the activities involved in principled engagement, as also noted by the authors (see Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 13). Thus, while it is true that “processes and outcomes cannot be neatly separated in consensus building” (Innes and Booher 1999, 415), the CGR model itself could be clarified for application by distinguishing proximal outcomes from process characteristics.

According to Follett’s integrative process, shared motivation is an outcome of a process that begins with a relational disposition and cooperative style of relating exercised in a participatory mode of association and method of integration that produces synthesis decisions for action. All functions should be supported by emergent expertise and facilitative leadership. Thus, we suggest that integrative process provides a stronger explication of how the proximal outcomes of shared motivation, mutual understanding, internal legitimacy, trust, and shared commitment are generated.

More specifically we could say that mutual understanding comes from integrative discovery and definition; internal legitimacy comes from integrative deliberation; commitment comes from genuine participation in all aspects of integrative process; and trust comes from ongoing mutual answerability in acting according to integrative determinations. Therefore, these five elements would all be outcomes of collaborative dynamics, the indicators for which are a relational disposition, a cooperative style of relating, a participatory mode of association, and all components of the method of integration.

As a summative indicator, Follett’s understanding of **progress** provides a good outcome measure for collaborative dynamics. For her, progress is a co-creative process of integration

among an ever widening whole—a “progressive integration” (Follett 2013b, 160). The greater the number of differences included, the higher the level of synthesis achieved; thereby generating greater individual and societal progress. Thus, “progress is not determined by economic conditions, by physical conditions, nor by biological factors solely, but more especially by our capacity for genuine coöperation” (Follett 1998, 93). To measure this type of capacity, Integrative Actions should reflect synthesis—a change in what is done by individual actors or innovative joint actions that result from integration.

Analysing Collaborative Dynamics

Because the CGR model includes partnerships and other types of shared management arrangements under the umbrella of collaborative governance, a shortcoming of the model in our view, it does not directly address the *meanings* that are carried forward from those institutional contexts into attempts to collaborate. For example, in CGRs that include government entities, hierarchical styles of command, control, and accountability are often brought forward by their representatives. In CGRs that include market policy actors, competitive dispositions of self-interest, relational styles of competitive negotiation, and individualist approaches to responsibility are often brought forward by representatives. In CGRs that include community actors, it may be that relational dispositions and cooperative approaches to finding common ground and mutual answerability are brought forward by participants. These three originating perspectives produce very different approaches to administrative practice (Author 2013) that affect the creation and operation of a CGR, as well as its ability to generate collaborative advantage in outcomes.

Follett recognizes these challenges in her critiques of both hierarchy and pluralist competition, which she argues result in domination and compromise, which in turn limit

individual and societal progress. Therefore, we argue the revised Integrative Governance Logic Model provides a better foundation to assess both group process (collaborative dynamics) and outcomes within the Network Situation (proximal) and in the Total Situation (distal).

Clarifying the Indicators

As compared in Table 1, Follett's critique of hierarchy and pluralism and affirmation of integrative process point out the importance of assessing the degree to which dynamics are integrative in collaborative network governance. Using her model, we identify their respective human dynamics: disposition, style of relating, mode of association, and management of internal functions.

Group-oriented and experienced hierarchical leaders and followers are accustomed to elite representation wherein authority is held in formal positions and the command and control of rules and procedures. This results in domination which significantly limits integrative process and its beneficial outcomes. Individualist approaches fare little better: Pluralist leaders and followers are accustomed to competitive negotiation and bargaining designed to win through domination or compromise if a "win-win" solution is not inherent in *a priori* positions. While not as limiting as domination, compromise also truncates integrative process through majority rule.

Table 1: Components of Internal Dynamics

<i>Internal Dynamic</i>	<i>Rule-Driven</i>	<i>Interest-Driven</i>	<i>Collaborative</i>
Disposition	Collectivist	Individualist	Relational
Style of Relating	Hierarchical	Competitive	Cooperative
Mode of Association	Representative	Pluralist	Participatory
Internal Functions	Command and Domination	Negotiation and Compromise	Consensus-oriented Integration

According to Follett, individuals accustomed to hierarchy and competition may have difficulty developing the interpersonal dynamics required for effective collaboration. In such

cases, collaborators may only be going through motions half-heartedly without actually altering their dispositions, styles of relating, mode of association, or internal functions. Nonetheless, we agree with her that these are precisely the attitudes and skills that must be developed in order to achieve what she understood as progress and what is today called “collaborative advantage” (Huxham et al. 2000). For Follett, this benefit is generated through a relational disposition, a cooperative style of relating, a collaborative mode of association, and a method for achieving integration that enables constructive conflict through disintegration of *a priori* positions, collaborative discovery of facts and values, reevaluation of desires and methods through dialogue, creative and integrative determinations, collective responsibility, and experientially founded commitment.

Following Follett, we argue that a relational (rather than collectivist or individualist) disposition, a cooperative (rather than hierarchical or competitive) style of relating, a participatory (rather than representative or pluralistic) mode of association, and the functional method of integration (rather than command or negotiation) will produce better outcomes. Follett’s method of integration can be used as a theory of change that focuses on the collaborative dynamics that produce integrative actions and social capital (proximal outcomes) that are known to improve instrumental outcomes of the substantive activities of the CGR (see for example, Putnam et al. 1983, Forester 2009). We recognize that conflating these proximal outcomes with the more distal outcomes of the CGR’s activities in the situation would be a flaw in research design—each must be measured independently with interaction effects considered. In addition to providing prescriptive guidance to network participants, testing of this proposition could also contribute to the development of “typologies of different kinds of CGRs” (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012, 22).

Table 2 provides an overview of indicators associated with integrative process—the collaborative dynamics explained by Follett. We argue these indicators provide a more useful foundation for developing specific measurements and analyses of collaborative dynamics than would the highly complex and often redundant dimensions of the original CGR model. As inputs to the logic model, the CGR driver of *leadership* is redefined by evidence of a relational disposition and facilitative leadership. As internal functions of the logic model, CGR collaboration dynamics of *shared motivation*, *principled engagement*, as well as the *capacity for joint action* elements of *procedural/institutional arrangements*, and *leadership* within the CGR are redefined by evidence of a cooperative style of relating and a participatory mode of association in the method of integration. This transforms the detailed elements included in the collaboration dynamic of *principled engagement* into process outcome measures. However, more summative outcomes would be indicated by Follett’s interpretation of progress as “a higher synthesis” (Follett 1998, 96)—actions taken that would not have been taken alone. These indicators are simultaneously more specific and simpler for analytical parsimony. Both qualities should improve performance evaluation and theory building.

Table 2: Indicators of Collaborative Dynamics

<i>Logic Model Element</i>	<i>Collaborative Dynamics</i>	<i>Integrative Indicators</i>
Inputs: The Network Situation	Relational Disposition and Facilitative Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Each member views collaboration as a path to progress • Each member is open to allowing the emergent will of the group to guide decisions and actions • Each member is ready to learn, to develop new ideas and methods, and to act collaboratively • Each member values and/or exercises facilitative leadership (evoking, interacting, integrating, and emerging)

<p>Internal Functions: Integrative Group Process</p>	<p>Cooperative Style of Relating, Participatory Mode of Association, Method of Integration</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participatory practices are used consistently throughout CGR functions • Participants engage in active listening and consensus-seeking common to genuine dialogue and deliberation • Participants value emergent expertise • Differences that emerge during discovery, definition, deliberation, and determination are met with creative integration (constructive conflict) • Discovery is a shared endeavour and definitions emerge from dialogue • The method of integration is executed completely with sufficient time • Decisions emerge from consensus or modified voting procedures without evidence of domination or compromise (law of the situation)
<p>Outputs: Integrative Action</p>	<p>Synthesis</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actions are based on complex integrative practices, indicated by changes to individual member actions and innovative joint actions
<p>Outcomes: Progress</p>	<p>(Direct and Feedback Loops)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes evident in all other components of the logic model; considering individual, group, and societal levels of analysis

Deepening Assessment

The original CGR model goes a long way in capturing all that is involved in collaborative dynamics. A conventional logic of outcome evaluation seems to be implicit to the CGR model; it offers a contingency framework (see Ansell and Gash 2008) for testing the relative impact of factors in that the CGR's performance is measured and assessed based on the degree to which indicators are achieved in its context. This approach has a long track record in performance measurement of governance networks (Milward and Provan 1998, Agranoff 2008, Kenis and Provan 2009, Klijn, Steijn, and Edelenbos 2010) and can be particularly helpful for evaluating effectiveness and transparency (see for example Noordegraaf and Abma 2003, Porter and Shortall 2009, Dickinson and Sullivan 2014). However, this approach tends to be less prone to include process evaluation of internal network dynamics and even less concerned with

interpreting socially situated meanings and enabling participants to improve the relationships through which they perform collaborative activities. Specification of the actual dispositions, styles of relating, and modes of association shaping these dynamics offers a practical guide for how to actually practice and study collaboration.

Understanding these internal dynamics requires process evaluation. As noted in the discussion of shared motivation, process itself *does* produce proximal outcomes and should not be overlooked. For example, increased levels of trust, changes in communication patterns, and instances of integrative actions as opposed to those resulting from domination or compromise are all proximal outcomes of integrative process. In keeping with the democratic nature of integrative collaboration, we would therefore encourage collaborative process evaluation to become an ongoing function of governance networks. Such an approach is commonly known as participatory or responsive evaluation (Bartels 2012, Guba and Lincoln 1989, Kensen and Tops 2003, Reason and Bradbury 2001, Mandell and Keast 2007, Schwandt 1997, Abma 2004). The goal is not discovering “facts” but “generating supplementary perspectives, enabling conversations, introducing new ideas about evaluation logic, facilitating examination and critique” (Schwandt 1997, 80). This goal can be achieved based on a range of steps, skills, and methods.

First, evaluators need to experience interactions within the network first-hand to develop a holistic understanding of how the relationships among the participants, their different perspectives, and the interconnections between the issues they are facing manifest themselves in situated and embodied action. Qualitative and interpretive methods like participant-observation, qualitative interviewing, action research, narrative analysis, and facilitation can enable evaluators to experience and interpret the tone of the conversations among participants, the meanings of

their statements and stories, the emotions emerging during a meeting, and so on. In this way, evaluators can understand and assess where these practices and perspectives come from, what they mean, how they can be judged, and how they might be improved within the constraints and affordances of the situation.

Second, while the criteria of integrative collaborative dynamics are broadly defined by Follett, the evaluator and the network participants should define together *specifically* how they want to see relational dispositions, cooperative styles of relating, participatory modes of association, and the method of integration instantiated. As part of this process, it is necessary to identify existing power dynamics and conflicts to get a better grasp of the situations in which the participants are embedded outside the network and to protect the evaluation process and findings against the potential threats of hierarchical or competitive dispositions within the network.

Third, in terms of research design, the evaluator should invite all network members to participate in determining the evaluation process and methods. This involves organizing meetings, interviewing, and observing interactions to explore members' concerns, values, and views, as well as to build trust and create conditions for open, honest, and safe participation in evaluation. Evaluators must be open to adapting criteria and methods to the needs of the participants, while safeguarding integrative governance as the framework of assessment. This demands collaborative capacity from evaluators as network participants; they must develop and maintain relationships of trust to sustain commitment to a collaborative process of inquiry and learning.

With this framework for assessing integrative collaborative dynamics and a participatory evaluation method in hand, the next step in development of the Integrative Governance Logic

Model would be research design and testing in an actual governance network—a topic ripe for future research.

Conclusions

In this paper we have clarified and simplified the Collaborative Governance Regime (CGR) model (Emerson, Nabatchi, and Balogh 2012) to provide a more useful analytical tool for analyzing and evaluating collaborative dynamics within governance networks. We have used the logic model framework and Follett's theory of integrative process to present a parsimonious model that clarifies the essence of each element while avoiding the counterproductive characteristics of hierarchical and competitive meanings. Specifically, we argue that process evaluations should operationalize the relational disposition, cooperative style of relating, and participatory mode of association in Follett's integrative method as the measures of the inputs, internal functions, and outputs of integrative collaborative dynamics.

Theoretically, to achieve the highest level of integrative collaborative capacity in network governance, we must find ways to extricate dispositions, relational styles, and internal functions appropriate to hierarchical and competitive modes of association. These are such deeply engrained attitudes and methods—indeed, they are grounded in foundational philosophical commitments (Author 2012, Authors 2013b)—that it may not be possible in all cases. Therefore, we recommend organizational support for the evaluation of integrative collaborative dynamics as an ongoing management practice within governance networks.

This integrative approach to managing governance networks is more likely to achieve both instrumental and democratic benefits of collaboration. While the former may be of greater importance to *organizational* collaboration, the latter is of deep importance to *community* collaboration. However, we argue that both must be addressed in network governance to achieve

the most fruitful outcomes—*progress*—within the network and in its context of operations. In short, only through integrative practices can the collaborative efforts of the group produce the most creative and successful outcomes. Ergo, to achieve the greatest instrumental outcomes we must first have the highest level of integrative collaboration.

We recognize that by focusing exclusively on the internal dynamics of networks herein, we have only addressed one part of integrative process. Indeed, what happens when governance network members move integrative practices into activities and interactions in the larger context is of critical concern to instrumental outcomes and impact. There is potential for a “scaling up of principles and techniques of collaborative problem solving to matters of national and global concern” (Cohen 2008, 505) within various policy areas. In combination, process evaluation of the inputs, internal functions, and outputs of integrative collaborative dynamics both within the network and between the network and its context will contribute to instrumental outcomes and impacts. Therefore, future research should replicate the model we are suggesting for internal dynamics and apply it to the external dynamics of governance networks, further clarifying how relational dispositions, cooperative styles of relating, participatory modes of association, and the integrative method shape outcomes in the community or other policy arena.

The Integrative Governance Logic Model lends itself to operationalization in a variety of ways: scholarly analysis and practical evaluation of CGRs; studies of causal processes as well as socially constructed meanings of collaboration; qualitative single case studies, and quantitative large-N longitudinal or cross-sectional comparison studies. We encourage any of these approaches to operationalize, test, interpret, apply, and criticize the Integrative Governance Logic Model for the sake of furthering understanding of collaborative dynamics and rendering them more integrative in practice. Continuing to clarify what we are dealing with in network

governance and why it requires change will enable increasingly productive assessment and transformation of practice.

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