'Good' Outcomes.Handling Multiplicity in Government Communication

Copenhagen Business School
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Morten Krogh Petersen

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The Doctoral School of Organisation and Management Studies (OMS) is an interdisciplinary research environment at Copenhagen Business School for PhD students working on theoretical and empirical themes related to the organisation and management of private, public and voluntary organisations

'GOOD' OUTCOMES

Handling Multiplicity in Government Communication

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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Thank you all for taking part in making the realities enacted in the course of the past three years coexist somewhat peacefully.

MS [Michel Serres] In order to say "contemporary," one must already be thinking of a certain time and thinking of it in a certain way. […] So let's put the question differently: What are things contemporary? Consider a late-model car. It is a disparate aggregate of scientific and technical solutions dating from different periods. One can date it component by component: this part was invented at the turn of the century, another, ten years ago, and Carnot's cycle is almost two hundred years old. Not to mention that the wheel dates back to neolithic times. Then ensemble is only contemporary by assemblage, by its design, its finish, sometimes only by the slickness of the advertising surrounding it

(Serres & Latour 1995: 45, emphasis in original).

INTRODUCTION: performance managing government communication in practice

It is spring 2010 and I am at Bjerg Kommunikation. Bjerg Kommunikation is a small communications agency located in Copenhagen and it is the company that hosts the Industrial PhD project in connection with which the current PhD study is undertaken. The background to the Industrial PhD project is that Bjerg Kommunikation is experiencing a growing demand for new and better communication measurements among its clients. As a response to this demand Bjerg Kommunikation takes the initiative to establish the Industrial PhD project and entitles it *Measurements you can learn from*. The project takes off in December 2007, and in addition to Bjerg Kommunikation it involves five Danish ministries and agencies, five Danish government organizations. The project aims at developing, testing, and implementing new and better communication measurements.[1]

On this day my business supervisor at Bjerg Kommunikation calls to my attention an article entitled 'From Citizen to Customer' (2010)[2] that has just been published on the website kommuniationsmaaling.dk. Bjerg Kommunikation runs kommunikationsmaaling.dk and the website publishes articles about communication measurements and related themes written by professional communicators and researchers. The article's author is working as a

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[1] When referring to 'the Industrial PhD project' or 'the project' I mean all the activities the project entailed: the collaboration between Bjerg Kommunikation and myself, Bjerg Kommunikation's collaboration with the five government organizations involved, the activities in which all the collaborators participated, and the collaboration between the five government organizations and myself during fieldwork. When referring to 'the PhD study' or 'the study', this describes, more narrowly, the study undertaken in connection with the Industrial PhD project. However, I do not understand these various parts of the Industrial PhD project to add up to one, coherent whole. I understand the various parts as partially connected (Strathern 2004).

[2] In Danish: Fra borger til kunde.

communicator at the Danish Agency for Governmental Management (GOVERN), which is one of the government organizations involved in *Measurements you can learn from*. The article describes the recent years' developments in how government organizations work with communication. Citizens have become customers, and government organizations have gone from being administrative businesses to service businesses, the article says. As part of this, the communicative work of government organizations has gained in scope and importance. Communicative work is no longer only about disseminating information to the citizens. A new and important part of the work of the communicators is to enable the government organizations to meet the citizens as customers. The article gives a number of concrete examples of this. In GOVERN, for instance, the concept "Ready for the Customer"[3] has been implemented. The article argues that the implementation of this concept has implied attempts at changing the attitude of GOVERN's customer consultants, and it has implied giving them practical tools for handling telephone conversations and writing e-mails. The change in attitude and the practical tools are to secure better customer service.

It is an informative and thoughtful article, but I must have looked a bit sceptical when reading it, because my business supervisor asks me if I do not agree with its arguments. I say that I do agree with the argument that something has happened to the way that government organizations work with communication, but I do not think that government organizations simply go from one, definite state of affairs to another, as the article seems to suggest.

In connection with the Industrial PhD project's overall aims of developing, testing, and implementing new and better communication measurements, I have carried out ethnographic fieldwork on the question of how the five government organizations produce and assess communicative solutions today. In my application for the PhD scholarship I argue that the resulting ethnographic descriptions of the government organizations' production and assessment of communicative solutions will be of value in developing new and better communication measurements. However, it soon turns out that the step from ethnographic descriptions to new and better communication measurements is by no means simple. The fieldwork shows that different logics might coexist in these practices of production and assessment. I talk a bit about these different logics and my business supervisor smiles. He has heard me talk about different logics for the past two and a half years. In spite of articles such as this one I, apparently, do not stop. Luckily, the article does – in passing – offer some support for my claim that different logics coexist in government organizations. It might be the case that these government organizations are administrative businesses and service businesses

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[3] In Danish: Kundeklar.

simultaneously. The support is given in a statement from GOVERN's executive director. In this statement the director addresses the importance of working with citizens as customers. The executive director says:

> Here [at GOVERN] it is essential that we do not call them citizens, but customers, although this is disingenuous because they, actually, do not have a choice. For instance, the customers cannot say: "Then I'll go somewhere else and pay back my student loan." They do not have that choice. But it is the mentality that lies in it that is so very important. You have to be engrossed in making sure that the customers get something that they can really use and that it becomes as optimal for them as possible – at the same time we must, of course, meet our obligations as state authorities. Therefore, one has to think of [the citizens] as customers and not just be indifferent. I think it is important for the public sector in general to think about why we are here. Previously, the perception has been that the world had to adapt to us. But with that attitude you forget who is paying the piper (Grumstrup 2010)![4]

According to GOVERN's executive director it is utterly important for GOVERN to address the citizens as customers and to deliver a service that is as optimal as possible for the citizens as customers. The reason why it is so important to address the citizens as customers seems to have something to do with the performance of GOVERN's work, meaning the outcome of GOVERN's work.[5] GOVERN must not forget that it is the citizens who are paying the piper, which is to say that the citizens are paying for the public services GOVERN delivers. And one way to make sure that this does not happen is to address the citizens as customers. However, and this is the important point, simultaneously GOVERN must meet its obligations as a state authority, meaning that GOVERN must treat all citizens in alignment with their rights as citizens of the Danish state. GOVERN must simultaneously address the citizens as citizens.

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[4] In Danish: Det er essentielt, at vi ikke kalder dem borgere, men kunder her hos os, selvom det er en tilsnigelse, for de har jo ikke noget valg. De kan jo fx ikke sige: "Så går jeg et andet sted hen og betaler mit SU-lån." Det valg har de jo ikke. Men det er den mentalitet, der ligger i det, som er så enormt vigtig. Man skal være optaget af, at kunderne får det, de virkelig kan bruge, og det bliver så optimalt som muligt for dem – samtidig med, at vi selvfølgelig skal overholde vores forpligtelser som myndigheder. Derfor er man nødt til at tænke på dem som kunder, og ikke bare være ligeglade. Jeg tror helt generelt for den offentlige sektor, at det er vigtigt at tænke på, hvorfor vi er her. Der har jo tidligere været en opfattelse af, at verden måtte indrette sig efter os. Men dér glemmer man lidt, hvem det er, der betaler for gildet!

[5] The present thesis utilizes two meanings of the notion of 'performance'. The first relates to performance management and, hence, to the outcome of the communicative work of the government organizations involved. The second meaning relates to the research field of post-ANT and here the notion of performance describes a specific understanding of reality, or, rather, realities, as enacted in recursive and contingent associations of heterogeneous entities (see for instance Berg & Akrich 2004: 4-5). In order to avoid confusion I will, predominantly, talk about the outcome of the work of the government organizations when utilizing the first meaning of performance.

This report on a day at Bjerg Kommunikation's office proposes the main concerns of this thesis. It grapples with and combines two themes: government organizations as non-singular, and the outcome of the work of the government organizations. These two themes and their combination are explored within a case of contemporary public administration and management, namely government communication. In alignment with the article of the GOVERN communicator, research on government communication, and the five government organizations' descriptions of their own communicative work, I view the primary aims of government communication as being that of managing employees and governing citizens (Glenny 2008, Pedersen 2006).

Public sector organizations as non-singular

The statement from GOVERN's executive director and the fieldwork conducted in the present study suggest that government organizations are in a situation of both-and. In grasping this situation of both-and analytically I draw upon the research field of post-ANT (Law & Hassard 1999) or what, more tellingly, has been termed multiplicity-oriented ANT analysis (Vikkelsø 2007). By attending to practice, multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses argue that reality is continually enacted and re-enacted in sociomaterial practices and, because these practices differ from one another, reality is understood not as singular, but as multiple. Multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses offer notions for investigating phenomena such as the government organizations involved in the current study as multiple, meaning that they are enacted in different, coexisting, and partially connected versions. In the current thesis I will make use of sociologist John Law's notion of 'modes of ordering'. This notion implies an understanding of the government organizations involved as continually produced and reproduced in materially and discursively heterogeneous networks, and it suggests that it is possible to impute recursive and contingent patterns of ordering to these networks. My choice of the research agenda of multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses is aimed at the currently dominant approach to contemporary public administration and management and organizational change, which has been described as epochalist (du Gay 2003, 2004a). I criticize this approach for being preoccupied with diagnosing what is 'new' and what is 'old' in practices of public administration and management and, hence, being unable to grasp how these new and old elements of public administration and management unfold and interfere in practice. Further, the thesis contributes to the research field of public administration and management by focusing on concrete working practices, rather than organizational or managerial forms (Bloomfield & Hayes 2009), which has been the dominant object of study (Olsen 2004). The aim of the thesis is not to diagnose which organizational or managerial forms are at stake in the five government organizations. Rather, the thesis views the different organizational and managerial forms as making up a repertoire of resources the government

organizations draw upon in handling the situation of both-and. The thesis investigates how this 'drawing upon' unfurls in the communicative working practices of the government organizations involved.

The outcome of the work of government organizations

How come Bjerg Kommunikation experiences a growing demand for communication measurements amongst its clients and how come five government organizations choose to become part of *Measurements you can learn from*? GOVERN's executive director alludes to an answer to these questions when she says that the public sector "should not forget who is paying the piper". As we will see in the chapters to come, the government organizations involved in the project are very much aware that the taxpayers are paying the piper. A lot of effort goes into securing an optimal return on the taxpayers' money. This also goes for their communicative work, and with communication measurements the government organizations hope to be able to document the outcome of this work and to use this documentation in conducting this work in a still more effective and efficient manner. The communicators are, in other words, concerned with the outcomes of their work. Public sector organizations in many countries, including Denmark, are to a rising degree performance managed (Talbot 2010: 1). The literature on performance management in the public sector is vast. Most notably, issues have been interrogated concerning what its elements are and how they are and can be used in public administration and management (see for instance Bruijn 2002), the pros and cons of performance managing public sector organizations (see for instance Talbot 2005), the theoretical understandings of what makes public sector organizations perform better, which underpin various versions of performance management (see for instance Talbot 2010), and different countries' different ways of implementing and using different elements of performance management in practice (see for instance Pollitt 2006). Research on performance management is primarily occupied with determining what the elements of performance management are, and with crafting models for how public sector organizations produce an outcome, but an interest in how performance management unfolds in practices of public administration and management can also be discerned. I contribute to this latter interest by focusing on how a crucial aspect of performance management unfolds in practices of government communication: the setting of success criteria or, to stay in the language of performance management, the determination of what constitutes a 'good' outcome of a given communicative solution (Muniesa & Linhardt 2009). As a consequence, the current thesis does not seek to answer how government communication could yield a better outcome (Pandey & Garnett 2006), for instance by way of better planning (Sepstrup 2010). Neither does it seek to answer which technical or methodological features communication measurements should entail in order to provide the most accurate representations of the

outcome of government communication (see for instance Stacks & Michaelson 2010, Paine 2007 and Weiner 2006). Both concerns isolate government communication and seem to suggest that a 'good' outcome of government communication is a matter of modelling, planning, and/or measuring the outcome of government communication adequately. By contrast, I view the determination of what constitutes a 'good' outcome as embedded in a non-singular organizational context, the context of the five government organizations involved. If this organizational context is non-singular, then how can it be determined univocally what a 'good' outcome is? The thesis suggests that it cannot, and it suggests that in the communicative work of the government organizations involved it is uncertain what a 'good' outcome of their communicative work is. It explores, describes, and analyzes how this uncertainty is handled in the communicative work of the government organizations involved.

Research questions and thesis outline

The present Industrial PhD study comes into being in response to a communication agency's ambition to develop new and better communication measurements. These communication measurements are to function in government organizations and I suggest the provision of ethnographic descriptions of how government organizations carry out their communicative work today. Hence, my overall research question is:

> *How are communicative solutions produced and assessed in the working practices of communicators employed at five Danish government organizations?*

As I have suggested, and as I will show in the following chapters, the five government organizations are not singular – they are multiple. In response the first sub-question is:

> *How does this multiplicity unfurl in the working practices of the communicators and how can it be described by way of John Law's concept of 'modes of ordering'?*

Further, I have suggested that the ambitions of the government organizations to performance manage their own work entail a practical challenge: it must be determined what a 'good' outcome of government communication is. In other words: the multiplicity of the five government organizations must be handled somehow. Thus, the second sub-question is:

> *How is multiplicity in the form of coexisting modes of ordering handled in the government organizations' production and assessment of communicative solutions?*

In the following chapters I will discuss and seek to answer these three questions. The outline of the thesis is as follows:

In 'CHAPTER 01: government communication as a case of multiplicity' I aim to familiarize the reader with the government organizations' communicative work and their ambitions to become better at performance managing their own work. I show how my first fieldwork encounters with the five government organizations involved pose an analytical challenge that I choose to counter with Law's notion of 'modes of ordering'.

'CHAPTER 02: multiplying contemporary public administration and management' positions the present piece of research within the research field of public administration and management. I add analytical resources from the fields of organizations studies and multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses to the field of public administration and management and develop a multiplying approach to same.

Apart from describing how the ethnographic fieldwork of the current study was carried out, 'CHAPTER 03: peaceful coexistence as a condition of research' contains a methodological discussion of how the 'industrialness' of the current study has taken part in enacting the object of study; the outcome of government communication.

'CHAPTER 04: four situated modes of ordering' bridges the preceding chapters' attempts at setting the scene, in terms of introducing the empirical field and presenting the analytical resources utilized together with the following analytical chapters, by developing and describing four modes of ordering. I argue that these can be imputed to the communicative working practices of the government organizations involved. The resulting, situated modes of ordering can be described as heterogeneous assemblages in the sense that they combine empirical observations, theoretical insights, political programmes and interferences between these entities. The four modes of ordering are Enterprise, Administration, Commensuration, and Incommensuration.

'CHAPTER 05: managing the communicators' working practices' is the first of three analytical chapters and it investigates how the work of the communicators is managed today. It does so in an attempt to understand why it is important to the communicators involved to become better at performance managing their own work. The analyses show that the four modes of ordering can be imputed to the practices of managing the communicators' work and that the four modes of ordering are sequenced in these practices. The notion of sequencing can be used to describe how the multiplicity of government communication is handled in the

working practices of the communicators. But something else is going on too: the sequencing, at times, happens in a rather non-smooth manner and the analyses suggest that attempts at singularizing multiplicity are also at stake. The two different ways of handling multiplicity – sequencing and attempts at singularizing – are explored further in the following two chapters.

Attempts at singularizing the multiplicity of government communication are explored in 'CHAPTER 06: attempts at singularizing the TAX Group' by way of a large, communicative project carried out in one of the involved government organizations, the Danish Ministry of Taxation Group (TAX). The communicative project concerns group communication and the analyses of the chapter show how the work carried out in the project attempts to order TAX towards the ordering pattern of Enterprise. These attempts are strong and many, but they do not succeed in eliminating the three remaining modes of ordering. Rather, these remaining modes of ordering are lurking in the first stage of the project, where a policy for group communication is produced, and are performed forcefully in the second stage of the project, where the policy is implemented.

The second way of handling multiplicity – the sequencing of modes of ordering – is explored through the production and assessment of two communicative products at another of the involved government organizations, the Danish Consumer Agency (CONSUME). This happens in 'CHAPTER 07: sequencing modes of ordering in producing and assessing communicative solutions'. The first product is an electronic newsletter, which is intended to convey information about the consumers' concerns to Danish businesses. In turn, this information is to kick-start innovative processes in the businesses. The second product is the Danish government's consumer portal, which is run by CONSUME. In an attempt to counter recent challenges within the area of consumer information, the portal – the website forbrug.dk – is redesigned and reorganized. In the production of these two products, or public services, the communicators at CONSUME work with – rather than against – the multiplicity of government communication. This, however, only goes for the website in the practices of assessing these two products.

'CHAPTER 08: a recap and some concluding remarks on multiplicity' provides a recapitulation of the main arguments and analytical results of the thesis. In the preceding chapters two questions, concerning the strength of the mode of ordering Enterprise and the potential success of the attempts at singularizing government communication towards the ordering pattern of Enterprise, have been left somewhat open. In addressing these questions I show how the multiplicity of government communication has been enacted differently

throughout the study, because the research practices through which the multiplicity of government communication has been investigated are also multiple.

We [at FOREIGN] would like to be measured on the results we generate, and learn from the mistakes we make when we communicate. That is why we participate in **Measurements you can learn from**

(www.kommunikationsmaaling.dk, accessed 09.09.10).

CHAPTER 01: government communication as a case of multiplicity

What is government communication and why did the five government organizations choose to participate in the project *Measurements you can learn from*? In this first chapter my aim is to familiarize the reader with the empirical field under investigation, the five government organizations and their communicative work, and to outline the motivation of the government organizations for participating in the Industrial PhD project. I will do this on the grounds of empirical observations made during the Industrial PhD project's kickoff meeting in December 2007 and during some of my first fieldwork encounters with each of the five government organizations and their communicative work. I will argue that in the working practices of the government communicators it is uncertain what it is that constitutes a 'good' outcome of their communicative work. This will be done in the first two parts of the chapter. In the third part I suggest that analytical resources from the field of multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses can seize this uncertainty. I will show what this choice of analytical resources does to my understanding of the working practices of the communicators involved.

Five government organizations wishing to improve their communication

Before the Industrial PhD project begins, Bjerg Kommunikation decides that the development and testing of new and better communication measurements is to happen in collaboration with some of Bjerg Kommunikation's clients. These clients are to be Danish government organizations, meaning Danish ministries and/or agencies. In order for Bjerg Kommunikation to be able to host the project financially, at least three such government organizations have to become involved in the project.[6] In addition to becoming Bjerg Kommunikation's clients, these government organizations will constitute my empirical field. After some negotiations, five government organizations decide to join the project. They are the Danish Consumer Agency (CONSUME), the Danish Veterinary and Food

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[6] Within the Danish Industrial PhD Programme, the company pays approximately half of the PhD student's salary. All other expenses are taken care of by the programme, which is administered by the Danish Agency for Science, Technology and Innovation.

Administration (FOOD), the ministerial group of the Danish Ministry of Taxation (TAX), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (FOREIGN), and the Danish Agency for Governmental Management (GOVERN). Thus, the five government organizations involved comprise one ministerial group (TAX)[7], one ministry (FOREIGN), and three agencies (CONSUME, FOOD, and GOVERN).

The first time I meet the communicators from each of the five government organizations involved in *Measurements you can learn from* is at the Industrial PhD project's kickoff meeting in mid-December 2007. One to three communicators from each organization take part in the meeting. Before the meeting one communicator from each organization is appointed to be the contact person of the project. Bjerg Kommunikation and I ask each contact person to prepare a brief presentation, in which s/he describes why the government organization in question has decided to become part of the project. Furthermore, before the meeting Bjerg Kommunikation decides to establish a website "for everyone interested in communication and measurements" (www.kommunikationsmaaling.dk, accessed 09.09.10).[8] The website aims to "foster a professional debate and be a forum for knowledge of and opinions about communication measurements and related themes" (ibid.).[9] The website, of course, also aims at promoting Bjerg Kommunikation and highlighting the company's research collaboration in developing new and better communication measurements. At the kickoff meeting, the government organizations involved are asked to prepare a written statement concerning their motivation for taking part in *Measurements you can learn from*. These statements are to be put on kommunikationsmaaling.dk. In the following I will draw upon the contact persons' statements at the kickoff meeting and on the written statements prepared for the project's website, kommunikationsmaaling.dk, in accounting for each of the five government organizations' motivations for joining the project.

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[7] In the case of the ministerial group of the Danish Ministry of Taxation I will mainly use the abbreviation 'TAX', but in some instances it is important for the argument to underscore that TAX is a group, meaning that the ministerial group comprises several organizations under common control. In these instances I will use the abbreviation 'TAX Group'.

[8] In Danish: [Kommunikationsmaaling.dk] er for alle, der interesserer sig for kommunikation og målinger.

[9] In Danish: [Vores formål er] at skabe faglig debat og være forum for viden og holdninger om kommunikationsmålinger og beslægtede emner.

CONSUME: improvement by way of measurements and user-driven innovation

The contact person from CONSUME, Michael, works with campaigns and CONSUME's press relations. He tells us that CONSUME's key task is to disseminate consumer information to consumers, meaning citizens who act as consumers within given markets. Organizationally, this happens in CONSUME's Communication Centre, which takes care of the press, larger communication projects, a telephone hotline, and the website forbrug.dk. According to Michael, CONSUME wishes to know more about whether the consumers alter their behaviour as an effect of CONSUME's communicative solutions. Also, CONSUME wishes to work with so-called user-driven innovation. CONSUME's written statement states:

> It is our [CONSUME's] goal to improve our communication by way of new, systematic and detailed measurements and to use user-driven innovation to involve consumers, when we plan our efforts to create better consumer conditions in Denmark (ibid.).[10,11]

In other words: CONSUME seeks to govern Danish consumers, and its communicative solutions are a tool in achieving this. In Michael's account communication measurements and user-driven innovation seem connected, and they are seen as resources for CONSUME to achieve an even better governing of the consumers.

FOOD: managing employees better by way of better internal communication

The contact person from FOOD, Nikolaj, says that FOOD wants to use the project in an effort to improve internal communication. Nikolaj works with FOOD's internal communication. According to Nikolaj, FOOD has a very broad and heterogeneous group of employees, and the organizations and divisions that make up FOOD are spread all over Denmark. Thus, it is difficult to make all of FOOD's employees work in the same direction. This challenge is to be addressed by better internal communication. FOOD's 'mother institution' is the Danish Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries. The ministry has a shared communication division, but FOOD also has its own communication division. It is FOOD's communication division that is involved in the Industrial PhD project. FOOD's

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[10] When quoting from formal and public documents produced by one of the five involved organizations or other institutions I will translate the text and give the original, Danish version in a footnote. Because these are formal and official documents the correct wording is important for the arguments developed. When quoting from the empirical material generated in the course of this study's fieldwork I will give the translated version only. Further, when quoting from the empirical material I have sought to make the text as readable as possible. I find it adequate to do so, because I do not view language and speech as either the only nor (always) the most important actor in the ordering of organizations. Thus, my practical treatment of my empirical material in this thesis shares much with the one utilized in de Laet & Mol 2000, see especially ibid.: 255, note 1.

[11] In Danish: Det er vores mål, at vi [CONSUME] med nye, systematiske og grundige målinger kan forbedre vores kommunikation og benytte brugerdreven innovation til at inddrage forbrugerne, når vi tilrettelægger indsatsen for bedre forbrugerforhold i Danmark.

communication division takes care of the press, FOOD's website and intranet, internal communication, as well as professional communication in case of, for instance, the introduction of new policies or a health-related food crisis. FOOD also disseminates information about nutrition. FOOD's written statement concerning why they have decided to become part of *Measurments you can learn from* says:

> FOOD is currently working on improving internal communication in particular, and we want to make sure to get the most out of our efforts. Therefore, we are pleased to welcome a researcher and a professional agency, and we look forward to exchanging experiences with the other government organizations involved in the project (ibid.).[12]

At FOOD better internal communication is the solution to what is framed as a problem: that FOOD's employees do not work in the same direction. Thus, at FOOD internal communication is about managing the FOOD employees. However, FOOD's communicators also state that they want to "get the most out of [their] efforts," which indicates that FOOD's communicators are interested in improving the management of their own work.

TAX: managing employees and managing one's own work

The contact person from TAX, Julie, says that in TAX they have launched a project on group communication. Over the past couple of years she has been working with communication in the ministry's secretariat: primarily with campaigns and press relations. Now her focus has changed to internal communication. The background for this change in Julie's focus is that in November 2005, the Danish Ministry of Taxation, the Danish Tax and Customs Administration, and the Danish National Tax Tribunal merged and the new TAX Group saw the light of day. According to Julie, the merger created the need for a new type of internal communication, group communication. With the merger, the TAX Group became an organization, which – like FOOD – is made up by very broad and heterogeneous groups of employees. As a response, TAX wishes to make sure that "all managers and employees know where we are heading as a group, and how and why this is the case" (ibid.). To this aim, a project description has been produced. The Industrial PhD project's expected contributions to the group communication project are written into this project description. TAX is the only government organization involved which has coupled the Industrial PhD project this tightly to an existing project. Organizationally, each of the three organizations that make up the TAX Group solves its communicative tasks independently. In the ministerial department,

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[12] In Danish: Fødevarestyrelsen er i gang med især at forbedre den interne kommunikation og vil gerne være sikker på at få mest muligt ud af anstrengelserne. Derfor glæder vi os til at få en forsker og et professionelt bureau inden for dørene og til at udveksle erfaringer med de andre deltagere i projektet.

communicative tasks are taken care of in the management secretariat, the Danish Tax and Customs Administration has a communication division, and in the Danish National Tax Tribunal, communication is located in the organization's general office. However, an editorial group, consisting of communicators from each of the three organizations, is established as part of the group communication project. TAX's written statement says:

> TAX has […] defined a group communication project, which will focus on internal group communication for the first time. But will the project's recommendations work? TAX sees it as a clear advantage to turn the effects of the project's recommendation into a centre of attention in collaboration with a researcher and a communications agency (ibid.).[13]

As was the case for FOOD, internal communication in TAX can be understood as a case of managing the employees of the organization. And, as was also the case in FOOD, the communicators at TAX are interested in learning how to better manage their own work.

FOREIGN: managing public diplomacy activities and being managed by results

Carina is the contact person from FOREIGN, and she primarily works with FOREIGN's goal and performance management and with FOREIGN's communication policy. According to her, a 2007 political mandate decided to allocate 30 million DKK to brand Denmark globally in the period from 2007-2010. As part of this new initiative, FOREIGN's communication division is restructured and entitled Public Diplomacy and Communication. The division for Public Diplomacy and Communication is responsible for FOREIGN's overall communication policy, and it encompasses a press division. It is FOREIGN's wish that the Industrial PhD project focuses on public diplomacy. In practice, Danish embassies all over the world undertake public diplomacy activities. The embassies apply to the Public Diplomacy and Communication division for funding. The Public Diplomacy and Communication division then administers and manages which activities receive funding. Further, the division is to assess the activities which received funding. The latter issue constitutes the key question which FOREIGN hopes to get an answer to by way of the Industrial PhD project: how can the many and very different public diplomacy activities be assessed? More generally, FOREIGN says:

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[13] In Danish: Skatteministeriet har derfor nedsat et koncernprojekt, som for første gang har sat fokus på intern koncernkommunikation. Men vil projektets anbefalinger virke? Skatteministeriet ser det som en klar gevinst at få stillet skarp på effekten af projektets anbefalinger i samspil med en forsker og et kommunikationsbureau.

> We would like to be measured on the results we generate, and learn from the mistakes we make when we communicate. That is why we participate in *Measurements you can learn from* (ibid.).[14]

As was the case in both CONSUME, FOOD, and TAX, communicators at FOREIGN manage something, in this case the Danish embassies' public diplomacy activities. And as was the case with the other government organizations, the communicators would like to "be measured on the results [they] generate." It can be said that the communicators at FOREIGN wish to be managed by their results.

GOVERN: managing and being managed by way of communication measurements

At GOVERN, quite a lot of press measurements are conducted, according to the contact person there, Marie, who works with GOVERN's press relations. At the same time, they have a fairly defensive press strategy, she adds. In Marie's view, GOVERN spends resources on undertaking measurements that do not amount to much. Thus, GOVERN wishes to use the Industrial PhD project as a vehicle for optimizing the press measurements conducted at GOVERN. This rather narrow scope for GOVERN's participation in *Measurements you can learn from* is formulated in broader terms in GOVERN's statement on kommunikationsmaaling.dk:

> In GOVERN we know that communication with our customers, partners and other stakeholders is paramount. Therefore, their needs are the points of departure in our communication. But we want to become even better, and that is why we want to know more about the effect of our communication (ibid.).[15]

As was the case for the other four government organizations involved, GOVERN's communication is about managing something. In Marie's account, GOVERN's communication is about managing the press, and in a broader sense it is about managing GOVERN's customers, partners, and stakeholders. And as was the case for the other four government organizations involved, GOVERN wants to become better. In achieving this goal, GOVERN wishes to employ communication measurements as a tool for generating

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[14] In Danish: Vi vil gerne måles på de resultater, vi skaber, og lære af de fejl vi begår, når vi kommunikerer. Det er derfor, vi deltager i *Målinger man kan lære af*.
[15] In Danish: Vi i Økonomistyrelsen ved at kommunikationen med vores kunder, samarbejdspartnere og øvrige interessenter er altafgørende, derfor tager vi udgangspunkt i deres behov i vores kommunikation. Men vi vil blive endnu bedre, end vi er, derfor vil vi kende mere til effekten af vores kommunikation.

knowledge "about the effect of [GOVERN's] communication." Thus, communication measurements also constitute a tool for managing communication in GOVERN's case.

Performance managing government communication

In the INTRODUCTION I stated that government communication is about governing citizens and managing employees. Initial traits of what this means in the communicative work of the five government organizations involved can be discerned in their motivational accounts for joining *Measurements you can learn from*. In the motivations given, CONSUME's government communication is about governing consuming citizens. The government communication of FOOD, TAX, and FOREIGN is about managing employees, while that of GOVERN is about governing the press, and, in a broader sense, customers, partners, and other stakeholders. However, as can be discerned in the above accounts of the five government organizations' motivations, another issue is at stake as well. The motivations of the five government organizations suggest that government communication itself is also an area of what is managed. Like any other area of work, government communication can be managed in a number of ways: one can focus on whether procedures are complied with or not, one can focus on whether the desired output is produced or not, or one can focus on whether the desired outcome is achieved or not, meaning whether the output has the desired effects or not. It is noteworthy that in their motivations for becoming part of the Industrial PhD project, all five government organizations state that they wish to become better at managing their own communicative work by way of the effects, results or outcomes of this work. In other words: the communicators involved in the project wish to become better at performance managing their own work.

On these grounds the interest of the five government organizations in *Measurements you can learn from* and their decision to become involved in the project may be seen as an indication of performance management being at stake in these government organizations. This is not surprising, as the development of performance management, some of its most vital elements being a strong focus on outcomes and the usage of performance contracts, has been going on since the early 1980s in Denmark (Ejersbo & Greve 2005). The crucial and practical aspect of performance management that I will focus on in the present thesis is that it is necessary to define what a 'good' performance of something is in order to assess whether this something is performing well or not. In the current study, this 'something' is government communication. What counts as a good performance is established and implemented by way of performance indicators. To focus on outcomes and to use performance contracts implies establishing and implementing performance indicators "whose purpose is to identify what does the state do, how, but also how well, how much and for how much" (Muniesa & Linhardt 2009: 2). As we

will see in the chapters to come, especially in the analytical chapters, the communicators involved seek to formulate such performance indicators in their working practices. They do so in order to answer what government communication does and how, but also how well, how much and for how much. In other words: the communicators seek to assess when and why a given communicative solution is to be regarded as a success.

As the Industrial PhD project begins and I start my fieldwork, it soon turns out that the wish of the communicators to become better at performance managing their own work is not a wish that can easily be fulfilled. Why is that? In the following section, I will give an account of what happened during my first fieldwork encounters with the communicative work of the five government organizations. On the grounds of these accounts I will suggest that the wish of the communicators to become better at performance managing their own work is difficult to fulfil, because it is uncertain what a 'good' outcome of government communication is.

What is 'good' government communication?

I begin my fieldwork in January 2008. In each of the five government organizations I encounter discussions and negotiations about what constitutes 'good' government communication. I will give some empirical examples in the following.

CONSUME: questioning user-driven innovation

At CONSUME, Michael mentions a project concerning user-driven innovation in my first interview with him. I am able to locate and follow this project later on in my fieldwork. However, whether this project is a good idea, meaning whether the resources spent on this project are well spent, is thoroughly questioned by the CONSUME communicators who are involved in this project. At the kickoff meeting Michael states that it is CONSUME's goal "to use user-driven innovation to involve consumers, when we plan our efforts to create better consumer conditions in Denmark." In the CONSUME communicators' working practices the adequacy of this goal is questioned. It is questioned whether user-driven innovation is a way to undertake 'good' government communication at CONSUME.

FOOD: leaving managers alone or not

At the kickoff meeting, Nikolaj from FOOD states that FOOD wants to focus on internal communication. Immediately after the PhD project begins, Nikolaj leaves his job at FOOD. The Industrial PhD project is assigned a new contact person, Søren. Søren takes up Nikolaj's ambition to focus on internal communication, and he specifies it: he wishes to focus on how the managers at FOOD communicate with the FOOD employees. He talks to FOOD's head of communication about this idea, but it is abandoned. The head of communication finds it

too risky to initiate communication measurements, which might suggest that FOOD's managers are not good enough at communicating with their employees, as such a suggestion could get the communication division into trouble. Søren, the head of communication at FOOD, and FOOD's managers seem to have incompatible ideas about what constitutes 'good' government communication at FOOD. Søren decides to couple the Industrial PhD project to an existing communication project concerning the communication between FOOD's head office near Copenhagen and its two regional veterinary and food administration centres. Søren hopes that this project will subsequently address the communication between FOOD's managers and employees.

TAX: defining 'good' group communication

At TAX, the group communication project is in its early stages when the Industrial PhD project begins. I follow the meetings that are going on, the workshops that are held, and the documents that are crafted. One vital insight generated early on in the fieldwork at TAX is that there are quite different opinions of what the group communication project should and can address. Subsequently, it proves difficult to formulate success criteria for the project. In other words: it proves difficult to define what 'good' group communication is in TAX.

GOVERN: restructuring an organization and its communication

At GOVERN, it turns out that Marie does not have the time to be the project's contact person after all. A great organizational restructuring is about to take place at GOVERN and this restructuring changes Marie's priorities. GOVERN's dealings with the press are no longer a case of government communication for me to follow and after some discussions we agree upon GOVERN's communication via its website as a more adequate case for me to follow. In the course of the Industrial PhD project organizational restructuring happens not only in GOVERN, but also in the other four government organizations involved. They are not organizationally fixed. Organizational restructurings happen and these restructurings call for a redefinition of what 'good' government communication is.

FOREIGN: documenting and developing communication

At FOREIGN, the outcomes of the public diplomacy activities need to be documented. This is demanded by a political mandate, communicators at FOREIGN tell me. At the same time, the communicators involved strongly emphasize that their ambition is to carry out an assessment which does not only document, but can also tell the communicators something about how to better establish their collaboration with the embassies. At FOREIGN 'good' government communication is about documenting and about learning. These two ambitions are not easily reconciled.

A day-to-day challenge and an analytical challenge

To sum up the insights gained in my first encounters with the five government organizations involved: the communicators put forward a strong and univocal wish to become better at performance managing their own work by way of communication measurements at the kickoff meeting and in the statements prepared for the website kommunikationsmaaling.dk. They wish to use communication measurements to generate knowledge about the performance of their communicative solutions and they wish to use this knowledge to improve their communicative work. However, in the communicators' working practices it is uncertain what it is that constitutes an improvement of their communication. During fieldwork I encounter many empirical manifestations of this uncertainty, some of which are reported on above:

- concrete and, at times, rather heated discussions between the communicators concerning the success criteria of a given communicative solution (CONSUME and TAX);

- a communicator struggling with turning into practice his idea about what would constitute an improvement of his organizations' internal communication due to managers not sharing his idea of an improvement (FOOD);

- troubles with connecting myself to various parts of the government organizations' communicative work, because organizational restructurings downgraded these (GOVERN);

- and communicative solutions, which more often than not have more than one stakeholder, and these stakeholders do not always have a shared ambition for the communicative solution in question (FOREIGN).

What I am suggesting here and what I will argue throughout this thesis is that in the communicators' working practices it is uncertain what a 'good' outcome of government communication is.

This uncertainty concerning what constitutes 'good' government communication is a concrete day-to-day challenge which the communicators involved face in their work. This uncertainty also poses an analytical challenge: why is this uncertainty concerning 'good' government communication there, and how does it unfold? In this thesis I suggest that different logics can be imputed to the working practices of the communicators involved. I argue that it is the

coexistence of such logics in the communicators' working practices, which makes it uncertain what constitutes 'good' government communication. I will seek to describe these logics, and I will use them to analyze how the communicators involved handle a situation where they wish to performance manage their own work, but where it is at the same time uncertain what constitutes a 'good' performance.

As mentioned in the INTRODUCTION I have chosen to employ sociologist John Law's notion of 'modes of ordering' in an attempt to grasp these coexisting logics analytically. The study in which Law first develops his notion of modes of ordering (Law 1994) and Law's work more broadly can be said to belong a rather diverse group of studies labelled 'Actor-Network Theory' (ANT). In the following part I will offer a brief presentation of ANT. In the next chapter, CHAPTER 02, I will position the notion of modes of ordering within the field of organization studies and I will discuss how this notion and its assumptions concerning what organizations are can contribute to contemporary research on public administration and management.

Modes of ordering and ANT

Recently, Law has described ANT in the following way:

> Actor-network theory is a disparate family of material-semiotic tools, sensibilities and methods of analysis that treat everything in the social and natural worlds as a continuously generated effect of the webs of relations within which they are located. It assumes that nothing has reality or form outside the enactment of those relations. Its studies explore and characterise the webs and the practices that carry them. Like other material-semiotic approaches, the actor-network approach thus describes the enactment of materially and discursively heterogeneous relations that produce and reshuffle all kinds of actors including objects, subjects, human beings, machines, animals, 'nature', ideas, organisations, inequalities, scale and sizes, and geographical arrangements (Law 2007a: 2).

I will not attempt to provide the reader with a lengthy introduction to ANT, but work from this rather abstract definition of ANT.[16] I will do so for two reasons. First, because it highlights

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[16] This presentation of ANT is brief and focuses on Law's concept of 'modes of ordering'. For a basic introduction to ANT's pivotal concepts, see Jensen 2005. For a critical 'evaluation' of ANT's strengths and weaknesses and a discussion of its future directions approximately 20 years after the approach's start in the late 1970s, see Law & Hassard 1999. For a critical discussion of ANT's utilizations within organization studies, see Hassard, Kelemen et al. 2008 and Woolgar, Coopmans et al. 2009.

one of ANT's most notorious traits: the principle of generalized symmetry (Callon 1986). Second, because it underscores that ANT is not to be understood as one, stabilized theory. Law says: "[…]there is no it" (Law 2007a: 2). Rather, ANT can be described as a range of partially connected (Strathern 2004) studies located in different cases, practices, and locations. In the following I will first describe the principle of generalized symmetry and the position of the notion of 'modes of ordering' within the "disparate family" of ANT studies. Then I will flesh out how this choice of analytical resources leads me to view government communication as a case of multiplicity.

The principle of generalized symmetry

The principle of generalized symmetry says that everything – social, technical or natural aspects of the phenomenon under study – must be explained by the same vocabulary. No a priori distinctions between social, technical or natural entities are to be made. Rather, if distinctions are there, if entities are different, this is understood, as Law 2007a notes, as a "continuously generated effect of the webs of relations within which they are located." This implies that well-known dualisms, between, for instance, human and non-human, micro and macro, Nature and Society, and agency and structure, are never the points of departure for a given analysis. With an ANT approach it is investigated how such dualisms come into being and how these gain or lose stability in the continuous reshuffling of all kinds of entities (see for instance Law 1999). ANT captures this reshuffling of entities – and the implied, (re-)production or (re-)enactment of these entities – with one of its key terms: 'translation' (see for instance Latour 1987), a fundamental process interrogated in ANT analyses (Jensen 2005). A second, vital implication of the principle of generalized symmetry is that no a priori distinctions are made between who or what acts, and who or what is acted upon. Humans and non-humans alike might do something in the continuous becoming of given entities (see for instance Latour 1999).

When Law uses the adjective "material semiotic" to describe the tools, sensibilities and methods of analysis of ANT, this is done to underscore that these work from the ontological assumption that all entities achieve their form and attributes in their relations to other entities. ANT takes "the semiotic insight, that of the relationality of entities, the notion that they are produced in relations, and applies this ruthlessly to all materials – and not simply to those that are linguistic" (Law 1999: 4). Relationality is the ontological point of departure of ANT analyses, and it is an all-encompassing relationality as it, potentially, includes all materials: humans, technologies, documents, architecture etc.

ANT analyses oriented towards multiplicity

As we saw in the above, Law underscores that ANT projects "are located in many different case studies, practices, and locations done in many different ways and draw on a range of theoretical resources" and, hence, the material-semiotic tools of ANT form a "disparate family". As we also saw in the above, ANT insists on an ontology, where "networks develop through actors' transformational interactions" (Gad & Jensen 2010: 57). The consequence is that ANT exists in many versions, and the exact relations between these versions are uncertain. However, attempts at ordering these different versions of ANT have been made, and one in particular seems to have gained strength. According to this ordering attempt, the many versions of ANT can be divided into strategy-oriented and multiplicity-oriented versions (Vikkelsø 2007: 300-304). Whereas the vital metaphor for the strategy-oriented versions of ANT is one of construction, the metaphor for the multiplicity-oriented versions of ANT is one of performance. Thus, in the strategy-oriented versions, the ANT analyses focus on "the battle between programs and anti-programs and the creative attempts to enrol actants[17] in order to overcome resistance" (ibid.: 301), meaning in order to construct a stable network. In their multiplicity-oriented versions, the ANT analyses focus on the multiplicity of the phenomenon under investigation, "that is, on the ways in which coexisting and partly connected versions of reality are enacted" (ibid.: 301). That these different versions of reality are understood as performed or enacted (Mol 2002a: 32-33) means that they are seen as continually coming into being as heterogeneous entities and actors are related in given ways. Whereas the strategy-oriented versions of ANT analysis prevailed in the 1980s and early 1990s, a turn to multiplicity and performance can be identified in ANT studies conducted from the early 1990s and onwards.[18]

Where is the notion of modes of ordering positioned within this ordering of ANT analyses into strategy- and multiplicity-oriented versions? A starting point to answer this question is to notice that ordering is akin to translation. Law notes: "[…] actor-network theorists do not, on

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[17] Latour suggests substituting the term 'actor' with 'actant' to underscore that within ANT an actor is not necessarily human (Latour 1996a).

[18] For a significant example of a strategy-oriented ANT analysis, see Latour 1991. For a significant example of a multiplicity-oriented ANT analysis, see Mol 2002a. For a discussion of similarities and differences between strategy- and multiplicity-oriented ANT analysis based on exemplary case studies, see the book sections '2: Scientific Practices' (Law 2004: 18-44) and '3: Multiple Worlds' (ibid.: 45-69) in Law's book *After Method* (2004). The turn from strategy to multiplicity can be understood as a response to critiques that were raised of the early, strategy-oriented analyses within the field of ANT and elsewhere. Two of the central critiques were, first, that these early studies had a tendency to focus too strongly on the perspective of the powerful (Star 1991), and, second, that the concept of network had imperialistic tendencies in the sense that everything could be incorporated into this network and, thus, that it was difficult to stop or cut the network analytically (Strathern 1996). See also Jensen 2005: 206-208. The twin articles Law & Mol 2001 and Law & Singleton 2005 adress these critiques by developing four metaphors for how realities may be enacted: 'region', 'network', 'fluid', and 'fire'.

the whole, talk about *modes* of ordering. […] Instead, they talk of translation" (Law 1994: 101, emphasis in original). Thus, Law's introduction of the notion of modes of ordering can be understood as an attempt to delineate and describe different types of translation processes and, further, to explore how different types of translation processes coexist within and perform, for instance, an organization. This interest in coexisting ordering processes also comes out in Law's statements concerning what *Organizing Modernity* (1994) most fundamentally is about. The book is "about the oldest problem of them all – the problem of the social order. So the basic problem of the book is this: what on earth is the social order?" (ibid.: 1). Law says that to facilitate an answer to this question, he needs to refuse its terms in three steps. First, Law states that there is no order. There might be ordering, but no order. If there appears to be orders they are to be understood as "precarious and partial accomplishments that may be overturned" (ibid.: 2). Second, there is no single order. And third, the social is materially heterogeneous. By implication, the "problem of the social order is replaced by a concern with the plural processes of socio-technical ordering" (ibid.: 2). On these grounds it can be said that strategy-oriented and multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses share an interest in understanding how a given entity, for instance an organization, holds itself together. They are both occupied with understanding how stability is achieved by way of translation or heterogeneous ordering processes. But their answers differ. Whereas strategy-oriented ANT looks for a winning program, multiplicity-oriented ANT argues that stability is, perhaps counter-intuitively, an effect of heterogeneous, "multi-discursive ordering" (Law 2007a: 10). The notion of modes of ordering is a material-semiotic analytical tool designed to satisfy an interest in "articulating difference" (Law 2007a: 7) in a way that favours partial connections between the realities enacted, rather than fragmentation. Thus, modes of ordering can be said to foster ANT analyses oriented towards multiplicity.

Combining government communication and ANT

This choice of analytical resources – multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses and, more specifically, the notion of modes of ordering – has implications for my understanding of the working practices I aim to provide ethnographic descriptions of.

I understand the working practices of the government communicators as materially and discursively heterogeneous. The working practices can be described as materially heterogeneous, because they encompass a wide range of heterogeneous entities. All these heterogeneous entities are seen as potential actors and this implies that the production and assessment of communicative solutions is not, necessarily, a purely human or purely social endeavour. In the analytical chapters of the thesis I will, for instance, show how various technologies play an active part in the production and assessment of communicative solutions.

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I will, in other words, attempt to treat the heterogeneous entities at stake symmetrically, which means that I will attempt not to utilize *a priori* assumptions concerning who or what acts in given working practices. When I describe the working practices of the communicators as discursively heterogeneous, this means that different and coexisting attempts at ordering these practices are "carried in, and performed by" (Law 1994: 138) these practices. Practices of government communication and, in a wider sense, public administration and management are not understood as singular, but as multiple. That multi-discursive orderings and enactments are at stake in government communication implies that its entities and actors – communicators, technologies, organizations etc. – are seen as enacted in coexisting and partially connected versions. In the analytical chapters of the thesis I will, for instance, show how one of the government organizations involved, CONSUME, seems to be enacted in three different and partially connected versions in the practices of producing and assessing two specific communicative solutions.

These two analytical agendas – government communication as materially and as discursively heterogeneous – go together: modes of ordering gain strength by being delegated into material entities and actors (ibid.: 139). However, it is my point of departure, rather than something I aim to show, that practices of government communication are materially heterogeneous. The aim of the thesis is to explicate wherein the discursively heterogeneous nature of government communication lies. This will lead me to include materials of government communication in my descriptions when they contribute to the strengthening of given ordering attempts, but my primary focus is on the discursive, rather than the material heterogeneity of government communication.[19]

In sum: I am combining my empirical observation of the uneasy translation of the wish of the communicators to performance manage their own work into their working practices and insights from multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses. It is this combination that results in my understanding of government communication as a case of multiplicity. The thesis seeks to explicate wherein this multiplicity lies and how it is handled in the working practices of the communicators involved.

Concluding remarks: uncertainty and modes of ordering

In my first encounters with the five government organizations and their communicative work it turned out that the communicators at these five government organizations share a wish to

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[19] For recent and ANT-inspired analyses of materials and materializations within a range of different, empirical fields see Damsholt, Simonsen et al. 2009.

become better at performance managing their own work. To performance manage one's own work implies defining what a 'good' outcome of this work is; in this case what a 'good' outcome of government communication is. I argued that in the government communicators' working practices it is uncertain what a 'good' outcome is, and I suggested to investigate this uncertainty analytically by way of insights from the field of multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses, especially John Law's notion of 'modes of ordering'. As a result of this suggestion I am investigating government communication as a case of multiplicity.

In the next chapter, CHAPTER 02, I unfold further my approach to the practices of government communication. I will view government communication as a case of public administration and management and I will develop my approach to government communication by drawing upon research on public administration and management and by adding insights from the field of organization studies and, as already mentioned, the field of multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses.

CHAPTER 02: multiplying contemporary public administration and management

The current study approaches a specific case of contemporary public administration and management: government communication. More narrowly, it investigates how communicative solutions are produced and assessed in the working practices unfurling at the five government organizations involved. As mentioned in CHAPTER 01, this entails defining what 'good' government communication is. It entails defining what a 'good' outcome of a given communicative solution is.

Government communication has not received much attention in research, and is often "portrayed as a one-way flow of information with a strong focus on mass media" (Glenny 2008: 155). CHAPTER 01's brief sketch of the five government organizations' motivations for joining the Industrial PhD project and of my first encounters with these five organizations' communicative work suggests that in these organizations government communication is not only about facilitating a one-way flow of information. Much more is going on. Research has paid even less attention to the more specific issue of government communication performance, meaning the outcome of government communication (Pandey & Garnett 2006). As mentioned in the INTRODUCTION, research does exist on methods or techniques for measuring the outcomes of given communicative solutions, but this research isolates communication and is unable to conceptualize and discuss what 'good' communication is in a specific, organizational context. In sum, this limited amount of research on government communication and government communication performance does not have much to offer in regards to my specific objective: to provide ethnographic descriptions of how communicative solutions are produced and assessed in working practices of the government organizations

involved. Therefore, I will not position this study further in connection to this research, but focus on how the current study draws upon and seeks to contribute to the broader field of research known as public administration and management or public management.

Since the early 1980s, research on public administration and management has been preoccupied with understanding the aspects and impacts of the last thirty years' many and globally employed attempts at reforming the public sector (Hood & Peters 2004, Kettl 2000). In doing this, many important and illuminating concepts have been coined, but one has outshone any other: New Public Management (NPM). NPM might best be described as an umbrella concept capturing the many – and often diverging – features of public sector reforms. Further, NPM designates the desired outcome of these reforms: a modernized, re-invented and improved public sector. In Denmark, researchers agree: "Denmark is now a country heavily influenced by New Public Management (NPM)" (Greve 2006: 165).

Nevertheless, within writings on public administration and management it is difficult – if not impossible – to find a converging definition of what NPM is. On the grounds of my fieldwork I will argue that one important reason for this is that there is something to the practices of contemporary public administration and management that defies being depicted by one well-defined and singular concept. Consider the quote from my empirical material at the start of this chapter in which a communicator working at GOVERN suggests that contemporary public administration and management is "crazily fast" while at the same time being subjected to certain, slower, procedures. During my fieldwork I have been confronted with similar 'both-and' statements numerous times. The question I will discuss in this chapter is: which analytical resources are fruitful when approaching public administration and management as a situation of both-and?

The chapter has three parts. In the first part I will outline and discuss three dominant approaches to understanding contemporary public administration and management, which, I will argue, can be found in current research on same. I depart from, draw upon, and seek to further develop these three approaches. The first approach is characterized by its tendency to *epochalize* public administration and management. Put crudely, this approach claims that before the 1980s, bureaucracy was the absolutely dominant way of organizing the public sector. Then came NPM and took centre stage. Here in 2010, we might be on the verge of entering an epoch where 'governance' with its focus on inter-organizational connections will reign. The second approach is a critical response to the first, arguing that the clear, epochal cuts suggested by the first approach are dangerous to the functioning of the public sector as they jeopardize the political and constitutional nature of public administration and

management. Thus, the second approach *defends* bureaucracy. The third approach shares much with the second, but is less normative as it *diversifies* public administration and management. After outlining these three approaches I will discuss them by way of an empirical example, which will highlight two central analytical challenges. This example will question the epochalizing, the defending, and diversifying approach to public administration and management in different ways, and will lead me to develop a *multiplying* approach to public administration and management. This will be done in the chapter's second part. In the third and last part of this chapter, I will sum up the approach to public administration and management utilized in the current study and touch upon its interventionist ambitions.

Three approaches to public administration and management

In this first, main part of this chapter, I will outline three approaches to contemporary public administration and management. I will begin with the epochalizing approach, move on to the one defending bureaucracy, and end with the diversifying approach to contemporary public administration and management. After outlining these three approaches I will give an example based on my empirical material, which I will use to discuss these three approaches further.

Epochalizing public administration and management

From the early 1980s and onwards, much research on public administration and management depicts a world where changes are overarching and where 'old' management models are continuously and completely replaced by 'new' management models. Weberian bureaucracy and its three chief characteristics – 1) hierarchy, 2) specializations and 3) standardization (Aucoin 1997) – is seen as being replaced by New Public Management (NPM) and its seven core elements – 1) visible, professional management, 2) explicit performance targets, 3) greater emphasis on outputs and results, 4) disaggregation of public sector units, 5) greater competition, 6) management methods imported from the private sector, and 7) more effective and efficient use of resources (Hood 1991: 4-5).[20]

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[20] Many attempts have been made at defining what NPM is, but "like most divinities, NPM turned out to be somewhat mystical in essence, as no two authors of that era [from the late 1980s to the late 1990s, approximately] listed exactly the same features in enumerating its traits" (Hood & Peters 2004: 268). Still, the list of seven NPM components in Hood's much cited article 'A Public Management for All Seasons?' (Hood 1991) is often used in determining what NPM is within research on public administration and management (Greve 2007: 8). Another term related to NPM is 'entrepreneurial government'. David Osborne and Ted Gaebler developed this term in their treatise *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector* (1992). Osborne and Gaebler's work was utterly influential in the Clinton presidency's attempts to reform the American public sector in the mid 1990s. For a critique of the entrepreneurial government suggested by Osborne and Gaebler, see du Gay 2003 and du Gay 2007: 137-157.

The sociologist Paul du Gay, who works within the research field of organization studies, has described research that focuses on depicting overarching changes from one epoch to another – for instance from Fordism to post-Fordism, or from bureaucracy to NPM – as epochalist. In his article 'The Tyranny of the Epochal: Change, Epochalism and Organizational Reform' (2003), du Gay argues that much theorizing on contemporary economic and organizational changes happens within an epochalist discourse. Du Gay highlights three pivotal traits of this epochalist discourse. First, it uses "a periodizing schema in which a logic of dichotomization establishes the available terms of debate in advance, either for or against" (ibid.: 664). Second, within the epochalist discourse 'change' is conceptualized as homogeneous, unilinear, and inevitable. Third, the epochalist discourse makes "objects and persons that may be different in quality and kind seem all bound up in the same global process" (ibid.: 670). I will argue that these three pivotal traits – the use of a key periodizing dichotomy, the understanding of change as given, and the focus on one global change process at the expense of contextual differences – can be found within contemporary research on public administration and management. The presence of this epochalizing discourse constitutes what I term an epochalizing approach to public administration and management. I will show the presence and some of the consequences of this epochalizing discourse by giving three examples of points of departure taken and conclusions drawn within contemporary research on public administration and management, which comprise one or more of the epochalizing discourse's pivotal traits.

The first trait of the epochalizing discourse is the use of a key, periodizing dichotomy. Such a dichotomy can be found in the following paragraph, which is taken from political scientist Jan-Erik Lane's comprehensive textbook entitled *New Public Management* (2000):

> It started with a rejection of the rational planning model, moved on to the call for decentralization and orientation towards results, in order to end up in the radical call for the introduction of internal markets within the state and local governments, replacing Weberian hierarchy with short-term contracting and bidding (ibid.: 191).

Lane describes developments in public administration and management as successive replacements of management models. According to Lane the current state of affairs is that short-term contracting and bidding has replaced Weberian hierarchy. Many similar statements concerning replacements of management models can be found within research on public administration and management, which suggests that many analyses of contemporary public administration and management practices rely on a periodizing dichotomy.

The usage of a periodizing dichotomy and the second pivotal trait of the epochalizing discourse, which is the conceptualization of change as inevitable, are both at stake in a 2006 article by political scientists Patrick Dunleavy, Helen Margetts, Simon Bastow, and Jane Tinkler, entitled 'New Public Management is Dead – Long Live Digital-Era Governance' (2006). Here, NPM – the king – is dead. The new king is digital-era governance (DEG). Long live this new king, who seems to be letting new Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) decide how the public sector is to carry out its administration and be managed in a techno-determinist fashion (Petersen 2009). The result is a substitution of NPM with DEG. Two tables underscore this idea of substitution. The first table lists 34 key components of NPM. These key components have been identified by the authors, and the status of each component, meaning whether it has been reversed, stalled, or is still spreading (Dunleavy, Margetts et al. 2006: 5), has been determined. This table is contrasted with the second table listing 20 elements of what the authors term key components of DEG (ibid.: 15). Thus, by way of these tables, the article shows how far "leading-edge countries" (ibid.: 15) are in substituting NPM for DEG. So, here the periodizing dichotomy is between NPM and DEG. Despite the somewhat bombastic title of the article, the authors are a little reluctant concerning whether this change from NPM to DEG is, actually, inevitable:

> A certain penumbra of fashions and regressions will almost inevitably surround the swing to DEG strategies in leading-edge countries. But a strong, underlying, upward modernization momentum can still persist and achieve cumulative improvements (ibid.: 23).

There might be some setbacks, but the current modernization momentum, which according to the authors is due to the many new ICTs available in public administration and management practices, can achieve the transition from NPM to DEG.

The third trait of the epochalizing discourse is a focus on global processes at the expense of contextual differences. The research upon which Dunleavy, Margetts et al. report in their article on DEG's substitution of NPM bears this trait. The article describes NPM as a "wave" (ibid.: 1), in which all countries are bound up, and it diagnoses how bound up each country is in this wave. This diagnosis happens in regards to NPM components and not given constitutional or institutional differences. However, it is possible to find examples of research on public administration and management that seek not to render constitutional or institutional differences insignificant. One example is political scientist Laurence E. Lynn's book *Public Management: Old and New* (2006). Contrary to rendering contextual details insignificant, Lynn emphasizes that in understanding public sector reform one must attend to

the history and specifics of the national, institutional context in which a specific reform is taking place. Lynn writes:

> While reform, change, and adaptation of contemporary national administrative systems may be nearly universal, it follows centuries of reform, change, and adaptation that have resulted in national institutions whose function it is to guarantee a certain stability and continuity in democratic governance. To imagine that such institutions can be overturned in a generation is an unwarranted conceit (ibid.: 3)

Lynn is not alone in giving this recommendation. With reference to a number of recent publications on public administration and management, professor Carsten Greve, a political scientist undertaking research on public administration and management with a comparative perspective, states:

> While it is recognized that public management reform is relevant for almost any country, researchers have reaffirmed the need to pay attention to the institutional characteristics of each country in order to estimate the impact of the reform activity (Greve 2006: 162).[21]

However, in spite of this sensitivity to institutional particularities I will argue that this research can be understood as an institutionally sensitive variant of the epochalizing approach to public administration and management. As the above quote from Greve's 2006 article 'Public Management Reform in Denmark' (2006) indicates, these institutional particularities are still understood within a global reform agenda, which takes it as a given that the reformed countries have gone from bureaucracy to NPM. Lynn's focus not only on change but also on stability and continuity in democratic governance, and Lynn's use of the word 'and' in the title of his book could imply that Lynn is breaking away from the epochalizing approach's exclusive focus on replacement and substitution. However, this is not the case. Lynn offers an analysis that is fuelled by the contrasting of 'old' public administration and management ("covering the period from antiquity through the 1960s" (Lynn 2006: 15)) and 'new' public administration and management ("covering developments beginning in the 1970s through the early years of the twenty-first century" (ibid.: 15)). Hence, the periodizing dichotomy is still in place, and it informs the understanding of the institutional particularities.

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[21] See also Hood & Peters 2004, Pollitt, van Thiel et al. 2007 and Binderkrantz & Christensen 2009 for more on this institutionally sensitive variant of the epochalizing approach to public administration and management.

By way of these three examples of contemporary research on public administration and management I have argued that the three pivotal traits of Paul du Gay's epochalizing discourse can be identified herein. However, currently researchers within public administration and management discuss if NPM is, actually, a productive analytical concept when approaching contemporary public administration and management.[22] Some writers argue that to label recent change initiatives in public administration and management as 'NPM initiatives' is misleading as these initiatives in fact go beyond NPM (Pedersen & Hartley 2008: 328). Other labels are thus under development. Three of the most prevalent labels are first, 'new public governance', which highlights that public administration and management is not only an intra-organizational affair as NPM has it, but also an inter-organizational affair (Osborne 2010). Second, 'e-government', which we already encountered above, where the digital evolution is understood as determining how the public sector is to be organized and managed (Dunleavy, Margetts et al. 2006). Third, 'the regulatory state', which emphasizes that the freedom NPM gave to managers and market forces, has generated an explosion in the scope of regulation. Accounting researcher Michael Power identified this intertwinement of freedom and regulation as early as in 1997 in his book *The Audit Society* (1997) (Greve 2007: 12-15).[23]

As was the case in the examples above, these new concepts for understanding public administration and management are based on the assumption that something – a new way of administrating and managing the public sector – is now substituting an old way of doing this. These new concepts that seek to grasp reform initiatives that go beyond NPM all assume that we are entering a new epoch. Thus, they can be seen as further examples of the epochalizing approach to public administration and management discussed here.

This concludes my sketch of how the epochalizing approach seeks to understand contemporary public administration and management. I will now turn to an approach that counters this epochalizing approach and defends bureaucracy. Again, I will use Paul du Gay's work on public administration and management as my point of departure.

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[22] From its inception NPM covered contradictory directions in the movement away from bureaucracy it sought to describe. For instance, Hood 1991 states that NPM is a marriage between two opposites: 'new institutional economics' and 'managerialism' (ibid.: 5). In a later article, Greve goes on to point out that this theoretical incoherence can be seen in how public administration and management is undertaken today, practically, as incentive structures are built simultaneously with encouraging team spirit (Greve 2002: 3).

[23] See also Strathern 2000b.

Defending bureaucracy

As previously mentioned, du Gay argues that the epochalist discourse, which can be identified within much research on organizational change, renders the individual circumstances invisible or insignificant (du Gay 2003: 671). In du Gay's case these individual circumstances are the political and constitutional nature of public administration. Thus, according to du Gay the epochalist discourse is dangerous. If the specific context of public administration is rendered invisible or insignificant, it is no longer possible to assess whether a given management reform will either support or crucially damage the specific organization under reform. If individual circumstances are not attended to when reforming public administration the reforms this may have "the effect of undermining the 'core business' of public administration: running a state" (du Gay 2007: 105). Du Gay gives public administration's treatment of public funds as an example. If the political and constitutional nature of public administration is taken into consideration it can be argued that governments should "'spend $20 to prevent the theft of $1'" (Kaufman 1977: 53, cited in du Gay 2003: 678). The reason for this is that if public funds are abused this is a very serious problem to representative government and, thus, "[r]igid criteria for the deployment and use of public funds – the 'excessive' red tape and bureaucracy beloved of critics – is a price that the political system is prepared to pay to safeguard its own integrity" (du Gay 2003: 678). In the cost-benefit logic of NPM this does not make sense. Du Gay's argument is that public administration is different from other sectors and it is crucial to coin and employ concepts that are able to take this difference into account:

> […] accountability and efficiency in public administration may be more nuanced and intricate in practice than accountability and efficiency in other sectors, where the management and organizational challenges may be no less demanding but are less complex, more easily graspable and, most important for our argument, less bureaucratic (ibid.: 678).

If this 'bureaucraticness' of public administration is lost from view we face the risk of "opening the door to corruption" (ibid.: 678). Therefore, bureaucracy must be defended in du Gay's view.

How to do this – how to defend bureaucracy? On a methodological level, du Gay argues that management models are always applied in specific contexts, meaning in specific organizations with their particular purposes and values (du Gay 2000: 7). Management models do not come readymade in du Gay's view. Rather, they are "invented, implanted, stabilized and reproduced" (du Gay 2003: 666) in an organizational context. Thus, outcomes of public

sector reforms are difficult to predict. If we are to understand contemporary public administration and management, we are to challenge the epochalist discourse by employing what du Gay, quoting Michel Foucault's article 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History' (1986), terms "grey, meticulous and patiently documentary" forms of analysis (du Gay 2003: 666).

In his writings on contemporary public administration and management, du Gay delivers a persuasive defense of bureaucracy. He shows that bureaucracy as an organizational form is essential to what he defines as good public administration, and he shows that the use of hierarchy and the provision of the conditions for the bureaucratic ethos to be practiced in the public sector's day-to-day workings are required if representative democracy is to work (Olsen 2006: 2). However, the question is: does du Gay's approach, which is built around a defense of bureaucracy, go beyond the epochalizing approach's tendency to carry out its analysis on the grounds of a key periodizing dichotomy? To answer this question, I will take a closer look at one critique of du Gay's writings, and his response to this critique.

In their article 'Too Much, Too Little and Too Often: A Critique of du Gay's Analysis of Enterprise' (1999) Valerie Fournier and Christopher Grey, both researchers within the field of organization studies, formulate a lengthy critique of du Gay's analysis of how current reforms of public administration might be damaging to the workings of public administration organizations. Fournier and Grey begin their article by outlining du Gay's crucial notion of enterprise. They note that in du Gay's writings enterprise is a notion indicating an organizational form: the commercial enterprise. It indicates habits, actions, practices or projects exhibiting characteristics such as initiative, risk-taking, self-reliance, and responsibility for oneself and one's actions. Thereafter, Fournier and Grey criticize three moves in du Gay's analysis: first, they argue that du Gay ascribes too many meanings to the notion of 'enterprise'. In other words: he claims too much for enterprise. An implication of claiming too much for enterprise, they argue, is that du Gay also creates a dualism between bureaucracy and enterprise. Second, the authors state that du Gay "gives too little weight to discourses other than enterprise" (ibid.: 109). The third move in du Gay's analysis, as criticized by Fournier and Grey, is that du Gay has put his argument forward too often, thus partaking in establishing "enterprise discourse as an accomplished fact within the academic community" (ibid.: 109). Fournier and Grey conclude:

> Caught in his own dualism between bureaucracy and the deterministic rampage of enterprise, du Gay can only offer a nostalgic hymn to the bureaucratic ethic to sustain a critical position (ibid.: 119).

In the article 'Against 'Enterprise' (but not against 'enterprise', for that would make no sense)' (2004b), du Gay responds to the critique put forward by Fournier and Grey. He argues that a specific version of enterprise, in the article referred to as 'Enterprise', is installed in public administration and management practices with "its own distinctive conditions of existence and modes of operation, ones very different from those informing other conceptions and practices of 'enterprise'" (ibid.: 41). Thus, du Gay counters Fournier and Grey's critique of his work, which says he claims too much for enterprise, by emphasizing the distinctiveness of his notion of enterprise. He highlights a number of characteristic features: contractualization and the related creation of so-called quasi-markets, responsibilization and autonomization of a range of entities such as firms, schools and parents, and the promotion of a particular ethic of personhood stressing "autonomy, responsibility and the freedom/obligation of individuals to actively make choices for themselves" (ibid.: 41). This distinct version of enterprise is most frequently targeted at large, public sector organizations and institutions. Du Gay investigates the implications of the specific type of reforms this specific version of enterprise gives rise to.

Still, du Gay's dismissal of Fournier and Grey's critique is not complete:

> Now, it is, of course, still a matter of debate as to whether the various dreams and schemes that I have huddled under the umbrella of 'Enterprise' constitute any such 'single vision of ordering' – either in terms of their ideological purposes or in terms of their technical homogeneity (ibid.: 48).

I read this as du Gay saying that the question of whether contemporary public administration and management is a singular instance of the features of enterprise he has "huddled under the umbrella of 'Enterprise'" is an empirical one. In other words: the dominance or relative strength of enterprise is a matter to be investigated and determined empirically.

Returning to my initial question: does du Gay's approach, which is built around a defense of bureaucracy, go beyond the tendency of the epochalizing approach to conduct its analyses on the grounds of a key periodizing dichotomy? I will say that in du Gay's own analyses – for instance in his analysis of the Clinton presidency's establishment of a National Performance Review (du Gay 2003: 672- 674) and in his analysis of the Thatcher, Major, and Blair administrations' endeavour to modernize British government (ibid.: 675-678) – he does not. However, this is not due to the specific approach of defending bureaucracy that he develops, as the article by Fournier and Grey suggests. It is due to the character of the particular, empirical cases he analyzes. In these cases, bureaucracy and enterprise are dichotomized. It is an empirical question whether this dichotomization also applies to the present case: five

Danish government organizations and their production and assessment of communicative solutions.

I will leave behind the approach to public administration and management, which seeks to defend bureaucracy, for now and turn to what I will term a diversifying approach to public administration and management.

Diversifying public administration and management

In two recent articles (Olsen 2006, 2004), political scientist Johan P. Olsen seeks to outline an agenda for research on public administration and management that is able to deal with the, in his view, rather complicated current workings of public administration and management.

The desirability of bureaucracy is much discussed as the organizing principle of public sector administration and management, as witnessed by du Gay's and other authors' writings on NPM, new public governance, e-governance and the regulatory state. These discussions assume that a consensus concerning what good administration is can be achieved. This consensus can be viewed as possible on a global level (as the work by the (early) proponents of NPM suggests) or on a national, institutional level (as later writings focusing on and sensitive to the national, institutional context have it). Within these discussions it is believed that one management model, for instance Digital-Era Governance (Dunleavy, Margetts et al. 2006), can solve all problems and establish a form of public administration, which all stakeholders regard as good. Olsen holds a different view. His point of departure is expressed in the following excerpt:

> Administration is rarely provided with clear and stable criteria of success and failure. Politicians, judges, experts, organized groups, mass media, and individual citizens are likely to hold different and changing – not coherent and stable – concepts of "good administration." They are likely to want the administration to serve a variety of changing and not necessarily consistent principles, goals, and interests. Each concern is a possible source of legitimacy as well as criticism (Olsen 2006: 7).

Public administration and management is and has always been provided with many success criteria, and these are different, changing and non-coherent. Still, Olsen's point is that in practice public administration and management is, most often, able to satisfy these success criteria. This means that in practice, public administration and management is somehow able to balance legitimacy and criticism. In Olsen's view, the daunting task of research on public administration and management is to explain how this balancing happens.

In order to accomplish this task Olsen urges research within the field of public administration and management to go beyond utilizing a single principle of organizing in understanding contemporary public administration and management. According to him there is more than one principle of organizing at stake, since each principle and its main assumption can satisfy different aspects of the many, different, changing and non-coherent success criteria:

> Bureaucratic, market, and network organization are usually portrayed as alternatives, based respectively on hierarchical authority, competition, and cooperation. From an analytical point of view, these are different mechanisms for achieving rationality, accountability, and control; mobilizing resources and compliance; and organizing feedback from society (ibid.: 16).[24]

In connection with the epochalizing approach and in connection with the way du Gay defends bureaucracy in his analyses, Olsen makes an important analytical move. The move is to understand the three principles or the three management models not as alternatives from which to choose, but as a repertoire of resources, which public sector organizations draw upon and are drawn into in their day-to-day attempts to satisfy the many, different, changing and non-coherent success criteria. The central research question is not whether a given public sector organization can be described as bureaucratic, a market or a network organization, as it was in the epochalizing approach. Neither does Olsen aim at defending bureaucracy. Rather, the central research question is how a given public sector organization survives by utilizing a heterogeneous repertoire of resources from bureaucratic, market and network ways of organizing its work.

Olsen sums up by formulating what a theory for understanding public administration and management ought to consider:

> Administrative theory has to take into account that contemporary practitioners are involved in law application, expert advice, service provision, support building, and resource mobilization. Administrators are rule-driven bureaucrats and also managers calculating expected utility. They are problem-solving servants as well as powerful masters. Administrative arrangements are sometimes facades and at other times efficient organizational tools for implementing the policies of elected leaders or institutions with an ethos and procedural rationality that temper the self-interested

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[24] For a similar diagnosis see Benington 2007.

pursuit of power. Public administration is organized on the basis of authority as well as competition and cooperation. Several organizational forms coexist, but the mix changes over time. Different organizational patterns perform well, facing similar tasks and contexts. Administrations deal with the population as subjects, civic-minded citizens, clients, and self-interested customers, expecting different things in different contexts from government and differently able and willing to provide administration with resources. Administrative development involves change and continuity, convergence and divergence, and a variety of not necessarily coordinated processes. The politics of administrative design and reorganization includes deliberations and struggles over organizational forms but also over symbols, legitimacy, and the ethos and identity of public administration (Olsen 2006: 18-19).

What would a theory or a set of analytical resources able to take this overwhelming diversity in organizational forms, administrator roles and tasks, and the population into account look like? What would a set of analytical resources able to handle this diversity as a changing mix look like? Olsen is not crystal-clear in this regard. His answer seems preliminary. He states that such a theory would benefit from taking into account diversity in human motivation and modes of action, diversity in organized settings, and diversity in the dynamics of change (Olsen 2004: 75-76). Hence, Olsen diversifies public administration and management and suggests a set of theoretical resources, which can handle this diversity.

Olsen's writing suggests that research on contemporary public administration and management should be less preoccupied with determining what public sector organizations are (bureaucratic, market or network organizations), and more interested in scrutinizing how public sector organizations satisfy the different, changing, and non-coherent criteria for success and failure at stake in these public sector organizations. Olsen's preliminary answer, as to how the public sector organizations live up to these success criteria, is that public sector organizations draw upon and are drawn into a heterogeneous repertoire of resources. These stem from what is commonly characterized as different organizing principles.

This concludes my presentation of three approaches to public administration and management, which I have shown can be retrieved from contemporary research on this field. Now, I will connect these three approaches to the present study. I will first give an empirical example, which outlines the analytical challenges I face in undertaking the current study. Then, I will discuss the three approaches in connection to the analytical challenges: how are they able (or not) to handle the analytical challenges of the current study? Hence, the empirical example serves to enable me to test and discuss the analytical range of the three

previously outlined approaches to public administration and management in connection to the current study's empirical case: the working practices of government communicators.

Two analytical challenges: questions of how and a situation of both-and

The following empirical example is exemplary of two vital analytical challenges I wish to be able to tackle in the current study. The first challenge concerns not only the ability to investigate what elements from, for instance, bureaucratic, market, or network ways of organizing public administration and management are present in the communicators' working practices, but also the ability to scrutinize how they are present. The second analytical challenge concerns the situation of both-and briefly discussed in the introduction to this chapter.

In January 2008, I ask communicators from each of the five government organizations to take photographs of working practices involving communication measurements or related methods and techniques for assessing the outcome of given communicative activities. Two communicators at GOVERN take up this challenge. One of their resulting photographs shows GOVERN's executive director and a CEO from a Danish IT company in a meeting room nicely set up with colourful tablecloths, sliced fruit and sodas. What does this have to do with the production and assessment of communicative solutions, I wonder?

Figure 1: GOVERN's executive director (on the right) and a CEO from a Danish IT company in one of GOVERN's meeting rooms (GOVERN, Heat #1, communicators' photographic documentation of working practices, Winter 2008)
What is the connection between this meeting in GOVERN's meeting room and the production and assessment of communicative solutions?

I do a follow-up interview with the two GOVERN communicators, and I ask them, curiously, why they have taken this photograph. It turns out that at the meeting depicted in the photograph, GOVERN's executive director is signing a contract with an IT company after a six-month licensing round. Pia, one of the communicators, explains that the photograph relates to measurements in the sense that it shows GOVERN reaching a goal:

> Pia: We [GOVERN] can experience it as reaching a goal, when a supplier proves able to deliver what we asked for. 'Yes, we have a supplier!' we respond (GOVERN, group interview, 31.03.08).

GOVERN's CEO is present in the photograph, so I ask a question concerning what GOVERN's CEO, and managers more generally, have to do with the production and assessment of communicative solutions. This question prompts the following exchange between the two interviewees:

> Pia: Managers love measurements if their results support their decisions, one can say. They want some numbers showing a decision is a good idea. There's also another reason why they love these press clippings – they're something you can relate to directly. They show that within

the last week there have been 63 references [to a specific GOVERN project] in the press, for instance.

Amalie: They don't love them if they are all negative…

Pia: No, no… That's true. But they do like to get this specific – this specific image of our projects being part of reality out there. Well, I assume they do [since GOVERN keeps counting and measuring press clippings]. You know more about it than I do…

Amalie: I think that every now and then Marie is asked questions [by management] concerning the use of these press clippings…

Pia: OK, I just thought that…

Amalie: At the same time they, the managers, want GOVERN and GOVERN projects to be talked about in a positive way.

Pia: Yes, and they ask: "What can we learn from this image consisting of 63 references [to a specific GOVERN project]?"

Amalie: It's a maturation process, really. One [GOVERN] should focus more on press relations. For sure, management can see that there is value in that (ibid.).

It is possible to discern some elements of NPM in this snippet of fieldwork material. Pia talks about setting and reaching goals as something that is important to GOVERN. The nicely set-up meeting room in which the signing of the contract with the IT company takes place, underscores this. Goals – or performance targets – are set and when a specific goal is reached, there is reason to celebrate. Pia and Amalie also discuss the counting and measuring of press clippings. An external consultancy firm carries out this task and, thus, it costs money. Resources are spent on determining whether the set goals are reached or not. This, again, underscores the importance of setting performance targets and knowing when you reach these performance targets. This all fits nicely with what is commonly understood as NPM.

However, on the grounds of the dialogue between Pia and Amalie it seems important not to conclude the analysis by asserting that performance targets are part of Pia and Amalie's working practices. It also seems crucial to ask: how are these performance targets present in the working practices and what do they do there? For instance, in the dialogue, performance targets and their measuring seem to be doing four different things: 1) they support the managers' decisions, 2) they are rendered useless, 3) they kick-start the formulation of new performance targets for GOVERN's press relations, and 4) they seem to be able to feed the employees' – in this case Amalie's – own ambitions for GOVERN's communicative work.

The empirical material presented here is limited, but, I argue, indicative of an important analytical challenge: in dealing with my particular empirical case, government communicators' working practices, I have found it crucial to be able to analyze how elements from various ways of organizing public administration and management are present in the

communicators' working practices and, further, what they do there. The approach to the communicators' working practices utilized in the current study must be able to handle this challenge.

This was the first analytical challenge posed by the empirical material generated in the course of the current study. To arrive at the second and related analytical challenge, I will follow the work of Pia, Amalie, and a third GOVERN communicator a bit further.

In the discussion between Pia and Amalie, Amalie mentions a third GOVERN communicator, Marie. At a monthly meeting, Marie presents the managers at GOVERN with the results of the counting and measuring of the press clippings mentioning GOVERN or one of GOVERN's projects. I conduct an interview with Marie, and ask her what happens at these meetings. She tells me that management mostly responds rather disinterestedly to the results of the counting and measuring. Lately, however, there has been some annoyance among management about a specific GOVERN project generating some negative publicity. Marie elaborates:

> **Marie**: There're some negative things that consistently attract publicity. Management said that we [GOVERN] cannot do anything about that. So, why count and measure press clippings if we don't use the results? That's why I've taken them [the diagrams showing the results] out [of my monthly presentation]. What's now part of the presentation is principally the same, but it's in prose. One can say that here the counting and measuring of the clippings meant that we did not want to see [the negative publicity] any more (GOVERN, interview, 29.05.08).

At the time of the interview Marie has recently been named head of communication and from that position, she hopes to be able to build better press relations, hence agreeing with Amalie that press relations should attract more attention. She states:

> **Marie**: That's my goal! (ibid.).

Again, it is possible to discern elements of NPM. The counting and measuring of press clippings show to GOVERN and to Marie that some things keep on attracting negative publicity. Management's response is that nothing can be done about this. Marie's response is another. In an entrepreneurial and enterprising manner, Marie formulates her own goal: better press relations.[25] But, and this is the important point here, she is also aware that she is

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[25] Paul du Gay emphasises 'entrepreneurial conduct' as one of the key components of NPM. Amongst other things, this entrepreneurial conduct "encourages, contra Weber, individuals to identify the goals of office with their own sense of self" (du Gay 2007: 122). Thus, it might be said that Marie is using her

different from management. She is, in other words, aware that she is part of and positioned in a bureaucratic hierarchy. She does what management expects of her: delivering a monthly presentation to the likings of management. She is an entrepreneurial and enterprising employee, but she is also a Weberian bureaucrat working in a bureaucratic, hierarchical organization.

This 'also' – exemplified in this snippet of empirical material concerning Marie's monthly meetings with management – is at the heart of the second analytical challenge that is posed by the generated empirical material. It indicates the situation of both-and mentioned in the beginning of the current chapter. I consider it to be of crucial importance to utilize an approach to the working practices of the communicators that is able to grasp this situation of both-and.

Towards a multiplying approach to public administration and management

I have presented three approaches to public administration and management and outlined the two central analytical challenges facing the current study by way of an empirical example. I will now consider what these three approaches have to say in connection to the empirical example and the analytical challenges it poses. Thereby I am paving the way to the multiplying approach to public administration and management I will develop in the second part of the current chapter.

The three approaches outlined share the assumption that something of great importance happened to public administration and management practices in the early 1980s. The current study's approach to public administration and management shares this assumption. However, it does question the analytical productiveness of the tendency of the epochalizing approach, in particular, and the defending approach, to a certain degree, to understand the early 1980s as a turning point where old practices were substituted by new. The current study attends to the communicators' working practices and brings forward the specifics of these. By attending to practice the study aims at "deflating [the] grandiose theoretical concepts and claims" (Woolgar, Coopmans et al. 2009) present in the epochalizing approach and, again to some extent, in the defending approach to public administration and management.

own "sense of self" in formulating her own goal for GOVERN's press relations. However, here I am mainly interested in another argument concerning the second analytical challenge. In the analytical chapters, CHAPTERS 05, 06, and 07, we will encounter other examples of how the communicators' sense of self unfurls in the working practices of the government organizations involved.

Concerning the epochalizing approach to contemporary public administration and management: the above empirical example showed that in connection to the current study's empirical field it is important to be able to ask not only questions of 'what' but also questions of 'how'. The epochalizing approach is preoccupied with diagnosing what is old and what is new. The two tables of components of NPM and components of DEG brought in by Dunleavy, Margetts et al. 2006 and discussed above are clear examples of this interest in diagnosis. This emphasis on what, rather than how, has the implication that the epochalizing approach has difficulties understanding how people, objects and technologies can, in practice, change shape and agency, and, thus, seem to be both 'one thing' and 'something else'. I have met many such shape- and agency-shifting entities and actors during fieldwork. Marie is a case in point: in her working practices, she is engaged both as an entrepreneurial and enterprising employee and as a traditional, Weberian bureaucrat. In connection to the aims and preoccupation of the current study it is crucial to be able to analytically grasp this situation of both-and. Therefore, the interests of the epochalizing approach are not in alignment with those of the current study.

Concerning the approach to contemporary public administration and management, which seeks to defend bureaucracy: like du Gay, this study seeks to escape the tyranny of the epochal. It does so by employing the grey, meticulous and patiently documentary forms of analysis, suggested by du Gay. I do not concur with Fournier and Grey when they state that du Gay can "only offer a nostalgic hymn to the bureaucratic ethic" with his notion of enterprise. I view his normative defense of bureaucracy as a very important voice, considering the ongoing and thorough reforms of public sectors around the world. However, the present study does not aim at defending bureaucracy. This is because elements, which can be termed 'bureaucratic', seem to be there and working in the practices I have been confronted with. In working with my particular empirical field, I have encountered many 'pastpresents' (King 2004). Most likely, du Gay has not encountered such pastpresents in his work with his particular empirical fields. Pastpresents is an analytical tool developed by feminist scholar Katie King to grasp what can be termed the work of reenactment. King thinks of these pastpresents "as quite palpable evidences that the past and the present cannot be purified each from the other; they confront me with interruptions, obstacles, new/old forms of organization, bridges, shifts in direction, spinning dynamics" (ibid.: 459).[26] Thus, pastpresents can be understood as a theoretical tool for thinking along lines that are non-epochalizing. The central, investigative questions are: how are the elements from various ways of organizing public administration and management present in the communicators' working practices?

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[26] See also Haraway 2008: 292.

What do they do there? And how do they relate to elements that can be said to belong to other "visions of ordering" (du Gay 2004b: 48)? As a consequence of these being the central, analytical questions, the study does not determine in advance whether one vision of ordering (enterprise) is stronger than another (bureaucracy) in contemporary public administration and management. To work from the previous empirical example, I do not determine in advance whether Marie, the communicator who presents GOVERN's managers with a monthly report on the press writings, is best understood through the notion of 'enterprise' or through the notion of 'bureaucracy'. I view this as a matter of empirical investigation.

Concerning the diversifying approach to contemporary public administration and management: Olsen's diversifying approach inspires this study in two important respects. The first has to do with process while the second concerns coexistence. Olsen suggests that contemporary public administration and management is best understood as a process. The reason for this is that public administration and management is provided with many different, changing, and non-coherent success criteria. This understanding is different from the prevalent, deterministic, and functionalist analyses of public sector reforms "which [portray] individuals as passive recipients of the discourses of change" (Thomas & Davies 2005: 683). Deterministic and functionalist analyses can be understood as an implication of the epochalizing approach to public administration and management outlined above, as it renders individual circumstances invisible. In a deterministic and functionalist analysis, reforms are understood as impacting individuals or public sector organizations, which up until the reform were relatively stable and coherent. In Olsen's processual view, public administration and management is marked by instability and incoherence. Public sector organizations are processes (and not stabilized organizational forms), and it is into these processes that public sector reforms are implemented. In Olsen's understanding, these processes are marked not by one-directionality, by one vision, or by one organizing principle, but by coexistence. If the many changing and non-coherent success criteria are to be satisfied in and by these processes, then they are to involve more than one set of consistent principles, goals or interests. The processes are marked by a coexistence of not strongly consistent sets of principles, goals or interests. The above exchange between Pia and Amalie on GOVERN's press coverage can serve as an empirical example. Pia and Amalie discuss 63 references to a GOVERN project. It is not a straightforward or stable matter whether the 63 references are a success or a failure. Also, it is uncertain what GOVERN should do about it. This suggests that different organizing principles coexist in the working practices unfurling at GOVERN. However, there is a contradiction in terms at stake in the diversifying approach: Olsen understands public sector organizations as processes, but at the same time, he talks of diversity. The diversifying approach talks of differences that are already there, which

contradicts the approach's processual inclinations. In my reading, the diversifying approach implies a processual understanding of public sector organizations, but it does not take on board the ontological implications of such a processual understanding. Therefore, the diversifying approach has a preliminary feel to it – it is more a sketch than a ready-made cluster of analytical resources.

In the following, I will largely leave the epochalizing approach behind, as it does not offer tools for handling the many pastpresents encountered during fieldwork. I employ the defending approach's attention to the grey and meticulous and I investigate the strength of the various visions for ordering public administration and management at stake in the communicators' working practices. Finally, in the second, main part of the current chapter I further develop the diversifying approach to public administration and management. I will do this by asking: what is diversity when understood as a process? I find the answer in a branch of research within the field of organization studies, which focuses on understanding organizations as processes. Sociologist John Law's concept of 'modes of ordering' (Law 1994) is used as a way to understand organization as process. Additionally, this particular concept enables me to seize how differences are performed in – and not pre-given elements in – these processes.[27] For these reasons, 'modes of ordering' is the central concept in my multiplying approach to the specific case of public administration and management under investigation: the working practices of government communicators.

Developing a multiplying approach

Building on the three approaches discussed above I will now develop what I term a multiplying approach to public administration and management. This will happen in three steps. First, I will discuss what it implies to understand public sector organizations as processes. Second, I will suggest sociologist John Law's concept of 'modes of ordering' as a way of analyzing these processes, which is valuable to the aims and preoccupations of the current study. Third, and as a consequence of the first two steps, I will suggest that contemporary public administration and management is not only about diversity but also about multiplicity.

Organizations as processes

A currently growing branch of research within the field of organization studies explores organizations as processes. This branch prefers 'organizing' to 'organization'. It prefers verbs

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[27] I will get back to this understanding of differences as recursive effects of how sociomaterial entities are assembled in CHAPTER 04.

to nouns. A significant contribution to this exploration of organizations as processes is Karl E. Weick's work on organizing and sense-making. Weick is inspired by symbolic interactionism and his notion of 'sense-making' designates the ongoing interaction between action and meaning creation in organizations (Weick 1995, see also Bakken & Hernes 2006). Another notable and influential contribution comes from Science and Technology Studies (STS) and one of this field's subfields, Actor-Network Theory (ANT). Barbara Czarniawska, social constructionist researcher within organization studies, sees STS as "a potential ally in my fight for moving the focus of organization studies from (formal) organizations to organizing (Czarniawska 2009: 158, see also Czarniawska 2008 and Hassard, Kelemen et al. 2008).[28]

Building on Olsen's insights and his suggestion of a diversifying approach to public administration and management, my goal is to establish a processual understanding of public sector organizations. A first step is to dig a bit deeper into what it means to understand organizations as processes.

Organization studies have always been interested in organizational change, but how to conceptualize such change (Seidl 2009)? This is the central question, which Tor Hernes discusses in his recent book *Understanding Organization as Process: Theory for a Tangled World* (2008). In his work Hernes investigates organizations as processes drawing, amongst others, on Alfred North Whitehead's process philosophy. His point of departure is that the world, in this case the organizational world, is fluid. This fluidity demands of the research to make a choice: how is this fluidity to be represented in research on organizations (ibid.: 8)? Inspired by Whitehead, Hernes goes on to outline two views from which to choose: a correlational view and a relational view. Each is based on its own distinct ontological stance and each represents fluidity in its own distinct manner (ibid.: 8, see also Tsoukas & Chia 2002, Chia 2003 and Chia & Langley 2005).

First, and most commonly within organization studies, a "'stage model'" (Hernes 2008: 8) is used for representing organizational change. Ontologically, this stage model assumes that

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[28] See also Woolgar, Coopmans et al. 2009. In this article, an introduction to a special issue of *Organization* (2009, Volume 16(1)) entitled 'Does STS Mean Business?', Steve Woolgar, Catelijne Coopmans, and Daniel Nyeland discuss how STS has come into contact with new contexts – including what they term Organization and Management Studies (OMS) – and they discuss what this contact has implied. They find it crucial to "avoid characterizing 'STS' or 'OMS' or 'business' as if these had transcendental, essential properties" (ibid.: 16). Accordingly, they suggest that STS is understood as "a 'set of sensibilities'" (ibid.: 16), including analytical "caution about the unreflexive adoption and deployment of standard social science lexicons (e.g. power, culture, meaning, value)" (ibid.: 22). 'Organization' can be understood as part of the standard organization studies lexicon, and it is the caution concerning organization's adoption and deployment that has made STS and, more narrowly, ANT valuable contributors to establishing an understanding of organizations not as relatively stable entities but as processes.

organizations consist of entities such as strategies, management and hierarchies, and it assumes that each of these entities represent a given organizational state. This implies what Hernes terms a correlational view on organizational change, i.e. "analyzing organizations as *correlation* between things" (Seidl 2009: 125, emphasis in original). In a correlational view, each entity "does not exist through its relations with other things, but rather through its own qualities" (Hernes 2008: 10) and, thus, these entities are "for all intents and purposes, ready-made entities, ready to be analyzed" (ibid.: 11). The correlational view on organizational change is based upon a traditional, Western ontological stance understanding the world as consisting of entities ready to be known by science. By studying the correlation between the entities assumed to make up an organization, it is determined what stage an organization is at. Hence, organizational change is conceptualized as the movement from one configuration of organizational entities to another, from one stage to another. How these movements happen, how these configurations come into being, cannot be grasped with this stage model, according to Hernes.

The correlational view of organizational change corresponds to an epochalizing approach to public administration and management outlined and challenged above. The correlational view looks, for instance, at the organizational strategy of a public sector organization and concludes that this strategy is an NPM entity. The next step is to determine whether the other organizational entities correlate with this strategy. If the answer is yes, then the organization is an NPM organization. The organization is in an epoch of NPM. As argued in the above this type of analysis does not fit the aims and preoccupations of the current study, as it is unable to interrogate questions of how an organizational strategy, for instance, is acted out. Additionally, it is analytically blind to the possibility that when acted out entities like an organizational strategy can mean and be different things in different practices.

The ontological foundation of the relational view is fundamentally different from that of the correlational. A relational view is based on a processual ontology and in agreement with this it "explores how entities combine in the processes of becoming" (ibid.: 8).[29] Hence, within the relational view it does not make sense to speak of organizational change (from one stage or epoch to another), as organizations are continually becoming.

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[29] There is nothing especially new or novel about this relational view; see for instance Emirbayer 1997 for an overview of sociological dealings with processes of becoming, and see for instance Deleuze & Guattari 1987 for a development of philosophical concepts able to deal with relationality. But this relational view's "implications for theorizing organizations are not well understood" (Seidl 2009: 124). In this sense Hernes 2008 brings a notable contribution to growing interest in understanding organization as process within organization studies.

Two analytical implications of this relational view on organizational change are central to the current study. The first has to do with the type of issues and questions the relational view investigates. The second concerns the type and range of entities investigated. The first implication is that within a relational view it does not makes sense to claim that one given entity simply acts upon or impacts another given entity. It does not make sense to claim, for instance, that a new organizational strategy simply impacts the employees, as this assumes that the new strategy and the employees both remain stable entities throughout their interaction. In a relational view, the new strategy and the employees are related as they interact and this relating, potentially, changes them both. It is the interacting and relating of actors that continually make up the organization. In Hernes' words: "[…] organizations are forever emergent phenomena emerging through ongoing connecting operations by actors" (Hernes 2008:15). The important issue to investigate is no longer how the new strategy impacts the employees, but how it connects itself to and is itself changed by a number of actors. The question is: which connecting operations is the new strategy involved in, and how do these connecting operations recursively take part in the organizational becoming? The second implication is that the entities that are interacting and connecting in these processes of becoming are human as well as non-human – they are materially and discursively heterogeneous (Law 2007a). All of these entities can, potentially, partake in the organizational becoming as organizational actors.

I will sum up the points made about the relational view on organizational change by quoting Robert Cooper's article 'Peripheral Vision: Relationality' (2005). Cooper has, like Hernes, worked on an understanding of organization as process. In the quote below, he highlights the two most important traits of this understanding: an ontological stance saying that reality is recursively becoming and, by implication, that entities and their doings must be understood as relational effects. He captures these two traits with his notion of 'relationality':

> Relationality makes us see a world as a complex network of active connections rather than visibly independent and identifiable forms and objects. On this view, people as self-sufficient agents do not exist for they are parts of a network of supports that enable them to connect with other parts and to narrate their connections (ibid.: 1704).

Public sector organizations as processes

After this introduction to understanding organizations as processes, I return to Johan P. Olsen and his diversifying approach to public administration and management.

As mentioned, Olsen calls for a processual understanding of public sector organizations in his sketch of a valuable research agenda for research on public administration and management. However, he does not outline the implications of such a processual understanding. In the section above I have highlighted two possible implications: that in a processual understanding, public sector organizations are continually becoming, and that this becoming happens as materially and discursively heterogeneous entities and actors interact and relate.

One question remains: what is it that coexists in public sector organizations? A look at Olsen's writings reveals a long list of various entities to answer this question: different concepts of good administration, different principles of organizing public administration and management (bureaucratic, market and network organization), different mechanisms for securing legitimacy, different tasks of contemporary practitioners, different administrative arrangements, different organizational forms, different versions of the population, and different administrative developments. According to Olsen, these all coexist in contemporary public administration and management. Analytically, there is a need for a resource to grasp and somehow order all of these entities and their processual, relational coexistence. Sociologist John Law's concept 'modes of ordering' is such an analytical resources, which I will introduce in the following.

Modes of ordering: organizations as processes and non-singular

John Law first develops his concept 'modes of ordering' in his book *Organizing Modernity* (1994).[30] On a general level, *Organizing Modernity* questions the common idea that an organization needs a coherent, singular, and strong strategy or identity in order to work. This common idea can be found in the mainstream branches of organization and management studies, in consultancy houses, and in some of the practices unfurling in the empirical field under investigation. Law suggests that there will always be more than one strategy at stake in any given organization, and, further, that it is the coexistence of such strategies that makes an organization work.

In *Organizing Modernity* Law works simultaneously on three related tasks. He presents an ethnographic study of the Daresbury Laboratory, a British research institution, in the era of Thatcherism. In his ethnographic presentation, he also takes one of the first steps towards

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[30] Law has since presented and developed his concept 'modes of ordering' further in a number of articles. He has discussed modes of ordering in connection to accountability (Law 1996), subjectivities (Law & Moser 1999), his own research practices and reflexivity (Law 2000), how obduracy is achieved in spite of different modes of ordering being at stake (Law 2001), and he has further explored one of his modes of ordering, 'Enterprise' (Law 2002a).

what has later been termed a multiplicity-oriented ANT analysis (Vikkelsø 2007: 301).[31] He does this by drawing on and relating work from "symbolic interactionism (whose patterns tend to be rather local); […] post-structuralist discourse analysis, whose patterns in some cases seem to be strangely hegemonic; and […] actor-network analysis" (Law 1994: 19). Third, he develops his notion of 'modes of ordering', which can be understood as a specific analytical tool for grasping multiplicity. In the following presentation of Law's work on organization and organizing, I will focus on Law's concept of modes of ordering and the central claims about organizations and organizing, which this theoretical and analytical tool entails.[32]

So, what central claims about organizations and organizing does the notion of modes of ordering entail more precisely? Law mentions six such claims in his article 'Ordering and Obduracy' (2001), in which he summarizes the points made in *Organizing Modernity* and drives the argument a bit further.[33] The first two of these claims have already been laid out in the above part on organizations as processes and public sector organizations on processes: an organization is best understood as process, as a verb and not a noun, and this process is materially and discursively heterogeneous. The third claim is new:

> […] if an organization is a materially heterogeneous process of arranging and ordering, then that process may be understood as […] a mode of ordering. The argument is that a mode of ordering is like a Foucauldian mini-discourse which runs through, shaping, and being carried in the materially heterogeneous processes which make up the organization (ibid.: 1-2).

What Law suggests here is the possibility to impute ordering patterns to the heterogeneous processes which make up a given organization. The fourth claim is that in any organization there will always be multiple modes of ordering at stake. Multiplicity being the case, the notion of modes of ordering also implies relations between different modes of ordering:

> Organizing is about complex relations between the different modes of ordering. Nothing simple. Sometimes these may undermine one another. Sometimes by contrast, they prop each other up. There are no simple stories to be told about organizing as multiplicity (ibid.: 2)

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[31] See the INTRODUCTION for a discussion of the position of 'modes of ordering' within the field of ANT.

[32] For a more thorough recapitulation of Law 1994's crucial points, see Jensen 2001: 69-74.

[33] Whereas Law 1994 is about differences between specific modes of ordering, Law 2001 identifies similarities between specific modes of ordering. I will return to these similarities and their implications in CHAPTER 05.

The sixth and final claim is that organizations "work because they are non-coherent" (ibid.: 2), meaning that organizations work because there is more than one mode of ordering at stake in the organizational practices.[34]

What happens if Olsen's diversifying approach is combined with Law's concept of modes of ordering? It may have four related implications. First, that it is modes of ordering that coexist in the government organizations involved in this study. Second, that the many different entities mentioned by Olsen are ordered and performed by these modes of ordering. In other words: modes of ordering can be used to establish analytical order in the plethora of different entities at stake in public administration and management. Third, that the concept of modes of ordering allows for a processual understanding of these entities: they are not just there – they are continually becoming (to use Hernes' term) or performed (to use Law's term). Fourth, that public administration and management is no longer about diversity (understood as differences between pre-existing and relatively stable entities), but about multiplicity (understood as the continual becoming or performance of differences in specific sociomaterial practices). Therefore, when Law's modes of ordering are added to Olsen's diversifying approach, we have what I will term a *multiplying* approach to public administration and management.

I find this multiplying approach valuable to the current study because it allows me to investigate how an entity or actor commonly understood as belonging to a given organizational form or managerial mode is present in working practices of the government organizations involved. Further, in doing this, this multiplying approach is sensitive to the possibility that the same entity, for instance Marie, whom we have met several times in the above, might be performed as an enterprising employee in one set of sociomaterial practices, whereas she is performed as a Weberian bureaucrat in another – and different – set of sociomaterial practices.

The analytical sensitivity towards the possibility that Marie and all other entities or actors may be performed differently in different sociomaterial practices can be seen as an implication of the claims about organizations and organizing entailed in Law's notion of modes of ordering. This specific implication of entities and objects being different in different sociomaterial

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[34] In this part I am concerned with the more general traits of the theoretical and analytical resource 'modes of ordering'. Law develops four specific modes of ordering in his study of the Daresbury Laboratory: 'Enterprise', 'Administration', 'Vision', and 'Vocation'. I will get back to these in CHAPTER 04 where I present the four specific modes of ordering utilized as an 'ethnographic response' (Riles 2006) to this study's particular ethnographic field.

practices has been further interrogated by Annemarie Mol, philosopher and key contributor to what has been termed multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses, in her book *The Body Multiple* (2002a). *Organizing Modernity* questions the often taken for granted assumption that a working organization is an organization with a singular and strong strategy. *The Body Multiple* has a similar ambition: it questions the often taken for granted assumption about the singularity of a concrete object, in Mol's case the disease atherosclerosis. Based on thorough ethnographic investigations carried out in the different units of a Dutch hospital, Mol talks about atherosclerosis as a multiple object, meaning that it is enacted slightly differently in different sociomaterial practices, for instance diagnostic practices, practices of treatment, and research practices. Thus, a multiple object exists in different versions. This multiplicity is not limited to the disease atherosclerosis. Mol says that she has chosen to study a disease because diseases are central to health care, and because researchers outside healthcare have not shown much interest in diseases, but "it is equally possible to follow other objects as they are being enacted" (ibid.: 142). Mol further argues that in spite of this multiplicity, multiple objects "tend to hang together somehow" (ibid.: 5). By utilizing the notions of 'coordination', 'distribution' and 'inclusion' Mol shows how this happens, how different versions of the object atherosclerosis hang together.

Law focuses on the coexistence of modes of ordering, whereas Mol focuses on the multiplicity of an object. I wish to underscore that I understand the difference between Law's and Mol's approaches to be a matter of difference in focus and not, for instance, a difference in ontological stance. Law and Mol share the assumption that reality is performed or enacted in practices where materially and discursively heterogeneous entities are related. Thus, it can be said that the two different foci, stemming from the different aims and preoccupations of their different empirical studies, imply one another: ordering in Law's sense has a reality-constructing dimension, meaning a performative dimension, to it and so does Mol's multiple object. Objects are enacted as multiple in sociomaterial practices.[35]

Translating Law's specific understanding of ordering and Mol's notion 'multiple object' into the current project, the following can be said about the production and assessment of communicative solutions in the working practices of the communicators involved: organization is about recursive orderings of materially and discursively heterogeneous entities. In these orderings communicative solutions are produced and assessed. This implies that in

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[35] This deep kinship between modes of ordering and multiple object is underscored in Law's later book *After Method* (2004), in which Law investigates how scientific practices not only describe realities but also produce the realities they describe. Law states that "everything said by Mol about multiplicity also applies to organisation" (Law 2004: 112).

these orderings it is determined what a 'good' performance is, meaning what a 'good' outcome, of a given communicative solution is. It might be the case that different modes of ordering that coexist differently produce and assess communicative solutions differently. Different modes of ordering that coexist differently might determine what a 'good' outcome of a given communicative solutions is differently. In the current thesis' analytical chapters, CHAPTERS 05, 06, and 07, I will investigate how this happens and how different versions of a 'good' outcome relate to one another.

Concluding remarks: ordering multiplicity

In this chapter, I have presented three approaches to public administration and management, which can be identified within research on the field. These three approaches were epochalizing public administration and management, defending bureaucracy and diversifying public administration and management. I used these three approaches to develop the approach that will be utilized in the current study: a multiplying approach.

The multiplying approach developed entails that public sector organizations, like the five government organizations involved, are understood as processes and, thus, as continually becoming. This becoming happens as materially and discursively heterogeneous entities are related and ordered in specific ways. Further, the multiplying approach claims that it is possible to impute certain patterns, certain modes of ordering, to the way in which this ordering happens. It is in these patterned orderings communicative solutions are produced and assessed, and in the analytical chapters, CHAPTERS 05, 06, and 07, I will investigate how this happens.

In this chapter I have sought to argue that elements from various ways of ordering public administration and management can be present simultaneously in the communicators' working practices and, in connection to this, that the communicators' working practices can be understood as situations of both-and. These arguments can be qualified by introducing John Law's notion of 'mess' (Law 2004, 2007b). With this notion contemporary public administration and management in practice can be described as a case of a world that "is vague, diffuse or unspecific, slippery, emotional, ephemeral, elusive or indistinct, changes like a kaleidoscope, or doesn't really have much of a pattern at all […]" (Law 2004: 2). In other words: to talk of contemporary public administration and management in Denmark is to talk of messy practices. I wish to underscore that mess and messiness are not necessarily bad things. I definitely do not wish to say something along the lines of "Look, the five government organizations involved are such a mess – clean yourselves up, please!" Rather, the claim is ontological: the reality under scrutiny in the current study is messy.

Apart from my empirical material, another important indication of this messy nature of the communicators' working practices is that in the course of the Industrial PhD project we, i.e. all the project's collaborators, have not succeeded in developing one, singular method for measuring the outcomes of the government organizations' communicative activities. For each communicative project a specific way of measuring had to be developed and employed. Additionally, this specific way of measuring most often had to encompass more than one logic, for instance it had to generate both qualitative and quantitative data, or the dissemination of the results had to be done differently in different divisions of the government organization in question. In other words: a specific way of measuring the outcomes of communicative activities had to function in a messy world if it was to be of value to the government organization in question.

Nevertheless, measuring or otherwise assessing government communication and doing research have at least one thing in common: both practices are about ordering. If one wants to know the outcome of a communicative solution, or if one wants to know public administration and management, something must be done to these messy realities. Categories, patterns, concepts, notions or orders are employed to the messy objects of study. John Law reflects upon what happens in this employment of categories, patterns, concepts, notions or orders to the realities under study.[36] He describes it as balancing on an uncomfortable knife-edge:

> We [social scientists] want to order. In particular, we hope to tell stories about social ordering. But we don't want to do violence in our own ordering. And in particular, we don't want to pretend that our ordering is complete or conceal the work, the pain and the blindness that went into it. It is an uncomfortable knife-edge. It violates most of the inclinations and dispositions that we have acquired in generations of commitment to 'the scientific method' and its social, political and personal analogues. Nevertheless, this is the path that I want to recommend, a path of sociological modesty (Law 1994: 8-9).

Law's point is that any scientific endeavour to know a specific reality is also an intervention – it does something to this reality. The scientific endeavour orders the reality in question in a

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[36] See also, for instance, Law 2007b, Law 2004 and Law & Urry 2002. The central argument of this body of work is that "social inquiry and its methods are productive: they (help to) make social realities and social worlds. They do not simply describe the world as it is, but also enact it" (Law & Urry 2002: 1, emphasis in original).

specific way, and this ordering is part of the specific reality's continual becoming. This is the reason why I have used verbs – and not nouns – in describing the four approaches to public administration and management discussed in this chapter.

What does it mean not to do violence in social science ordering? What does it mean not to do violence in ordering the messy, slippery, fuzzy, indefinite and multiple world I have encountered during fieldwork? This is a question of "ontological politics" (Mol 1999)[37], and in the current chapter I have answered it by largely dismissing the epochalizing approach to public administration and management. I sensed its employment would do violence to the reality I have encountered. Another part of my answer is the multiplying approach developed. With this multiplying approach I seek to attend to the practices under study in a way that can help me bring one of this study's important points across: there are no easy solutions as to how to measure the outcomes of government organizations' communicative efforts, because the reality of these government organizations is multiple.

Still, the piece of research presented here has been carried out in a specific project entailing a wide range of specific actors with specific interests. And a range of orderings, one might add. In the following chapter, CHAPTER 03, I will discuss how these actors, interest, and orderings have rendered certain research practices possible and others impossible. I will discuss how I have sought to handle multiplicity in undertaking the current piece of research.

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[37] I will return to Mol's notion of ontological politics in CHAPTER 08.

Method Assemblage: *generally, [describes] the process of crafting and enacting the necessary boundaries between presence, manifest absence, and Otherness*

(Law 2004: 161).

CHAPTER 03: peaceful coexistence as a condition of research

In CHAPTER 01 I argued that government communication is a case of multiplicity. By this I mean that different versions of a 'good' outcome of government communication coexist in the working practices of the communicators involved. In CHAPTER 02 I developed an analytical approach, which is able to handle this multiplicity analytically. In the present chapter, CHAPTER 03, I will show what happened to this multiplicity of government communication during my fieldwork. I suggest that my fieldwork and all the other research practices, which have unfurled in the course of the present study, are also cases of multiplicity. This means that in the present study the practices of government communication and the research practices are both seen as cases of multiplicity. I will investigate how the multiplicity of government communication and of the research practices unfurled and interfered during fieldwork. First, I will give some introductory remarks on the multiplicity of government communication and on the multiplicity of the research practices.

In the present study I aim to ethnographically describe the working practices of the communicators involved. In these working practices communicative solutions are produced and assessed. The assessment of the communicative solutions produced implies that an object is being enacted in these working practices. This object is the outcome of the communicative solution in question. This outcome and its enactment is my object of study. During my fieldwork it proved difficult to point at some practices and say: "Here they are! These are the practices in which the outcome of the communicators' work is enacted!" This was problematic to the communicators involved, because they wished to manage their work by its outcomes; it was problematic to Bjerg Kommunikation, because the communications agency wished to develop communication measurements that fit into these hard to locate practices; and it was problematic to me, because I wished to study these practices. Thus, the Industrial PhD project's partners sought to locate and make such practices present. The partners sought to turn the outcome of a given communicative solution into a more solid object. However, it is doubtful whether the project's partners actually succeeded in this. I therefore suggest that there is something elusive about the practices in which communicative solutions are produced and assessed. Hence, there is also something elusive about that which is enacted in these

practices, namely the outcome of government communication. I will show how I have dealt with this elusiveness in the fieldwork carried out.

The present study has been done in connection with a larger Industrial PhD project involving a communications agency, Bjerg Kommunikation, and five government organizations. I will convey that the 'industrialness' of this study, indicating specific and continually changing interests in commercializing the results of the ethnographic research carried out, is non-reducible to a simple question of funding (see for instance Kristensen 2010), nor to a few introductory, reflexive remarks on possible biases created by the specific research setup (see for instance Degnegaard 2010). Referring very briefly to funding or to biases can be understood as a way to write this industrialness out of the present thesis. It can be understood as a way to purify the research practices upon which the thesis reports. In trying to convey how research has been done in the present study I find this option unsatisfactory because of the elusiveness of the object of study: the Industrial PhD project as a whole has tried to turn the outcome of government communication into a more solid object, and this chapter investigates how the research practices have taken part in this. The Industrial PhD project as a whole has done something to the object of study, and I aim to describe what this 'something' is. I wish, in other words, to let the industrialness stay in the thesis. I will show how this industrialness has made certain methods and concepts more adequate for me to work with than others.

The chapter has three parts. In the first part I am concerned with discussing and establishing analytical tools for describing more closely what type of object the outcome of government communication is, and for describing more closely the type of research practices the present study entailed. In the second part I will bring the object of study and the research practices together and give an account of how the object of study was described and enacted during fieldwork. In the third part I give some concluding remarks. Here I will highlight that the specific subject-object configurations that were enacted during fieldwork were made to coexist peacefully. As this chapter will show, this peaceful coexistence had implications as to how the object of study was described and enacted.

The part played by industrialness in describing and enacting the object of study

In this first part of the present chapter I will discuss two issues: first I present analytical resources for understanding the object of study, the outcome of government communication, as elusive, and then I present analytical resources for understanding the research practices through which the object of study was described and enacted.

To measure is a good thing

The overall aim of the Industrial PhD project is to innovate ways of measuring the outcomes of the communicative solutions produced by the government organizations. The aim is to develop new and better communication measurements. In my application for the Industrial PhD scholarship I argued that in developing such new and better communication measurements, ethnographic descriptions of how communicative solutions are produced and assessed in the working practices of the government organizations involved would be of great value. These ethnographic descriptions would help point out certain features which the new communication measurements should have if they were to be successful and valuable to the five government organizations involved and to Bjerg Kommunikation. This was how I positioned my research in the initial description of the study.

So, I was interested in describing how the outcomes of government organizations' communication solutions are established in working practices of the communicators. I assumed that it would be quite easy to locate, follow, and describe how this happened. This assumption soon proved to be dubious, and I had to adjust my initial understanding of the object under study. In the following I will explain why this was the case.

It was possible for Bjerg Kommunikation to involve five government organizations in the project. This indicates that the five government organizations' communicators were motivated to spend resources on becoming better at assessing the outcome of their work. Bjerg Kommunikation and I believed that this motivation was a response to a demand, a demand to assess the outcomes of their work with communication. In addition, a number of researchers were – and still are – talking about the audit society (Power 1997) or audit cultures (Strathern 2000a) and in the Danish media you can encounter stories about how every little aspect of public sector performance is measured. This led me to believe that I could find a formal document formulated outside the government organizations involved, or a specific institution located outside the government organizations involved officially demanding that, for instance, from a certain date these government organizations were bound to assess the outcomes of the communicative solutions produced in their work. If they were unable to do so, they would somehow be penalized. I was unable to locate this formal document or specific institution. There was a simple reason for this: they did not exist. This non-existence of a locatable demand to establish the outcome of the communicators' work implied that I was not studying how such a demand to work in a specific way was implemented in the government

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organizations involved, and, for instance, stirred up these organizations in given productive or unproductive ways.[38]

However, in the government organizations' descriptions of communication projects to be carried out, and in their communication policies I did find statements concerning communication measurements. And I confronted the communicators involved with these statements in my initial interviews: what practices did these statements indicate? I asked this question hoping that it would help me locate the practices in which the enactment of the outcome of the communicators' work happened. And it did, but only to some extent. I will give three examples. In the plan for TAX's group communication project it says that a follow-up will be done on the outcomes of the implementation of the group communication concept (TAX, plan for the group communication project, 03.09.07). In following the project I soon noticed that such a follow-up demanded the formulation of success criteria for the implementation of the group communication concept, and that it was difficult for the communicators involved to formulate such success criteria. This surprised me: were the government organizations involved not used to measuring or otherwise assessing everything they did? I asked the communicators involved in the group communication project this question: is measuring not something you do all the time? One of the communicators, Julie, answered:

> **Julie**: It is! In relation to our core production, which is to get [tax] money in, [we measure all the time.] But to measure communication – that is not our main concern (TAX, group interview, 02.04.08).

In the communication policy of the Danish Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries, which also applies to FOOD, it says that "[the ministry] will continually improve and target its communication. Therefore, measurements must be an integral part of the ministry's communicative work" (Fødevarministeriet 2002: 3).[39] I confronted Søren, a newly appointed communicator at FOOD, with this statement. I asked him if it was something he had noticed. His response was:

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[38] See for instance Fabian Muniesa and Dominique Linhardt's study of the implementation of a reform of public administration and management in France (Muniesa & Linhardt 2009). See also "the concept of a trajectory" (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004: 66) developed and described in Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004. This concept advances a certain understanding of public sector reforms implying a relatively stable initial situation, a stirring up of this situation by the implementation of a reform, and a relatively stable future situation. The multiplying approach's understanding of organizations as ongoing, sociomaterial orderings sits badly with this understanding of organizational change.

[39] In Danish: Fødevareministeriet vil løbende forbedre og målrette sin kommunikation. Derfor skal målinger være en integreret del af kommunikationsarbejdet.

> **Søren**: No, it's not something I've paid special attention to. Actually, I don't remember reading it… Probably, I just thought: "Well, I am doing this project [i.e. *Measurements you can learn from*]." I think it's formulated nicely and correctly. It doesn't prompt me to anything else, but to note that we are on it (FOOD, interview, 22.05.08).

The third example is from FOREIGN. FOREIGN's communication policy entails a plan for how its communicative efforts are monitored and evaluated (Udenrigsministeriet 2007: 13). The plan is very general, though, and Carina, communicator at FOREIGN, who has been involved in the development of the communication policy, said, laughingly:

> **Carina**: We refer to an evaluation concept for FOREIGN's communication [in the communication policy]. Well, the project with Bjerg Kommunikation [i.e. *Measurements you can learn from*] will hopefully lead to that [i.e. to a more specific and operational evaluation plan] (FOREIGN, interview, 30.05.08).

These three examples suggest that it is possible to locate internal documents such as project plans and communication policies that state that the outcomes of the government organizations' communicative work must be, or are already, assessed. However, this assessment can be a new task; it can be peripheral to the government organizations' core production; it can be something the communicators are "on to", but have not established yet; or it can be a rather general evaluation concept, which does not seem to translate easily from paper to the communicators' working practices. Thus, I was unable to locate and subsequently follow and describe certain routines or procedures for establishing the outcome of the communicators' work. And I discarded the understanding that I was following and describing how the outcome of a given communicative solution is established in certain organizational routines or procedures.[40]

To sum up: my initial encounters with the government organizations and their work led me to reject a model of the organizations under study emphasizing change as the consequence of the implementation of an external demand to assess the outcomes of communicative work, and they led me to reject a model that favours routines or procedures for establishing the outcome of the communicators' work.

If there was no demand and no routines or procedures, then where and what were the practices I was studying? I suggest that what I was able to locate in the work of the government organizations was an atmosphere, which suggested that to measure or otherwise

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[40] See for instance the praxiographic mode of research developed in Mol 2002a.

assess outcomes was a good thing. It was something one should do. The atmosphere indicated that it was a 'good thing' to try to establish an outcome of the communicative solutions produced. Because of this atmosphere it made sense to the communicators to become involved in the Industrial PhD project, which sought to develop methods for doing exactly that: methods for measuring and otherwise assessing the outcomes of communicative efforts. But in the communicators' working practices the outcomes of government communication were also deemed less important, ignored, resisted, and, at times, maybe even hated. On occasions, I sensed that the object of study, the outcome of government communication, only existed because of the Industrial PhD project's activities: the research activities, the consultancy activities, and hybrids between these two.

During my fieldwork I sensed that an atmosphere rather than a univocal demand or certain, established routines or procedures was promoting the assessment of the communicators' work. But what is the connection between this atmosphere and the working practices of the communicators? In the following I will argue that this atmosphere and its connection to the working practices of the communicators can be discussed by way of John Law's notion of 'manifest absence' (Law 2004: 84).

The outcome of communicative work as manifestly absent

The notion of 'method assemblage' is one of the main contributions of John Law's book *After Method* (2004). This notion is developed on the grounds of a fundamental insight of post-structuralism: "*What is being made present always depends on what is also being made absent*" (ibid.: 83, emphasis in the original). Law explains:

> If we use this [the vocabulary of the post-structuralist tradition] then method assemblage becomes the enactment of *presence*, *manifest absence*, and *absence as Otherness*. More specifically, method assemblage becomes the crafting or bundling of relations or hinterland in three parts: (a) whatever is in-here or *present*; (b) whatever is absent but is also *manifest in its absence*; and (c) whatever is absent but is *Other*, because while it is necessary to presence, it is not or cannot be made manifest (ibid.: 84).

With the notion of method assemblage Law seeks to grasp how boundaries between whatever is made present in given practices, for instance an object or a representation, whatever is absent but also manifest, meaning the context that is relevant for a given object, and whatever is absent, meaning that which is hidden, repressed or deemed uninteresting but at the same time necessary to presence, are continually enacted and, potentially, reshuffled (ibid.: 161). A concrete example will elucidate what this means. In the previous chapter, CHAPTER 02, I

gave an introduction to Annemarie Mol's study of how the disease atherosclerosis is diagnosed, treated, and researched at a Dutch hospital. This hospital can be understood as a method assemblage, which enacts boundaries between presence, manifest absence, and absence in an institutionalized fashion. Routines and procedures are in place. Further, the hospital as method assemblage focuses on presence – it focuses on making atherosclerosis present. In all its sociomateriality it is good at this. Similarly, the government organizations and their production and assessment of communicative solutions can be understood as method assemblages, which create boundaries between presence, manifest absence, and absence, but compared to Mol's hospital they do this in a lesser and at times even non-institutionalized fashion. Routines and procedures are not – always – in place. Understood as method assemblages, the government organizations also focus on presence: they focus on making the outcomes of government communication present. But the government organizations are not as good at this as Mol's hospital. The boundaries between presence, manifest absence, and absence are enacted less clearly. The atmosphere saying that it is a good thing to assess and establish the outcome of the government organizations' communicative solutions can be understood as manifest in its absence, and in the communicators' working practices it seems to take centre stage much of the time. Thus, the object of study, the outcome of government communication, can be seen as enacted in the ongoing reshuffling of the boundaries between presence, manifest absence, and absence. Below I will give empirical examples of how these boundaries between presence, manifest absence, and absence have been enacted and reshuffled during my fieldwork.

This concludes my remarks on the present study's object of study, the outcome of government communication. I have established that the elusiveness of this object of study can grasped by focusing on how boundaries between presence, manifest absence, and absence are enacted and reshuffled in the working practices of the communicators involved.[41] Now, I will turn to the research practices in which the object of study was described and enacted.

Multiple and interfering subject-object configurations

In the introduction to the present chapter I outlined two responses to the industrialness of a given research project. In the first response the industrialness is treated as a merely practical question of funding. The funding is mentioned in a foreword and it is then left out of the rest of the writings on the research project. In the second response the industrialness is treated as something that might have created biases in undertaking the research in question. These biases are delineated and reflexively discussed, typically in an opening chapter. In this part I

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[41] STS scholar Casper Bruun Jensen has made an argument along similar lines concerning Electronic Patient Records: see Jensen 2004.

will seek to develop a different, and for the present study more satisfactory, way of dealing with the industrialness, denoting specific and changing interests in commercializing the outcomes of the ethnographic research carried out. I will do this by way of John Law's article 'On the Subject of the Object: Narrative, Technology, and Interpellation' (2000). In this article Law discusses the question of the role of 'the personal' in social science writing. Two common responses to this question is to either keep the personal out of social science writing, or confess how the personal impacts or influences your research. Law seeks to develop a third response that does not imply a stable divide between the personal and the object under study. I will seek to argue that the way Law treats the personal can inspire a way of treating the industrialness of this study, which shows the part that industrialness played in the research practices. For instance, like Law's 'the personal', 'the industrialness' of a given research project is commonly understood as distinct from research: a divide between these two is created. I aspire to develop a way of letting the industrialness of the present study stay in this thesis that does not imply or create a stable divide between the industrialness of the study and the object under study.

In his article Law draws upon Donna Haraway and her influential essay 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective' (Haraway 1991). In this essay Haraway recasts objectivity as a relational and, thus, a partial and local matter. Knowledge – or, more precisely, knowledges – are situated and it is the researcher's responsibility to make transparent wherein this situatedness lies. Haraway places her concept of 'situated knowledges' in opposition to what she calls 'the god-trick', which is the creation of a view "from above, from nowhere, from simplicity" (ibid.: 195). Based on these insights Law concludes that it is an urgent need that researchers "acknowledge and come to terms, somehow or other, with the specificity of our own knowledges, our situations. It requires, in other words, that we explore our own construction as coherent (or otherwise) knowing subjects" (Law 2000: 5). The personal takes part in this construction of knowing subjects. Anthropologists and ethnographers have long acknowledged this, so how do they come to terms with the personal being part of their construction as knowing subjects?

In the 1980s anthropological and ethnographic writing experienced a so-called 'crisis of representation' where the objectivity and implications of the representations produced by the researchers were discussed (for instance Clifford & Marcus 1986). The authority of the ethnographer to represent the field under investigation was questioned: how was this authority constructed, and how could this construction be made transparent? Some of these discussions

still exist today.[42] One of the main solutions was to make transparent and to be self-reflexive about how and why the researcher had chosen her/his specific object of study. Critics have termed the ethnographic writing resulting from this solution "vanity ethnography" (Law 2000: 7). Law says that in connection to his specific endeavour this critique of vanity works "because some versions of self-reflexivity precisely *construct* themselves as 'self-revelations' – that is, they play on and further perform the divide between the personal and whatever it is that counts epistemologically, the reports about whatever is said to be 'out there'" (ibid.: 8, emphasis in original). So, what is needed is a way to go beyond a reflexivity, which performs a divide between the personal and what is out there. In my case I am looking for a form of reflexivity which is not about revealing or confessing how the industrialness impacted my research, as this would perform a divide between the study's industrialness and what is out there. Such a divide would sit very badly with the elusive nature of the object under study shown and argued for in the section above.[43]

Law's search for "practices of knowledge-relevant embodiments that do not perform themselves of 'self-revelations'" (ibid.: 8) happens in three moves. In the first move Law refers to writings by Norbert Elias and Michel Foucault and concludes that "the distinction 'public/private,' or 'knowledge/personal,' these are distinctions *made*, constituted in the enabling logics of discourse that run through, permeate, and perform the materials of the social" (ibid.: 13, emphasis in original). In the second move Law refers to writings by Louis Althusser and, again, Michel Foucault. Law argues that Althusser and Foucault both have a tendency to think conditions of possibility in "large blocks" (ibid.: 18). Yes, distinctions between public and private, between knowledge and the personal, are made, but they are made by conditions of possibilities that come in large blocks – maybe even pressing towards one singular, dominant block. This is what Althusser and Foucault claim, according to Law. In contrast to this claim, Law says that he is "a little more optimistic than that" (ibid.: 18) – "conditions of possibility do not necessarily come in large blocks" (ibid.: 18). In other words:

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[42] See for instance Jensen & Lauritsen 2005a. This article's argument is that discussions of qualitative research and reflexivity are (still) "shaped by dichotomous and restrictive understandings of truth and power" (Jensen & Lauritsen 2005: 60), which in their view need to be bypassed. In their article they do so by evoking works by anthropologist Marilyn Strathern and Bruno Latour, among others, and the relationality this entails.

[43] Donna Haraway has discussed a problem with the notion 'reflexivity': the metaphor implied by reflexivity is that of the mirror and, to some extent, it suggests that if the researcher is self-reflexive enough, then s/he can represent what went on in the research practices. Thus, reflexivity can be understood as an instance of "the god-trick" (Haraway 1991: 195). She suggests the concept 'diffraction', drawn from optics, "to talk about making a difference in the world as opposed to just being endlessly self-reflective. Obviously, I am not against being self-reflective but I am interested in foregrounding something else" (Haraway 2000: 104). In a similar fashion I am interested in depicting and recording how the research carried out made differences in the world and, therefore, it might be more precise to say that this chapter aims at developing an apprehension of diffraction.

in the second move Law cuts the notion of 'discourse' down in size (Law 1994: 95). Therefore, in the third and last move Law investigates what happens if this is done: what happens if the conditions of possibility are cut down in size? Drawing upon his own study of the rise and fall of a British military aircraft called TSR2, Law develops "five forms of narrative, five performances of interpellation, five different subject-positions and object-positions, five modes of distributing" (Law 2000: 23). Referring to his own, earlier work, *Organizing Modernity* (1994), Law states that he thinks of these five forms of narrative as 'modes of ordering':

> That is, as arrangements that recursively perform themselves through different materials – speech, subjectivities, organizations, technical artifacts; and that therefore, since they perform themselves alongside one another, also interact with one another (Law 2000: 23).

In a sense, Law comes full circle here: in *Organizing Modernity* Law imputes four modes of ordering to the working practices of the laboratory managers and he briefly discusses how these four modes of ordering constitute "a tool that might do work in other contexts too" (Law 1994: 91), the other context in question being the working practices in which Law is engaged himself. In the article discussed here, 'On the Subject of the Object: Narrative, Technology, and Interpellation' (2000), Law develops this thought further and imputes ordering modes to his own research on the TSR2.

To sum up one can ask: where does this leave the personal? How has the personal been re-configured in the course of Law's article? Drawing on Mol's notion of multiplicity one can say that what Law has done in this article is to multiply the knowing subject. By this I mean that the knowing subject is seen as enacted by more than just one mode of ordering, more than just one subject-object configuration. This turns the knowing subject into a "place of multiplicity, of patterns, of patterns of narrative interference" (ibid.: 28). The personal might be part of more than one of these patterns, and, thus, "the personal is no longer necessarily 'personal'" (ibid.: 28). Researchers – and others, for that matter – are constituted as knowing subjects by more than one mode of ordering and, as an implication, by more than one relatively stable subject-object configuration, by more than one possible division between the personal and what can be termed the scientific. At times it is possible to jump between modes of ordering. At times they interact. Sometimes they do this in productive ways – sometimes in destructive ways.[44]

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[44] Casper Bruun Jensen has developed the notion 'sorting attachments', which covers many of the same points as Law's description of the knowing subject as a place of multiplicity: "Sorting attachments […] refers to the processes through which researchers, by affinity or implication, become tethered to

The knowing subject as enacted and re-enacted in a place of multiplicity

What to make of Law's insights in my specific case concerning the industrialness of the study? Well, the first and rather abstract step is to say that the knowing subject is a place of multiplicity and that more than one divide between industrialness and the scientific is possible. By implication, the industrialness of the study is no longer seen as defined by a stable divide between industrialness and the scientific, between, for instance, funding or bias and independent research.

The second step is to turn the abstract notion of 'a place of multiplicity' into something more concrete. When I first began to write this chapter about how I carried out my fieldwork and why I chose to carry it out in a specific way, I found this very difficult. On grounds of the arguments above, these difficulties can be explained by saying that my writing practices were not a singular location but a location "of narrative overlap" (Law 2000: 28). I will mention three narratives, three subject-object configurations.[45] Each configuration implies a specific relationship between the industrialness of the study and the scientific. These three configurations overlapped in my writing practices and, as I will show in the part below, in the fieldwork practices:

- *Traditional*: I am doing research in order to reach an understanding of how communicative solutions are produced and assessed in five government organizations. This will tell us, researchers, something new about how Danish public administration and management works. Here industrialness is rendered a necessary evil for carrying out independent research;

- *Interventionist*: I am doing research as a means to develop new and better communication measurements. The existing ones are counter-productive – maybe even dangerous – for the workings of Danish public administration and management,

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institutional and political machines, which may be quite different from their own but nevertheless shape their research questions, methods and conclusions in multiple ways" (Jensen 2007: 239). In connection to this it can be said that Law claims that it is possible to impute certain patterns to the processes of sorting attachments by way of his notion of 'modes of ordering'. On grounds of my experiences with doing research in this project I believe Law is right in asserting that patterns can be imputed to the processes of sorting attachments. In other words – and as we will see in this chapter's second part – I experienced these sorting processes as recursive.

[45] One crucial aspect of Law's modes of ordering is that they are developed in a complex interplay between empirical observations, scientific concepts, and political discourses. Law's modes of ordering are hybrids, and thus they convey the point that it is difficult to draw clear boundaries between 'the empirical' and 'the theoretical'. To claim that the three narratives presented here are modes of ordering would be to claim too much, because they are based mainly on what I experienced when undertaking the present study. That is why I term them 'configurations'. I believe that they could be developed into modes of ordering, but that is too big a task to undertake in this study.

as they do not account for the messy nature of public administration and management in practice. Here industrialness is a vehicle for doing research that aims to intervene;

– *Commercializing*: I am doing research which is connected to the development of new and better communication measurements. Here 'new and better' means communication measurements that can be commercialized. My research needs, at least, to be worth the money the company invested in it. Here industrialness requires that the research generates insights that can be commercialized.

The point is that these three configurations – the first enacting me as a 'traditional' and specialist researcher[46], the second as an interventionist researcher[47], the third as a researcher who is also an employee at a company which has invested in the research – have all taken part in constituting me as a knowing subject. Further, these configurations can be said to have taken part in ordering and enacting the object of study.

I have now established a set of analytical tools for describing how research has been carried out in the present study. In the part below I will utilize these analytical tools in giving a concrete account of how the description and enactment of the object of study, the outcome of government communication, happened during the ethnographic fieldwork carried out in this study.

Fieldwork in three heats

I organized and undertook my fieldwork in three heats.[48] In the first heat I sought to generate descriptions of how the five government organizations produce and assess communicative solutions. In particular, I sought to *locate and describe* how these organizations establish an outcome of their communicative work. The main methodological challenge in this first heat of fieldwork was to open up the practices under study. It was a challenge to turn the practices under study into something that could be described ethnographically. The rather closed nature of the government organizations' working practices is due to these organizations being in a situation where each "concern is a possible source of legitimacy as well as criticism" (Olsen 2006: 7, see also CHAPTER 2). So, would the descriptions generated add to the organizations' legitimacy or would they yield criticism? No clear answer to this could be

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[46] Law's esoteric mode of ordering inspires this configuration (ibid.: 21-22).
[47] Law's ethical mode of ordering inspires this configuration (ibid.: 21).
[48] See APPENDIX 01 for an overview of the all the fieldwork activities that took place during the three heats of fieldwork.

given. The closed nature of the government organizations' working practices is also generated by these organizations' use of a wide range of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). Much work happens in computers, in cables, in screens etc. The question is: how to get into these computers, cables and screens? This question was important as I view ICTs not only as mere intermediaries that "transport meaning or force without transformation" (Latour 2005: 39), but also – potentially – as fully-fledged mediators that "transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry" (ibid.: 39).[49] In the second heat I analyzed and organized the empirical material generated in the first heat. Here the main methodological challenge was to find a way of *ordering the empirical material generated*.[50] I aimed at ordering the messiness of the material generated in a way that would enable me to disseminate vital insights to Bjerg Kommunikation. The second heat amounted to five preliminary modes of ordering (Law 1994). These modes of ordering afforded specific ethnographic descriptions of the communicators' working practices and in the third heat I aimed at further developing the five preliminary modes of ordering. I did this by *putting them at risk*, meaning that I gave the communicators involved the opportunity to engage with and potentially resist the five preliminary modes of ordering and the ethnographic descriptions they afforded.

Now follows a more detailed account of what happened in these three heats.

Heat #1: locating and describing the practices under scrutiny

In the first heat I was broadly interested in how the five governmental organizations produce and assess communicative solutions. This first heat began almost immediately after the Industrial PhD project was kick-started with a joint meeting[51] in late December 2007. The main reason for this was that Bjerg Kommunikation wished to get things going and to gain some insights into the government organizations' communicative work. Technically, this first heat entailed photo elicitation (Warren 2002, Harper 2002, and Gradén & Kaijser 1999), logbooks (Czarniawska 2007), observations, interviews and group interviews (Järvinen & Mik-Meyer 2005 and Järvinen 2005). I used photo elicitation and logbooks as a technique by

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[49] See also Orlikowski & Scott 2008 and Orlikowski 2007. These articles develop an approach to technology and organizing inspired by ANT much akin to the one utilized in the present study.
[50] In alignment with the multiplying approach to public administration and management utilized, I view the ethnographic field not as a relatively stable being in ethnographic fieldwork practices, but as becoming in these ethnographic fieldwork practices. Preliminary analysis and ordering of empirical material take part in this ongoing becoming. Therefore, I view this second heat of analyzing and ordering as part of my fieldwork. For such a performative understanding of the ethnographic field see Coleman & Collins 2006.
[51] The Industrial PhD project entailed six such joint meetings. Communicators from the five government organizations involved, Bjerg Kommunikation, and I took part in these meetings.

which the communicators could generate visual and textual representations of the working practices in which they were engaged. I used observations of meetings and project work as a technique by which I could generate my own first impression of the communicators' working practices. I read and looked through the heterogeneous material generated thus far in preparation of the interviews and group interviews, and formulated questions aimed at getting the interviewees to tell me more about their working practices: what is happening in this photograph? Why have you made this logbook entry, and what does it say about the working practices you are engaged in? Can you describe what happened in that specific part of the meeting? In general, the questions asked by me in the interviews focused on 'how' and 'what' as opposed to 'why' (Law 2007a). This was done in an attempt to satisfy my interest in the communicators' working practices. Also, the interviews were used to connect the rather scattered field of representations generated by the communicators involved and myself. Because of my interest in located and contingent working practices I prepared a specific interview guide for each of the interviews carried out.

As previously mentioned, Bjerg Kommunikation had succeeded in engaging five government organizations in the Industrial PhD project. When I first presented my study to colleagues at CBS and elsewhere, their response was often that my ethnographic field was too big. Such a huge field is simply impossible to cover and describe ethnographically, they claimed. Although I was sympathetic to this response I wish to highlight that it entails a certain understanding of an ethnographic field as a preconfigured container of information. Hence, it is the ethnographer's job to harvest this information. The bigger the container, the more information the ethnographer has to harvest, and the more resource-demanding the task is. In doing my fieldwork I have utilized a different understanding of the ethnographic field, focusing not on a container, but on connections. I chose to stay close to the government organizations' communicators throughout the whole study and I focused on how they became connected to a wide range of human and non-human entities alike in carrying out their work. In accordance with the ontology offered by ANT I chose to understand the field and the sites making up this field as materially and discursively heterogeneous actor-networks. This implies that connections, vehicles, and attachments are at the heart of the ethnographer's explorations (Latour 2005: 220). I stayed close to the communicators and I aimed at describing how connections are made in their work, how their work is transported to other sites and how various attachments make certain things possible or impossible. One concrete technique utilized in accomplishing this aim was photo elicitation. The communicators' photographs portrayed, for instance, people, documents and pieces of information from organizational divisions other than the communication division, other organizations akin to the 'photographer's', or some completely different place. In the follow-up interviews I – generally

speaking – asked the communicators to tell me how they connected to these entities in their work and with what consequences.

In order to focus my exploration of the communicators' working practices further, I asked the communicators from each of the five government organizations involved to define a case I could follow. By case I meant a specific part of their communicative work: a specific concern (for instance internal communication), or a specific media (for instance the intranet) in which communication measurements or other ways of establishing an outcome played a part. In other words: I asked the government organizations' communicators to locate the assessment of the communicative solutions produced for me. One of the organizations involved, TAX, had done this already before the Industrial PhD project officially began. TAX's group communication project was already delineated as a case for me to follow before the Industrial PhD project began. Utilizing the notions of presence, manifest absence, and absence previously presented it can be said that TAX had reworked the boundaries between these in a way, which turned a manifest absence – here the atmosphere promoting that it is a good thing to establish the outcome of TAX's group communication project – into a presence. The practices at TAX in which an outcome of their communicative work was enacted were present and ready for me to follow. In asking the communicators at the four remaining government organizations to delineate cases, I sought to initiate the same kind of reworking in these organizations. I sought to make present the practices in which an outcome of their communicative work is enacted. This proved difficult. As mentioned in CHAPTER 01, cases in the guise of various communicative projects turned out to be impossible to carry out due to organizational disagreements concerning what constitutes 'good' government communication, or they were downgraded due to organizational restructuring. Further, as previously mentioned in this chapter, there was no external demand for making the outcome of communicative work present. And there were no established routines or procedures in which to embed practices for doing this. The consequence was that in one instance, TAX, I was able to follow a case over a longer period of time. In some instances I was able to locate and define cases during fieldwork and follow these in shorter periods of time. And in some instances a case would, for instance, be mentioned in an interview, but be impossible to follow afterwards. In this respect the empirical material generated is quite uneven. This unevenness could be regarded as a methodological failure, but it can also be seen as a manifestation of the elusiveness of the object under study, the outcome of government communication, as I have sought to argue here.

To ask the government organizations involved to delineate a case for me to follow can be understood as an attempt to make the practices in which the outcome of government

communication is enacted present. This attempt had partial success. An explorative design game developed in the latter part of the first heat of fieldwork can be understood as a second attempt at reshuffling the boundaries between presence, manifest absence, and absence. I will describe this explorative design game and discuss what it did in the following.

Objectives for developing an explorative design game

In May 2008 the second of a total of six joint meetings was coming up. These joint meetings were to secure the Industrial PhD project's propulsion and to enable Bjerg Kommunikation, the five government organizations, and myself to share experiences gained in the course of the project.

Bjerg Kommunikation and I planned this second joint meeting in collaboration and I suggested that we should develop a so-called explorative design game. I had two main objectives for developing such a game. First, and as noted, the outcome of government communication had turned out to be an elusive object. To develop and play a design game with the government organizations involved would work to secure common ground, I thought. I believed that it would play a part in establishing routines and procedures in which the outcome of government communication could be done and made present. I sensed that this was important, as the Industrial PhD project was not only about researching and understanding – it was also about innovating, meaning developing and commercializing new and better communication measurements. It was also about finding out how and which communication measurements could take part in reshuffling and stabilizing the boundaries between presence, manifest absence, and absence in a way that would turn the outcome of government communication into a more durable presence in the working practices of the communicators. Second, I had found it difficult to engage some of the communicators in the preceding and more traditional fieldwork. Quite simply, it was difficult to get the involved communicators to take part in these fieldwork activities. I will argue that the Industrial PhD project's setup played a part in this. The setup implied that the government organizations involved were Bjerg Kommunikation's clients and making up my empirical field simultaneously. Thus, the Industrial PhD project's setup can be said to have generated a divide between the communicators' engagement in consultancy practices, which are to produce an outcome of value to the communicators, and their engagement in research practices, which do not (necessarily) produce an outcome of direct value to them. Two attitudes towards this divide can be discerned. Some communicators – approximately half of those involved – argued that it is always a good and valuable thing to reflect upon and talk about what it is you do in your work. These communicators gladly and, at times, eagerly took part in the research practices. Other communicators – the remaining half – seemed to view

the research practices as a rather worthless add-on to the consultancy practices. Unsurprisingly, these communicators were less engaged in the research practices. Therefore, I wished to turn the joint meetings into fieldwork activities and I expected that I could do this with an explorative design game. In the last section of the present part of this chapter I will discuss whether these two objectives were fulfilled. First, I will describe how the design game was developed and played.

An explorative design game on communication measurements

I took the inspiration for developing a design game on communication measurements from current design practices and design research. Within these fields there is a growing interest in finding ways of engaging people from outside the design community in processes of innovating and designing new solutions or products (Binder, Brandt et al. 2008).[52] This can be done in many ways. Potential users are engaged as test panels for almost finished designs, lead users are detected and their innovative potential utilized (von Hippel 2005), ethnographic representations of potential users' everyday practices are made part of the innovative process (Shove, Watson et al. 2007 and Petersen & Damsholt 2008)[53], and potential users are directly involved in the innovative process by staging temporary design spaces. Examples of such temporary design space are explorative design games (Brandt, Messeter et al. 2008, Brandt 2006 and Brandt & Messeter 2004). Ways of engaging users are many and so are ways of developing and playing design games. Still, the article 'Formatting Design Dialogue – Game and Participation' (2008) by design researchers Eva Brandt, Jörn Messeter, and Thomas Binder offers the following five features in an attempt to give a tentative definition of participatory and explorative design games:

1. A diverse group of players are gathered around a collaborative activity guided by simple and explicit rules, assigned roles, and supported by pre-defined gaming materials;

2. The game materials typically point to existing practices, future possibilities, or both;

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[52] In Denmark so-called user-driven design or, more broadly, user-driven innovation, can be understood as a government innovation policy (see www.brugerdreveninnovation.dk, accessed 03.03. 10). Further, the Danish public sector is taking its own medicine, so to speak, by having established MindLab. MindLab is "a cross-ministerial innovation unit which involves citizens and businesses in developing new solutions for the public sector" (www.mind-lab.dk, accessed 03.03.10). CONSUME's 'mother institution', The Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs of Denmark, is engaged in MindLab and I will return to what this engagement does in the CONSUME communicators' working practices in CHAPTER 07.

[53] See especially '6: Theories and Practices of Product Design' in Shove, Watson et al. 2007 where the possible contours of what the authors term 'practice-oriented design' – a further development of the more common and more narrow approach termed 'user-centred design' – are discussed (Shove, Watson et al. 2007: 117-138).

3. The games are played within a confined and shared temporal and spatial setting often removed from the everyday context of the players;

4. The purpose of the game is to establish and explore novel configurations of the game materials and the present and future practices to which these materials point;

5. At the end of the game, the players will have produced representations of one or more possible design options (ibid.: 54).

I will use these five features to describe the game developed in this particular project.

The first three of these five features concern the game materials, the rules of the game and how the game is played. In this case I collaborated with Bjerg Kommunikation in developing a game in which the players, i.e. the communicators involved, had to make a choice between three ideal typical ways of measuring or otherwise assessing the outcome of a given communication solution: 1) investigating how a communicative solution works, 2) evaluating the quality of a communicative solution, and 3) counting the usage of a communicative solution. This choice had to be made in four ideal typical situations focusing on: 1) the vision of the organization, 2) the communication policy of the organization, 3) communication as relating managers and employees, and 4) documenting the outcome of the communication division's work. Each way of measuring communication was assigned a cost: 1) investigating equalled 40 hours, 2) evaluating equalled 30 hours, and 3) counting equalled 20 hours. Only 120 hours were at the players' disposal for carrying out all four measurements. This forced the players to choose between the three ways of measuring, and they were asked to make an argument for their choices. Further, the players were told that after the four choices were made they would be given a joker. This joker forced them to redo their initial decisions. The ideal typical ways of measuring, the ideal typical situations, the rule that forced the players to make a choice, and the joker were developed and described on the grounds of the empirical material generated beforehand. This secured the pointing of the game materials at existing practices. Bjerg Kommunikation and I wanted the players, meaning the communicators, to be able to draw on their day-to-day experiences with communicative work in playing the game. At the same time we did not want the communicators to be too enmeshed in organizational specificities. Therefore, we developed a fictional government organization, which worked as the context of the game. This fictional organization was given features shared by the five government organizations. We dubbed this organization the Agency of Important Affairs and it can be said that it constituted the playing field of the game. Thus, the game materials

consisted of four 'situation cards', which described the ideal typical situation in which the players had to make a choice between specific ways of measuring communication, a 'joker card', which described an event forcing the players to redo their initial decisions, and pens, which allowed the players to write down their arguments for choosing a specific way of measuring. In other words: in order to secure collaboration between the players we sought to constitute the game materials as 'boundary objects':

> [The game materials] need to be shared objects with a core that the game players can relate to and simultaneously to be so rich that they allow for different interpretations (Brandt 2006: 64, see also Star & Griesemer 1989).

Playing the game

In May 2008 the game was played at the joint meeting hosted by one of the involved government organizations, CONSUME. The 17 communicators present were divided into four groups who each played the game. Further, each group was assigned a facilitator. Thus, the game was played within a confined and shared temporal and spatial setting removed from the communicators' everyday working practices.

The two remaining features mentioned by Brandt, Messeter et al. 2008 address the purpose of the game ("to establish and explore novel configurations of the game materials and the present and future practices to which these materials point" (ibid.: 54)) and the result of the game ("representations of one or more possible design options" (ibid.: 54)). The game prompted a lively discussion among the players. In these discussions they drew upon experiences from their everyday work in making sense of the game materials. In that sense the game helped me to uncover the communicators' working practices. These discussions were recorded with digital voice recorders and later transcribed. The transcriptions could be understood as representations of one or more possible design options, one or more possible ways of designing communication measurements that would fit the communicators' day-to-day working practices. I use the term 'could', because this is not how I understood these transcriptions. The reason for this is that the game was played quite early on in the course of the project and therefore its aim was exploratory rather than developmental. Further, and as previously mentioned, one of my main objectives for choosing to develop and play a design game was to establish some common ground, to change register from the metaphor of performance to the metaphor of construction. The question is: did it work?

Did the design game work?

The explorative design game's first objective was to turn the outcome of government communication into a more durable presence in the working practices of the communicators involved. It was to tackle that this study is not only about researching and understanding but also about innovating. Thus, one of the assumptions made when developing this game was that the elusiveness of the object under study could be reduced or even eliminated and that the design game could take part in this. The assumption was that the design game could take part in making the manifest absent, meaning that it could take part in making the atmosphere in which assessing the outcome of communicative work is regarded as a good thing to do, present, tangible and locatable. In the practices of playing this explorative design game this assumption seemed right: the players engaged with the game materials and with each other. They were able to reach a shared understanding of the situations described on the playing cards, and they were able to reach shared decisions on how to proceed in the situations described. While playing the game, communication measurements and other ways of assessing the outcome of government communication seemed to be enacted as objects, which could be understood with construction rather than multiplicity metaphors. However, this changed as soon as the game stopped and the communicators left the meeting room at CONSUME in order to get on with their day-to-day work. As soon as the game stopped a new boundary was enacted between presence, manifest absence, and absence. In the communicators' day-to-day work, colleagues are promoted or replaced, running projects are abandoned and new projects created, and the government organizations are restructured. In regards to these day-to-day working practices, the game was an isolated event. The game did not succeed in mobilizing a wide range of actors in the manner required, if the outcome of government communication was to be stabilized as a durable presence.

The second objective was to turn the joint meetings into fieldwork activities. In developing the game I located and described situations in which communication measurements and the outcome of government communication are of importance. I did this on the grounds of the fieldwork carried out thus far. The communicators, meaning the players, recognized and engaged with these situations and this convinced me I was going in the right direction in seeking to understand and describe the working practices of the communicators. Further, the empirical material generated in the game was of value to me as it elaborated upon some differences between the five government organizations involved that I had sensed during the first heat of fieldwork, but had not yet had the opportunity to address.

The explorative design game is one example of how I sought to combine more than one subject-object configuration in doing research in the setup of the Industrial PhD project. It is

also an example of how the configurations gained and lost strength in the course of the study. In planning, developing and playing the design game two configurations – one focusing on researching and understanding the communicators' working practices, and one focusing on developing and commercializing new and better communication measurements – peacefully intermingled. After the game was played the communicators went back to their day-to-day work. A consequence was that the configuration emphasizing innovating communication measurements withered away, while the configuration interested in researching and understanding the communicators' working practices was still strong. It could, for instance, feed off the transcriptions of the groups' discussions.

A guide on measuring communication

Before describing what went on in the second heat of fieldwork I will jump ahead of myself to the third heat of fieldwork to make a brief comment. The reason for this is that a similar analysis with a similar conclusion can be made of a guide on measuring communication, which Bjerg Kommunikation and I created in collaboration, and which was presented at the third joint meeting in December 2008. This guide on measuring communication can easily be compared with the explorative design game on undertaking communication measurements from the first heat. Both are effects of the knowing subject being constituted in a place of multiplicity in this study. In doing the guide I sought to combine undertaking traditional research (doing a preliminary ordering of my empirical material), intervening by insisting on the messy nature of public administration and management (I insisted on making five preliminary modes of ordering part of the guide), and being worth the money Bjerg Kommunikation invested in the study (doing a prototype, meaning the guide, of a new and better way to measure or otherwise assess the outcomes of communicative solutions). The design game and the guide both sought to construct a common understanding of what communication measurements are and where and how they can be used. The guide outlined three entangled steps one must go through when measuring or otherwise assessing communicative solutions. Bjerg Kommunikation and I asked the government organizations to test the guide by using it in their working practices, but the guide was left almost untouched. Thus, the game and the guide both failed to turn the outcome of government communication into a durable presence. Two different conclusions can be drawn. One possible conclusion is that the game and the guide were simply not strong enough to mobilize a wide range of actors in a way needed if the outcome of government communication was to become a durable presence. The second conclusion is that there is something to the communicators' working practices, which defies the outcome of government communication to become a durable presence. I have chosen to go along with the second conclusion, and this is why I term my object of study, the outcome of government communication, an elusive object.

Heat #2: ordering empirical material

After this first heat of fieldwork I decided to undertake a preliminary analysis of the empirical material generated. As mentioned, the first, explorative heat of fieldwork started almost immediately after the Industrial PhD project began. Before embarking on the third heat's more focused fieldwork, I felt it would be a good idea to take a look at the empirical material generated so far and to engage with the field of research I was seeking to contribute to, namely public administration and management.

As mentioned in CHAPTER 2, one of the most striking features of the empirical material generated so far was that it contained a plethora of 'both-and' statements. The government organizations were talked about as crazily fast, as modern, and as dynamic in one sentence, and as subjected to slower procedures, as bureaucratic, and as hierarchical in the following sentence. Thus, in this second heat of fieldwork the challenge was to handle these both-and statements analytically and, no less challenging, how to make these both-and statements part of the development of new and better communication measurements.

Handling both-and statements – analytically and in an innovative process

Within the field of organization studies the "idea […] that any 'single' organization is comprised of a plurality of co-existing logics, projects or attempts to order" (Jensen 2008: 196) is currently gaining prominence. I see the many both-and statements as indicating that such logics, projects or attempts to order coexist in the government organizations involved in the present study.

The question is: what are these logics, projects or attempts to order more precisely, and how many are there? In CHAPTER 2 I argued for the analytical fruitfulness of working with John Law's concept 'modes of ordering' in understanding and describing the communicators' working practices. The concept of modes of ordering offers a way to grasp and analyze the attempts to order at stake in the communicators' working practices. This answers the 'what' question. In the chapter following the present one, CHAPTER 04, I will describe four specific modes of ordering that I have developed and put to work in the present study. This answers the 'how many' question. But why have I chosen to work with exactly four modes of ordering? Why not 19, for instance? Law, who also works with four modes of ordering in his study of the Daresbury research laboratory, has been confronted with this question. He deals with it by stating that we are encountering "the problem of imputation" (Law 1994: 86-89, 2000: 23-26) when being asked this 'how many' question:

[…] the question is, how big are the blocks, the ordering patterns that tell and perform themselves in the networks? The answer is that there is no ultimate answer. It depends on what we are trying to do" (Law 1994: 88-89).

If this is the case, then what was I trying to do with these four modes of ordering in this specific study? As with the design game the answer is that the setup of the Industrial PhD project prompted me to attempt to do a number of different things at the same time. I was doing three things simultaneously in this second heat of fieldwork, which enacted me in three different subject-object configurations. First, I was trying to impute "regularities or patterns to endlessly complex empirical materials" (Law 2000: 23-24). I did this in an attempt to formulate an understanding of how the five government organizations involved produce and assess communicative solutions. This understanding was formulated in an attempt to contribute to current research on public administration and management. These endeavours enacted me as a traditional research subject. Second, I was trying to impute more than one mode of ordering to my empirical material. I was doing this in response to this material, and in response to a tendency within current research to take an epochalizing approach to public administration and management, which was outlined and discussed in CHAPTER 2. I am imputing more than one mode of ordering, because I believe it is of vital importance to our understanding and ways of organizing public administration and management that we find ways to handle the coexistence of various attempts to order. Thus, here I was enacted as an interventionist researcher. Third, I took part in developing new and better ways of measuring communication. My ambition was to make the coexistence of ordering attempts in the communicators' working practices part of these innovation processes, and to work with the involved government organizations as comprised by a range of coexisting modes of ordering. Bjerg Kommunikation was sympathetic to this idea, but I also soon sensed they were getting a bit annoyed with my well-you-cannot-compare-those-incidents-really-as-different-logics-are-at-stake arguments. This annoyance on their part animated me to order the incidents. To do this would make my research more valuable, I hoped, to Bjerg Kommunikation, here in the sense of potential for commercialization. I sought to be a valuable employee to Bjerg Kommunikation and this implied going from talking about the endless complexity of incidents encountered during fieldwork to talking about certain patterns in these incidents. Further, 19 patterns would not do. It would be difficult to disseminate 19 patterns to Bjerg Kommunikation. Four seemed a more reasonable number to try to disseminate. Thus, I was also enacted as a researcher with an obligation to turn his research into something that could be commercialized.

Partial ordering

In this second heat of fieldwork I had three simultaneous and interfering concerns: making a contribution to the research field of contemporary public administration and management, challenging an epochalizing approach to public administration and management, and producing research of commercial value to Bjerg Kommunikation. Hence, I was enacted as a knowing subject in three different subject-object configurations. I found that developing four modes of ordering was a way to make these concerns and configurations coexist rather peacefully.

Law's modes of ordering are part of what he terms a modest sociology. A modest sociology is one that acknowledges the partiality of its own ordering attempts and makes transparent wherein this partiality lies (Law 1994: 9). Accordingly, I will not pretend that the orderings done in this thesis are complete. I will seek to bring forward their partiality and the conditions that made them possible and adequate. The description above is one attempt at doing this. It is a description of how the four modes of ordering came into being in a rather peaceful and productive interference between the three configurations produced by the setup of the Industrial PhD project.

Earlier in this section I stated that four modes of ordering have been put to work in the present study. This is not completely accurate. In this second heat of fieldwork I worked with a number of different modes of ordering. I discussed sketches of modes of ordering with my university supervisors and with Bjerg Kommunikation, and I presented them at conferences. At the end of the second heat of fieldwork this work amounted to five preliminary modes of ordering. I wished to discuss these modes of ordering with the communicators involved, and this is what I did in the third and last heat of fieldwork.

Heat #3: putting descriptions at risk

The third heat of fieldwork went on from December 2008 to July 2009. It got off the ground at the third joint meeting in December 2008, which, as mentioned, entailed a guide on measuring communication produced by Bjerg Kommunikation and I in collaboration. This guide included five preliminary modes of ordering and they were presented at the joint meeting. This presentation was the first step in putting these five modes at risk in the third heat of fieldwork. By this I mean that the third heat entailed encouraging the communicators involved to challenge and elaborate upon the five preliminary modes of ordering. I will now describe how I sought to do this and the results of this process.

Asking the 'right' questions

One of the main reasons why I have utilized Mol's notion of 'ontological politics' and Law's idea of the knowing subject as constituted in a place of multiplicity is to underscore that I understand any scientific endeavour and the descriptions this endeavour amounts to as an intervention. Mol and Law both highlight, in the words of STS researcher Signe Vikkelsø, that "no description leaves the described untouched, as the object and the agency of observation are inseparable" (Vikkelsø 2007: 302). In other words they highlight that practices of knowing and practices of becoming are intertwined (Barad 2003: 812). In CHAPTER 02 I emphasized this by using verbs to describe the different approaches to public administration and management: in their specific and different ways of observing and describing, these approaches have agency and do something to the object under study, in this case public administration and management. This being the case, the next question is: what constitutes a good description? Philosopher of science Isabelle Stengers and psychologist and philosopher Vinciane Despret have discussed this question (see for instance Stengers 1997 and Despret 2004) and Bruno Latour utilizes their work in developing what he terms "The Stengers-Despret Falsification Principle" (Latour 2004: 214-224). The most important feature of this principle is that the researcher must put the questions raised to the entities under study – human and non-human alike – at risk. This means asking the entities under study whether they are being asked the 'right' questions, meaning questions that turn them into entities that can articulate well. The entities under study must be given the possibility to resist the researcher's investigatory setup, including the researcher's way of questioning. The investigatory setup must be configured as to "maximize the recalcitrance of those you interrogate" (ibid.: 217).

The vital part of my investigatory setup in this third heat of fieldwork was the five preliminary modes of ordering. And I sought to give the involved communicators the possibilities to resist these five preliminary modes of ordering in the fieldwork conducted in this third heat.

Attempts at fostering recalcitrance

I tried to put the preliminary modes of ordering at risk in three steps. First, for each of the five preliminary modes of ordering I asked the involved communicators to take a photograph, to pick an object (a document, a technology, an office space etc.), or a colleague that to them illustrated the mode of ordering in question. I also asked them to take a photograph, to pick an object or a colleague that was of importance to them in their work, but that they could not relate to one of the five modes of ordering. I emphasized that the five modes of ordering are entangled. Thus, the same photograph, object, or colleague could relate to more than one mode of ordering. Second, I suggested to the communicators that we did a 'work and talk'.

The idea was to work and talk with my contact person from each of the five government organizations involved for a day. My aim was to get a hold of more heterogeneous entities and their effects in the practices of producing and assessing communicative solutions. This 'work and talk' method was inspired by anthropologists Tim Ingold and Jo Lee's suggestion to walk with people in an attempt to reach a shared understanding of these people's life worlds, which they develop in their article 'Fieldwork on Foot: Perceiving, Routing, Socializing' (2006). Ingold and Lee's methodological point is that in comparison with a research interview the walk and talk method is less confrontational and more companionable. Inspired by Ingold and Lee's walk and talk method, ethnologist Marie Sandberg has developed an ethnographic method she terms 'walking conversations'. Sandberg questions Ingold and Lee's phenomenological approach by pointing out that that to 'walk with' people is not, necessarily, to 'walk into' these people's heads or thoughts (Sandberg 2009: 82). I concur with Sandberg's critique of Ingold and and Lee's basic assumptions. Whereas Ingold and Lee develop walk and talks as a vehicle to reach a shared understanding of people's life worlds, I used what I term 'work and talks' as a vehicle for getting hold of the heterogeneous entities that constitute the communicator in question and her/his work. The third and final step was follow-up interviews, which elaborated upon the material generated thus far.

Before embarking on these three activities I presented them to the communicators involved at the joint meeting in December 2008 and at meetings with the contact person and other communicators involved at each of the five government organizations. All agreed to participate in these fieldwork activities and found the amount of resources their participation would demand reasonable. Still, as it was the case in the first heat of fieldwork, it proved difficult to carry out these activities as envisioned. A number of the communicators involved participated in all the activities, others participated in some, and yet others did not participate in any. Some of the reasons for this unevenness in the communicators' participation were a general busyness on the part of the communicators, communication projects that were downgraded, organizational restructuring and the implementation of new, politically decided reforms. As mentioned in the part on the first heat of fieldwork it most probably was also the case that the specific setup of this Industrial PhD project created a divide between the value-adding consultancy activities and the resource-demanding research activities. For instance, at one of the meetings a newly appointed head of communication kept asking what they would get out of taking part in these fieldwork activities. I was unable to give a clear answer to this 'cost-benefit' question.

By way of the explorative design game and the guide on measuring communication I sought to combine the three subject-object configurations, which can be utilized to understand how I

have been constituted as a knowing subject in this study. In asking the communicators to find entities they could or could not relate to the five preliminary modes of ordering, in undertaking the work and talks, and in carrying out the follow-up interviews, I sought to let the configuration that creates a relation between an object to be researched and a subject that researches this object be dominant. I sought to be enacted as a traditional researcher. As the example with the 'cost-benefit' question shows, I did not always succeed in this. Configurations cannot – at least not all the time – be jumped between, prioritized or downgraded, or combined productively at the researcher's will. A configuration – here the configuration which seeks to order research practices in a way that renders clear their potential for commercialization and direct value – meddles and makes certain constitutions of the knowing subject possible while rendering others impossible. To me, it makes perfect sense to say that to do good research is to maximize the recalcitrance of those you interrogate. However, an important point is that it demands resources of those you interrogate to express their recalcitrance. In this third heat it can be said that a commercializing configuration worked against the mobilization of these resources.

Concluding remarks: configurations giving way to each other

In the present chapter I have given an account of how the object of study, the outcome of government communication, was described and enacted during my fieldwork. I described the object of study as manifestly absent and I have shown how the fieldwork practices dealt with this object of study and with what effects. Concerning the fieldwork practices I have argued that different subject-object configurations can be imputed to these practices and to the research practices more generally. As a consequence, the fieldwork practices dealt with the manifestly absent object of study in different ways with different effects.

Looking across the three heats of fieldwork two different sets of fieldwork activities doing two different things to the object of study seemed to be at stake. One set of fieldwork activities sought to turn the outcome of government communication into a more durable presence. Concrete fieldwork activities that sought to do this were the explorative design game, and the guide on measuring communication. In these fieldwork activities the three subject-object configurations – the traditional, the interventionist, and the commercializing researcher – coexisted rather peacefully, but with the commercializing researcher as the strongest configuration. The traditional and interventionist configurations went along and accommodated the commercializing researchers attempts to turn the outcome of government communication into a more durable presence. However, the explorative design game worked in an isolated space only, and the guide on measuring communication was largely left untouched. The communicators seemed able to do their work perfectly well without the

games and the guide. This unsettled the commercializing researcher: if there was no need to turn the outcome of government communication into a more durable presence, then how could he contribute with insights that could be commercialized? In contrast, the isolated success of the explorative design game and the untouched guide were intriguing to the traditional and the interventionist researchers: maybe it was the ongoing reshuffling of the boundaries between presence, manifest absence, and absence that made the working practices of the communicators work? This question was explored in the second set of fieldwork activities. A concrete fieldwork activity that contributed to this was the introduction of modes of ordering as the study's vital analytical tool. Modes of ordering describe different ordering attempts, and it can be said that these ordering attempts craft and enact the boundaries between presence, manifest absence, and absence differently. Bjerg Kommunikation was sympathetic to the idea and the communicators involved recognized and took part in further developing the initial modes of ordering. In these fieldwork practices the traditional and interventionist configurations teamed up, while the commercializing researcher – maybe unwillingly – went along without really knowing where this would leave its ambition to develop communication measurements that could be commercialized.

My point here is that the three subject-object configurations do not coexist peacefully by default – there was tension between them. But in the course of this study and the specific methodological choices it entailed they have been made to coexist peacefully. They gave way to each other. In the above I have sought to show how this peaceful coexistence was achieved in a complex interplay between the Industrial PhD project's partners, and how this achievement is inseparable from the object of study.

In the analytical chapters, CHAPTERS 05, 06, and 07, I will explore the multiplicity of government communication further by way of four situated modes of ordering. In the following chapter, CHAPTER 04, I will developed and describe these four modes of ordering.

[…] I think of [the four modes of ordering] as fairly regular patterns that may be usefully imputed for certain purposes to the recursive networks of the social

(Law 1994: 83).

CHAPTER 04: four situated modes of ordering

The three preceding chapters share one argument. They all argue that it is possible to impute certain ordering patterns to the working practices of the communicators involved. In CHAPTER 03 I further showed how I have chosen to work with four such patterns, four modes of ordering, in an attempt to make the different versions of the researcher coexist peacefully in the present study. But what are these four patterns? In this chapter I will answer this question by sketching out these four modes of ordering in an ideal typical manner. Thus, the present chapter is the first shot at saying something more about the working practices of the communicators than that they are an instance of multiplicity. It is a first shot at describing wherein this multiplicity lies. In the analytical chapters to follow I will describe how this multiplicity unfurls in the working practices of the communicators.

The chapter encompasses three parts. In the first part I will discuss the relationship between the four specific modes of ordering that John Law develops and utilizes in his study of the Daresbury Laboratory and the four specific modes of ordering utilized in the present study.[54] In the second part, which is the main part of this chapter, I describe the four specific modes of ordering I will impute to the communicators' working practices in the analytical chapters to follow. In the third and last part I will sum up and offer some tentative reflections on how the four modes of ordering utilized in the present study deal with one another.

From Daresbury to five government organizations

John Law's concept of 'mode of ordering' is the vital, analytical concept utilized in this study's multiplying approach to the working practices of the government communicators involved. Law describes specific modes of ordering as the researcher's "tools for sensemaking […] that may usefully do certain jobs for certain purposes" (Law 1994: 84).[55] This implies that specific

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[54] And, one might add, that he utilizes in understanding the research practices he himself is engaged in (Law 1994: 89-91). The thought of modes of ordering being imputable not only to the laboratory's research practices but also to the research practices Law is engaged in himself is a thought pursued further in Law 2000, as we saw in CHAPTER 03.

[55] Law's notion of 'sensemaking' should not be confused with the one utilized by organization theorist Karl E. Weick. Weick focuses on sensemaking in organizations and says that to "talk about sensemaking is to talk about reality as an ongoing accomplishment that takes form when people make retrospective sense of the situations in which they find themselves and their creations" (Weick 1995: 15).

modes of ordering are to be seen as situated (Haraway 1991). By this I mean that in understanding why the four modes of ordering have been developed as they have, one must take into consideration how the study in an ongoing manner relates not only to 'research', but also, for instance, to Bjerg Kommunikation, the five involved government organizations, and what can be termed the political environment or political discourses. Thus, choosing to work with modes of ordering can be understood as a matter of what STS scholar Casper Brunn Jensen has termed "sorting attachments" (Jensen 2007).

The first two of my four modes of ordering, Enterprise and Administration, I adopt from Law's study of the Daresbury Laboratory. I am stressing the situated nature of these modes of ordering, so how is it possible for me to adopt these into the present study? Concerning Enterprise, Law describes this mode of ordering as "the enactment and embodiment of a kind of lingua franca, a spatial, architectural and stylistic Esperanto of enterprise as it hits the road and flits tirelessly across time zones; as it goes frontstage to perform itself." (Law 1994: 169). By adopting Enterprise, I suggest that this Esperanto of the mode of ordering Enterprise is also embodied and enacted in the working practices of the government communicators involved. Concerning Administration, this mode of ordering draws on Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy and I will argue that in spite of the many attempts at "enterprising up" (du Gay 2004b: 48) Danish public sector organizations, this ideal type still comprises valuable analytical resources when seeking to understand the workings of the government organizations involved.

Still, what happens in adopting two concepts, two theoretical tools or resources, developed in a different time, a different space, and a different study with aims and preoccupations that are different from those of the present study? I have already established that I do not understand Law's Enterprise and Administration modes of ordering as "immutable mobiles" (see for instance Latour 1990: 7-13). They do change when they are translated into this specific study, because they become related to other aims and preoccupations, other human and non-human actors. However, although bits and pieces of what constitutes Enterprise and Administration as modes of ordering in Law's study and in the present study might be different, I wish to suggest that the modes of ordering keep doing (much of) the same work. I wish to suggest that as modes of ordering Enterprise and Administration can be described as fluid objects. A fluid object is an object that "retains its shape as it flows, in different network configurations, into different Euclidean locations" (Law & Mol 2001: 614, see also de Laet & Mol 2000). I am not saying that because reality is fluid, messy, and slippery our concepts for approaching this reality should also be messy and slippery. On the contrary: a fluid object does the same work

in these different Euclidean spaces because it is fluid. "It is a *mutable mobile*" (Law & Mol 2001: 613, emphasis in original).

Law's *Organizing Modernity* (1994) and the present study share an interest in understanding how public sector organizations work and how they are managed. However, this study's empirical field is not a research laboratory. And the present study is not about how a research laboratory is managed in the era of Thatcherism. It deals with an empirical field different from the laboratory and seeks to understand a different empirical case of multiplicity. It is about five government organizations' production and assessment of communicative solutions. Therefore, I depart from Law's study of the Daresbury Laboratory here and dismiss Law's two remaining modes of ordering, Vision and Vocation. Instead, I need to develop one or more modes of ordering, which address how the government organizations under scrutiny assess the outcome of given communicative solutions. I will develop two modes of ordering that live up to these criteria, drawing upon social science and philosophical research into commensuration as a social process and incommensurability. I have entitled these two modes of ordering Commensuration and Incommensuration.

Four modes of ordering: a description

Before embarking on a description of the four modes of ordering I will outline which characteristics I will focus upon in this description and I will clarify how I utilize my empirical material in developing it.

In *Organizing Modernity* (Law 1994) a checklist concludes the two chapters 'Irony, Contingency and the Mode of Ordering' (ibid.: 73-93) and 'Contingency, Materialism and Discourse' (ibid.: 94-114) in which Law develops and describes his four specific modes of ordering most explicitly. The checklist is of "the kinds of patterning effects for which we might search if we go out looking for modes of ordering" (ibid.: 110). It is a condensed version of *Organizing Modernity*'s overall attempt to "create a tool for imputing patterns to the networks of the social that treats with materials in all their heterogeneity as effects rather than as primitive causes" (ibid.: 112). Law mentions many patterning effects. Among them are effects in terms of forms of representation, distributions, and a characteristic set of resources. Still, this checklist is not exhaustive. It has a preliminary and testing feel to it and Law underscores that there may be other patterning effects (ibid.: 110).

Condensing this checklist further, I will focus on two vital traits or two vital patterning effects for each of the four modes of ordering: the organizational manifestation and the

organizational actor that the mode of ordering in question seeks to foster and is fostered by.[56] I will, in other words, focus my description around each mode of ordering's ideal organizational manifestation and ideal organizational actor. However, in practice these ideals will never be realized as I, in alignment with Law's argument, "don't think that ordering ever turns into orders" (ibid.: 79). Additionally, I will mention the key inspirational theorists for each mode of ordering, as I wish to underscore that the four modes of ordering presented here are not identified in a reading of the empirical material exclusively.[57] They are developed in an ongoing sorting of attachments to theoretical inspiration, empirical material, and political discourses.

In clarifying my usage of empirical material in the present chapter and throughout the present thesis, a good place to start is Annemarie Mol's notion of 'empirical philosophy' (Mol 2002a, 2008).[58] In carrying out the present study I have been inspired by this notion. Mol describes empirical philosophy as a philosophical mode in which "knowledge is not understood as a matter of reference [as in traditional philosophy], but as one of manipulation. The driving question no longer is 'how to find the truth?' but 'how are objects handled in practice?'" (Mol 2002a: 5). As a consequence, "practices are foregrounded" (ibid.: 5) in the empirical investigations, and by way of these empirical investigations Mol makes the philosophical and theoretical point that objects are multiple, meaning that they are enacted in different versions in different, sociomaterial practices. As already alluded to, Mol coins the notion of empirical philosophy in contrast to the traditional mode of philosophical inquiry where "philosophers blocked themselves off from the mundanities and tried to argue by reasoning alone" (Mol 2008: 10). Mol's juxtaposing of empirical philosophy and traditional philosophy might be a bit rigid, but the important point here is that it directs our attention to a relationship of interdependency between 'the theoretical' and 'the empirical'.

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[56] These two traits can be found in Law's checklist but more clearly they structure Law's ideal typical presentation of his four modes of ordering (Law 1994: 75-82). In Sandberg 2009 ethnologist Marie Sandberg offers another condensation of Law's checklist. Sandberg, concerned with describing how the border between Germany and Poland is administrated, organized and mobilized in various practices, outlines four important characteristics of Law's modes of ordering: 1) What is ordered?, 2) What is the ideal actor?, 3) What is 'the good'?, and 4) How and with which funds or tools can this 'good' be obtained? (ibid.: 129). The most important difference between Sandberg's four characteristics and my understanding of Law's modes of ordering is that I do not understand Law's modes of ordering as each ordering something specific (Sandberg's first characteristic). They all take part in ordering the five involved government organizations, their respective work and the materially and discursively heterogeneous entities and actors involved in these working practices. If each mode of ordering were understood as ordering something specific this would imply diversity and rule out the possibility of multiplicity, i.e. that some entities might best be grasped as multiple objects (Mol 2002a: 5-6). Analytically, I wish to keep up the possibility of diversity and multiplicity.
[57] I take this idea of a mode of ordering having key inspirational theorists from Law & Moser 1999.
[58] Recently, STS researcher Christopher Gad has developed empirical philosophy as an analytical approach: see Gad 2009b. Here I am interested in discussing how empirical philosophy sees and makes use of empirical material.

In my empirical investigations I have foregrounded practices and I have explored how different versions of a 'good' outcome of government communication are enacted in practice. It does not make sense to claim that I have work either through theory or through empirical material. Further, I do not view the divide between 'the theoretical' and 'the empirical' as fixed – they do different things to each other as they become connected in different ways throughout the present thesis: theoretical insights solve practical problems with making sense of empirical material, empirical material underscores the adequacy of the theoretical insights chosen, and theoretical insights afford specific ways of analyzing empirical material, while rendering others impossible. In my view, the analytical potential lies in letting theoretical insights and empirical material do different things to each other. Accordingly, I present and use the empirical material in different ways throughout this thesis.

In CHAPTERS 01 and 02 I gave accounts of my initial encounters with the government organizations involved and their working practices. I made sense of these initial observations by way of the theoretical idea that different versions of a 'good' outcome of government communication might coexist in the working practices of the communicators. I sought to convey that this idea of coexistence could be used as a "principle for organizing" (Latour & Woolgar 1986: 45) my initial encounters. Here the empirical material was presented and used as something that poses analytical challenges. These challenges can only be met by making a choice: with what theoretical insights will I meet this challenge? I have chosen to meet this specific challenge with theoretical insights and analytical resources drawn mainly from the field of multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses, most notably Law's notion of mode of ordering.

In the present chapter my aim is different: I wish to offer an ideal typical description of the four specific modes of ordering utilized in this study. This aim implies that the empirical material is presented and used as illustrations of the theoretical choices made. The question is: is it possible to illustrate those choices by way of empirical material? It can be said that the empirical material is presented as 'loyal' to the theoretical choices made. I have chosen particularly illustrative snippets of empirical material and constructed two stories (Jensen 2008: 197), which each convey the coexistence of two modes of ordering.

In the analytical chapters to follow I will offer thick descriptions (Geertz 1973) of how these different modes of ordering perform different versions of a 'good' outcome of government communication and how these different versions unfurl and interfere in the working practices of the communicators. In developing these descriptions I draw upon the modes of ordering described in the present chapter. They function as analytical resources and the empirical

material is used and presented as something that can be made sense of with these analytical resources chosen. But, crucially, the limits of the analytical resources should also be addressed: what do these afford me to understand and where do they limit my understanding?

In the following I will describe the four modes of ordering that are utilized in the present study. I will do this in an ideal typical fashion and focus my description on the organizational manifestation and organizational actor that each mode of ordering seeks to foster and is fostered by. Further, I will discuss the key theoretical inspiration for each mode of ordering. In the format of two stories I will present empirical material that is loyal to the choice of theoretical inspiration made and that highlights vital features of each of the four modes of ordering. The first story illustrates two modes of ordering, Administration and Enterprise, by way of a collision between need for speed and rule-following in working practices unfolding at FOOD.

Story #1: a collision between need for speed and rule-following

In the first interview with Søren, a communicator working in FOOD's Communication Division and assigned the task of being the project's contact person, we talk about the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries' Communication Policy. The communication policy is from 2002 and it applies to the ministerial department, and to the agencies and the directorates that make up the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries as a group.[59] Thus, it applies to FOOD.[60] A paragraph headlined "Developing Competencies" offers a diagnosis of what communication is about in FOOD today:

> Communication has developed from being about writing nicely about the institution [the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries] or specific cases in publications or press releases to also being able to handle collaborators, counsel professionals and managers, formulate business goals and develop strategies on the level of managing directors and the minister (Fødevarministeriet 2002: 3).[61]

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[59] The ministerial group includes the ministerial department, the Danish Plant Directory, the Danish Food Industry Agency, the Danish Directorate of Fisheries, and the Danish Veterinary and Food Administration (FOOD). FOOD is the government organization involved in the Industrial PhD project.

[60] That one communication policy applies to all the organizations in a ministerial group is not always the case. Although CONSUME and GOVERN are – like FOOD – part of larger ministerial groups they have their own communication policies and strategies. This also applies to the TAX Group. Here the whole TAX Group is involved in the Industrial PhD project, but the Danish Tax and Customs administration has its own communication policy.

[61] In Danish: Kommunikation har flyttet sig fra at være et spørgsmål om at skrive pænt om institutionen eller enkeltsager i publikationer og pressemeddelelser til også at kunne håndtere samarbejdspartnere, rådgive fagfolk og ledere, formulere forretningsmæssige mål samt udvikle strategier på direktions- og ministerniveau.

I ask Søren if this development in communicative work from being about writing nicely about the institution and its work to being about what can be called strategic communication, meaning communicative work that is coupled to the organization's business goals (Petersen 2002), is something he has experienced in his concrete work. He answers that he experiences the development as being raised as a problem in his work. The question is: how to do it? For instance: how to handle collaborators? Or how to formulate goals and develop strategies? It can be said that in Søren's opinion the communication policy's representation of current communicative work in FOOD is different from his perception of the working practices he is currently part of:

> **Søren**: It's not my experience that we've developed communication from being a question about writing nicely to being about working more broadly in the sense it's described here [in the communication policy] (FOOD, interview, 22.05.08).

I ask him why this is the case – why has communication not developed towards the more strategic? In response, Søren talks about culture, about habits, about personalities and about types of managers. It is a question of generations as well, he notes, and elaborates:

> **Søren**: Those, who sit and manage here and there [in FOOD] today, they became managers because they were good at making considerations of cases in accordance with the rules. They're not project-minded and value-based and oriented towards development in the same way as one in the younger generations might be. It's got something to do with the management team becoming younger, slowly, and thinking more of this type of processes. Values and goals... (ibid.).

So, according to Søren there is a difference here. A difference between an older generation preoccupied with due process and a younger generation preferring work to be organized in projects, to be based on certain values, to be goal-oriented, and to be oriented not towards following the rules and regulations of due process, but towards doing things better, towards change, development and optimization.

I begin the interview with stressing that I am interested in how Søren's work is done in practice, and Søren comes up with an example of how this difference between an older and a younger generation is acted out in practice. He tells me about a meeting he attended last week. The Personnel Manager hosted this meeting and it involved some employees from the Personnel Division and employees from the Communication Division where Søren works himself. Among other things the meeting was about the Personnel Manager wishing to assign a new employee, who is to take care of the Personnel Division's communication. In the

interview, Søren describes this as a sign of communication not being an integrated part of the Personnel Manager's work. This is in opposition to the communication policy, which emphasizes the managers' obligation to ensure that communication is part of the agency's problem-solving and that communication is prioritized in comparison with the employees' other tasks (Fødevarministeriet 2002: 3). Søren goes on to report on a dialogue between the aforementioned Personnel Manager and a younger employee, which took place at the meeting:

> **Young employee**: When I'm writing an e-mail to one of the regional veterinary and food administration centres why is it that I've got to send it to their regional inbox first, then the e-mail will go to the Secretariat, then it'll go to the to managers' level, and then to the deputy manager…? Why must the e-mail go through so many levels? Often it takes a week from [when] I press send to the e-mail reaching its recipient. It just doesn't work!
> **Personnel manager**: That's the way things are. That's the rules. There're some levels we must go through in order to do things correctly (ibid.)!

Søren explains that he understands this dialogue as a very concrete collision between an older and a younger employee. "The personnel manager was focused on the rules – the younger employee on speed. These are two different ways of thinking communication," he concludes (ibid.).

In this interview Søren comments on some differences that are embedded and performed in the working practices he is involved in at FOOD. First, the communication policy is not a representation of his work with communication – there is a difference between these two, Søren stresses. Still, the communication policy is part of his work. Not as some sort of mirror of his working practices, but as an entity taking part in making a difference between what his work at FOOD is and what his work at FOOD should be. Second, FOOD is not homogeneous. According to Søren there are cultures, there are habits, there are personalities, and there are types of management. There are different opinions about how to make FOOD work, and there are different practices that make FOOD work. The young employee sees a decrease in the time it takes for an e-mail to reach its recipient as one way to make FOOD work better. She identifies and performs a need for speed. The older employee sees and performs following the rules as essential for making FOOD work. He does this with reference to the existing organizational levels acted out in FOOD's daily operations. He is, in other words, praising and performing bureaucracy because it, to him, is the only way to make FOOD work in a legitimate manner.

In accordance with the multiplying approach to public administration and management utilized in this study I do not wish to reify the differences identified by Søren. I do not wish to take them as a vantage point for my analysis. Instead, the question is: how do these differences come into being?[62] In the following I suggest that these differences can be understood as effects of the recursive and contingent performance of and interference between two different modes of ordering: Administration and Enterprise.

This completes the first of the present chapter's two stories, which I will use in describing the four modes of ordering utilized in this study. In the two following sections I will give a description of the two modes of ordering, Administration and Enterprise, which can be imputed to the working practices unfolding in this first story.

Mode of ordering #1: Administration

A mode of ordering is "told, performed, embodied and represented – for the verb will vary – in materials that are partly but only partly social in the narrow, usual, sociological sense of the term. Or, to put it another way, I assume that the social world is materially heterogeneous" (Law 1994: 23). Administration is such a mode of ordering. It is a bureaucratic mode of ordering, meaning that it tells of, performs, embodies and represents a "perfectly well-regulated organization" (ibid.: 77). Everything – human and non-human entities and actors alike – plays the roles assigned to them by organizational, hierarchical structures. They all follow the rules. For instance, by way of organization charts, which can be found on the websites of each of the five government organizations involved, Administration tells of, represents and performs the organizations involved as perfectly well-regulated. These organization charts define the most important elements and divisions that make up the organization, and they define a specific relationship between these elements and divisions. As we saw in the story above, e-mails, for instance, do not 'jump' between the organizational levels, represented by the organization chart, as they please – they jump one level at a time only.

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[62] For a discussion of this non-essentialist and performative approach to difference, see Munro 1997.
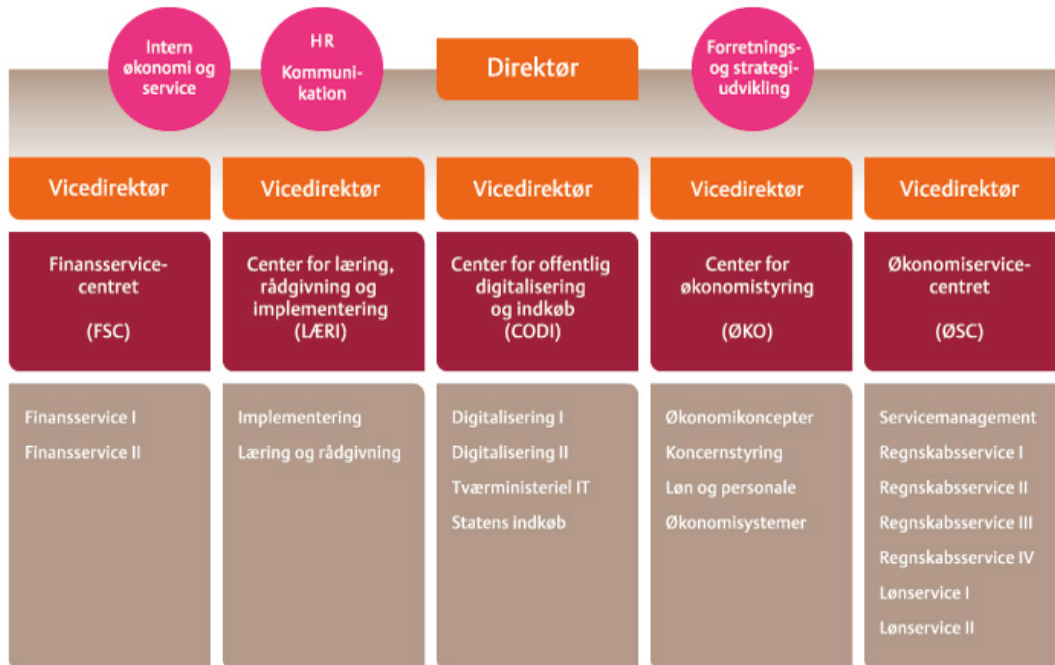
Figure 2: Organization chart of GOVERN (www.oes.dk, accessed 21.12.2009)
This is an especially colourful example of an organization chart. GOVERN consists of five centres (the dark red boxes) each assigned with a list of tasks (the beige boxes). Each centre has a deputy director (the five orange boxes on top of the dark red ones). Then there is the executive director (the top orange box). The three pink circles (from left: Internal economy and service, HR and Communication, and Business strategy and development) support the core business of GOVERN: supporting and developing efficiency and good financial management within the area of public administration. The communicators I have been following at GOVERN work within the second supportive pink circle: HR and Communication.

Administration as a mode of ordering attempts to embody and perform an ideal actor committed to due process and not, for instance, personal likes or dislikes. The key inspirational theorist for Administration is sociologist Max Weber and his ideal type of bureaucracy. About the ideal actor of this ideal type, Weber says:

It is decisive for the modern loyalty to an office that, in the pure type, it does not establish a relationship to a person […], but rather to impersonal and functional purposes (Weber 1978: 959).[63]

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[63] In Paul du Gay's view this modern loyalty to an office is under siege because of current reforms of the public sector. This argument is developed at length in du Gay 2000. See also du Gay 2007: 109-118.

However, as Law stresses, this should not lead us to understand civil servants as passive rule-followers. This may be how civil servants are seen and understood from the viewpoints of other modes of ordering, for instance Enterprise, but Administration generates "special actors, actors who will creatively conform" (Law 1994: 78).

When the personnel manager we met in the story above talks about the way things are to be done if they are to be done correctly, by which he means in accordance with the rules, and when he talks about adhering to organizational levels, he seeks to order FOOD and the work this organization does in a specific way with specific patterning effects. I will, in agreement with Law, term this way of ordering Administration. Administration's organizational manifestation is the perfectly well-regulated organization and this manifestation fosters and is fostered by an organizational actor focused on due process. From Administration's point of view this is the only way to secure legitimacy.

When taking Søren's accounts of his work into consideration Administration seems challenged – or at least a bit irritated – by another mode of ordering, which can be imputed to the working practices unfurling at FOOD. This second mode of ordering I will – again in agreement with Law – term Enterprise, and a description of this mode of ordering follows.

Mode of ordering #2: Enterprise

Understood as a mode of ordering, Enterprise is all about resources. It is about the resources allocated to or attracted by a given employee, division, or organization, and the use this employee, division, or organization makes of these allocated or attracted resources. Thus, the organizational manifestation of Enterprise is "a set of risk-taking locations which are allocated resources, and which are then required to utilize those resources in a way that will secure the optimal return" (Law & Moser 1999: 5). The optimal return is measured or otherwise assessed in terms of performance.[64] Where Administration is all about securing legitimacy by way of due process and legality, Enterprise secures legitimacy by scoring well on performance indicators.

And see CHAPTER 02's sketch of an approach to public administration and management, which seeks to defend bureaucracy.

[64] As mentioned in the INTRODUCTION, the notion of performance is utilized in two meanings in the present thesis. In describing the mode of ordering Enterprise 'performance' is used as a noun. Within Enterprise – and in the working practices of the five governmental organizations under scrutiny – the performance of an employee, division, organization etc. is understood as something that can be measured or otherwise assessed. This is different from how the notion of 'performance' is used within post-ANT. Here, performance designates a specific understanding of reality, or, rather, realities, as achieved or enacted in recursive and contingent associations of heterogeneous entities.

The many attempts at reforming the public sector – both in Denmark and globally (Kettl 2000) – are in accordance with Enterprise's focus on the utilization of resources and performance, meaning the outcome of this utilization. In Denmark three reform programmes have been launched and implemented: 1983's *The Modernization Programme*, *A New Look on the Public Sector* in 1993, and *Citizens at the Wheel* from 2002. Political scientist Carsten Greve concludes that these reform programmes "address roughly the same issues – performance management, market mechanisms, consumers choice, e-government, deregulation, quality, management training and human resources, top executive management […]" (Greve 2006: 167). All of these issues are at the heart of Enterprise. In other words: the reforms seek to perform public sector organizations as risk-taking locations. A case in point is the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries' communication policy previously quoted. It seeks to turn FOOD's communicative work into an activity that not only reports on but also meddles with the core business of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries. It seeks to create communicative work that yields a performance not only by writing nicely about what is already there, but also by changing, developing and optimizing the ministerial group and its work. Communicative work is to take part in formulating business goals and developing strategies. In other words: communicative work is to take part in formulating and reaching business goals and thereby yielding a performance. According to the communication policy this is a 'good' outcome of FOOD's communicative work.

What sort of organizational actor does Enterprise generate? Some contours of such a, for Enterprise, ideal actor are highlighted in Søren's reproduction of the exchange between the personnel manager and the younger employee. The young employee questions whether she is able to perform well on the basis of the resources allocated to her in consideration of the current procedures for sending e-mails. She wishes to optimize her performance, meaning the outcome of her work, by sending her e-mails directly to their recipients. She wants to be active and entrepreneurial. She desires to work still more effectively and efficiently. She aims at making the best of the resources allocated to her and – maybe – to thereby attract more resources. In sum: Enterprise's ideal actor is a "mini-entrepreneur" (Law 1994: 75).

In the article 'Managing, Subjectivities and Desires' (1999)[65] John Law and STS researcher Ingunn Moser state that no key inspirational theorist for Enterprise, no equivalent to

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[65] In this article the authors explore how Law's four modes of ordering embed and perform managerial subjectivities (Law & Moser 1999: 1). The article's main point is: "We've drawn out a number of different managerial subjectivities – and masculinities. We've argued that being a manager, at least at Daresbury Laboratory (but we believe that the argument works, no doubt with variations, elsewhere)

Administration's Max Weber, springs to their minds. To some extent the gap is filled by liberal market theorists, they say (ibid.: 5). However, today Paul du Gay's work on the notion of 'enterprise' might constitute a body of inspirational work.[66] I presented and discussed du Gay's notion of enterprise in CHAPTER 2. Du Gay says that he has huddled an array of dreams and schemes under the umbrella of enterprise (du Gay 2004b: 48) throughout a vast number of articles published during the 1990s and the 2000s (see for instance du Gay 2004b, 1996, 1993). In CHAPTER 2 I argued that contrary to what seems to be the case in du Gay's specific analyses of public sector reforms, I have encountered many pastpresents during fieldwork. Hence, I claim less for enterprise in the present study (Fournier & Grey 1999), than du Gay often does in his analyses. Another way to put the argument is to say that if enterprise was as strong a vision of ordering in the working practices of the five government organizations involved, as du Gay tends to claim it is in the cases he investigates, then it would have been quite easy for the communicators involved to establish what a 'good' outcome of their work is. The communicators would know what constitutes the 'good' performance and they would be able – or more or less forced – to practice it. This is not the case when I look at my empirical material.

Still, du Gay's work on enterprise is inspiration for this study. This is because he insists on understanding the practices of public administration and management as complex. However, there is an important difference between the way du Gay treats complexity analytically with his notion of 'enterprise' and the way Law treats complexity analytically with his notion of 'modes of ordering'. In Law's writings complexity is ontologically given, whereas it is a complexity that is crucial to the functioning of the public sector for du Gay. In du Gay's analyses the complexity of public administration and management is threatened by enterprising reforms of the public sector. Therefore, du Gay argues, it must be defended. This gives du Gay's notion of enterprise a normative spin. I will give a rather nitty-gritty example of this in the following. The reason for this is that I believe this example will contribute to positioning this thesis's particular take on contemporary public administration and management more clearly.

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involved the performance of those different subjectivities – and the ability to move between them" (ibid.: 13). The movement between different subjectivities embedded in and performed by different modes of ordering is one of the ways in which modes of ordering deal with one another, which I will discuss in the last part of the current chapter.

[66] I say 'inspirational work' here, because in praising and defending bureaucracy, du Gay draws heavily on Max Weber. This might suggest that Weber is the key inspirational theorist for Administration as well as for Enterprise. This is not the case. It is du Gay's work on enterprise – which, however, might be seen as developed in contrast to Weber's work on bureaucracy – that inspires my description of Enterprise as a mode of ordering.

In the article 'Against 'Enterprise' (but not against 'enterprise', for that would make no sense)' (2004b) Paul du Gay specifies the concept of enterprise[67] with which he is able to catch and analyze current transformations in how the public sector is managed and organized. In specifying this concept of enterprise du Gay, amongst many other things, refers to and quotes one specific section of John Law's book chapter 'Economics as Interferences' (2002a) three times (du Gay 2004b: 39, 48, and 48). Law's book chapter is an analysis of the empirical material generated in Law's study of the Daresbury Laboratory, and one of the article's crucial points is that if the laboratory is to work, the four modes of ordering are all needed, "or, if one prefers to put it this way, that economic/managerial/organizational performances are irreducible to a single logic" (Law 2002a: 34). The section from Law 2002a quoted in du Gay 2004b goes as follows:

> In the UK we live, as Michael Power (Power 1997) puts it, in an audit society, which seeks to mimic via administrative means certain paradigmatic conceptions of appropriate market-based relations and subjectivities.
>
> *But* there are limits, limits to the extent to which the balance can be pushed in the direction of enterprise – or indeed towards any single vision of ordering. Practice is larger, more complex, more messy, than can be grasped within any particular logic (ibid.: 34, my emphasis).

Practice is large, complex and messy, Law states here. This is an ontological statement. And it is an ontological statement encompassing that there are limits as to how strong Enterprise as a mode of ordering can ever become. The second part of the section (starting with a "But", which is crucial for the argument I develop here) is left out the first time du Gay 2004b quotes this section in his article on enterprise (du Gay 2004b: 39). This leaves the impression that enterprise – and not the coexistence of logics – is the defining feature of the society the British live in. In the article's two remaining quotations of Law's book chapter, du Gay treats Enterprise as a logic that can become hegemonic. If this happens it "would seriously threaten the purposes the public administrator is charged with fulfilling" (ibid.: 48).

In sum: as this example shows, du Gay's concept of enterprise and Law's Enterprise mode of ordering are strongly related and conceptually akin to each other. I have sought to argue for a difference, though. This difference is that when du Gay carries out specific analyses he, at

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[67] This is confusing, I know: when talking about du Gay's concept of enterprise, I do not capitalize. When talking about enterprise as a mode of ordering, I do capitalize: Enterprise. This goes against how du Gay 2004b does it. In du Gay 2004b enterprise (not capitalized) marks a general understanding of enterprise, whereas Enterprise (capitalized) designates the particular meaning it has taken in contemporary public administration and management in his view.

times, gives enterprise a normative spin by claiming that recent reforms threaten the ability of the public sector to carry out its specific, societal tasks. This normative spin compromises one of the basic, ontological assumptions in Law's writings on his modes of ordering, namely that they will always be "dependent upon the non-conformability of Others" (Law 2002a: 34), meaning that Enterprise will always be dependent upon the non-conformability of other modes of ordering, for instance Administration's.

This concludes my description of the first two modes of ordering, Administration and Enterprise. I will now turn to the final two modes of ordering: Commensuration and Incommensuration. As with Administration and Enterprise I will embark on this description through a story based on a small, but illustrative, part of my empirical material generated at GOVERN. The story depicts an interference between two different ways of ordering GOVERN's work on establishing better Frequently Asked Questions sections on its website. I suggest that this interference can be understood as interference between the ordering pattern of Commensuration and the ordering pattern of Incommensuration.

Story #2: helping some and knowing what information others need to help themselves

In Spring 2008 I observe a meeting in GOVERN. GOVERN is the Danish Agency for Governmental Management and in its mission statement it says that this agency "supports and develops efficiency and good financial management within the area of public administration" (www.oes.dk, accessed 22.01.10). The meeting concerns a new technical solution called iFAQ, which is to become part of GOVERN's website. The attendees are employees working in different divisions of GOVERN as – amongst other things – web coordinators. The meeting takes place in one of GOVERN's meeting rooms. The approximately 10 attendees are seated around one big, oval table. At one end of the table there is a screen, and a PowerPoint presentation is projected onto it. The meeting's chairwoman, Amalie, and my contact person at GOVERN at that time, Pia, are seated at the end of the table closest to the screen. They are both part of the project group working on implementing iFAQ. The meeting's sociomaterial setup creates an asymmetry between the attendees, meaning the web coordinators, and the project group. At the meeting, the project group is trying to convince the web coordinators of the benefits of implementing iFAQ, although this will – especially during implementation – imply some extra work for the web coordinators. And as I will argue in the following, iFAQ does not only imply extra work but also a different kind of work.

iFAQ is a piece of software, which can be attached to GOVERN's website's Frequently Asked Questions sections. It registers the exact formulation of the questions asked by website users

who utilize this functionality in their search for the information they need from the website. In turn these registrations can be used by GOVERN to construct FAQ sections that pose questions and give answers in (better) alignment with the way the website's users do this.

Why has GOVERN chosen to buy and implement iFAQ? Pia gives an answer to this question at the beginning of the meeting. She explains to the attendees that the iFAQ project's goal is to "make it easier for the users [of the website] to find the needle in the haystack" (GOVERN, observation, 04.03.08) – the needle in the haystack being the information and support the users need from GOVERN in order to do their jobs. Pia elaborates: to help users find the needle in the haystack is especially important for GOVERN, as it is a very broad agency offering many products and, thus, dealing with a great diversity of customers. So, one explanation of why GOVERN has chosen to buy and implement iFAQ is that GOVERN wishes to improve the service they offer their customers. A different but connected explanation can be found in the iFAQ project's work plan. Under the heading "Evaluation" it says:

> In order to measure the value of iFAQ we must formulate some success criteria for this product. We must gather some "traffic numbers" from FAQ on oes.dk and know the number of enquiries to the support division – by mail and by phone. By doing this we have some data to benchmark with when iFAQ is to be measured (GOVERN, work plan, iFAQ on www.oes.dk).[68]

In the work plan the value of iFAQ is assessed in terms of its ability to reduce the number of e-mails from GOVERN's customers to the support division. Hence, in the work plan the number of e-mails and calls from customers to the support division is enacted as a representation of the amount of resources GOVERN spends on supporting its customers. If this number can be lowered, GOVERN is working more effectively and efficiently. iFAQ is to change the customers' interaction with GOVERN from calling or e-mailing the support division to the customers themselves finding the needle in the haystack by using the FAQ sections. If numbers and benchmarking show that iFAQ succeeds in doing this then the purchase and implementation of this piece of software can be viewed as a success. Thus, iFAQ is not only about GOVERN trying to improve the service GOVERN offer their customers – it is also about GOVERN trying to reduce the resources spent on supporting their customers. GOVERN hopes via iFAQ to create a website which helps their customers to help themselves, as this is more cost-effective than having customers e-mailing and phoning

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[68] In Danish: For at måle værdien af iFAQ skal vi formulere nogle succeskriterier for produktet. Vi skal samle nogle "trafiktal" fra FAQ på oes.dk og kende antallet af henvendelser til Rådgivning og Support hhv. pr. mail og telefon. På den måde har vi noget data at benchmarke med, når iFAQ skal måles.

GOVERN. Taken together, these two reasons for why GOVERN has chosen to invest in iFAQ add up to the contemporary credo of the Danish public sector: more for less.[69]

After a brief presentation of the diversity of GOVERN's customers by the meeting's chairwoman, Amalie, the meeting proceeds with Amalie asking each of the attendees to outline the status of their division's work on updating their specific FAQ section. One says that in her division they are on it and as of yet nothing "too criminal" (GOVERN, observation, 04.03.08), meaning nothing desperately in need of change, has been found. Another answers that they are considering less questions and answers. A third gives an account of the workings of his division's FAQ section from his personal point of view. Amalie comments that it would be interesting to see some statistics and the web coordinator says he will get these from the support division. A fourth attendee says she is unsure whether her division is in need of an FAQ section at all. They will need to get in contact with the support division, as "they know what is going on" (ibid.), she says. Thus, in settling the status of each division's work with their FAQ sections, accounts drawing upon qualitative insights and accounts drawing upon quantitative data intersect. At times qualitative insights are enough to reach a settlement. At other times quantitative data suffices. And at times a combination is requested or required.

The settling of these statuses runs quite smoothly until a fifth attendee states that she finds it hard to give an account of the FAQ section's status. And she finds it hard to formulate FAQs. She elaborates on her questioning approach: "How do you go from day-to-day work where you are in contact with many people and where you just have to come up with a solution, to finding out what kind of information others need" (ibid.)?

The question formulated by this fifth attendee epitomizes the plot of this story. I stated earlier that iFAQ not only implies more but also a different kind of work for the web coordinators. The question raised by the web communicator spells out this difference. In her day-to-day work this fifth attendee comes up with solutions to the many and specific customer-related problems she encounters. The iFAQ project demands of her to translate these specific problems into general information needed by the users to solve not only the specific but also the more general problems the website's users are assumed to have. The iFAQ project asks the fifth attendee to take part in what I will term a process of commensuration: she is asked to define a common denominator in order to commensurate the specific problems she encounters in her day-to-day work. She finds this difficult.

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[69] I will return to this credo and deal with it more thoroughly in CHAPTER 05.

No final answer to the fifth attendee's question is given. Notwithstanding, the meeting proceeds: the remaining attendees give accounts of the workings of their respective FAQ sections, a strategy is briefly discussed for internal and external marketing of the new iFAQ functionality, and the meeting ends.

Three weeks later I am conducting an interview with Pia and Amalie. At one point I make a comparison between what we are discussing and the question raised at the iFAQ meeting concerning how to go from day-to-day work where you help customers with their specific problems to knowing what information other customers need in order to help themselves. The following dialogue results:

> **Pia**: Yes, she said that it might become quite complex, because you're so immersed in your own specific field...
> **Morten**: Well, I just sensed she had a good point... It is about translating and transforming...
> **Pia**: That's what we talked about [earlier in the interview] when we said we're sometimes given the role of sheriffs when doing the newsletters. Exactly because we [as communicators] challenge some really competent and hardcore professionals by questioning whether what they say is comprehensible to outsiders... That they're so deeply immersed in one project that they take it for granted that it's something all the customers know. The customers might also be... They might also be professionals [and they might also qualify as insiders,] but seldom to the same degree as our colleagues. You're right – it's a general problem, which is present here in GOVERN, actually. [As communicators] it is part of our jobs to try to disentangle people from their professionalism (GOVERN, interview, 31.03.08).

When first hearing this comment from Pia I thought I had misunderstood what happened at the meeting when the fifth attendee asked her question concerning how to go from solving specific problems to finding out what others need to know in order to help themselves. Now I think Pia is describing another instance of a balancing act or a trial of strength (Latour 1987) between the general and the specific, between processes of commensuration and processes of incommensuration. The newsletter is to be of interest to all the recipients regardless of their differences. Its basic logic is that of commensuration. Hardcore professionalism is about the specifics of a given case – it is about incommensuration. So, to disentangle people from their professionalism is to commensurate. As sheriffs the communicators' task is to make sure that incommensuration does not run wild. This is akin to how sheriffs in westerns make sure that the cowboys do not run wild.
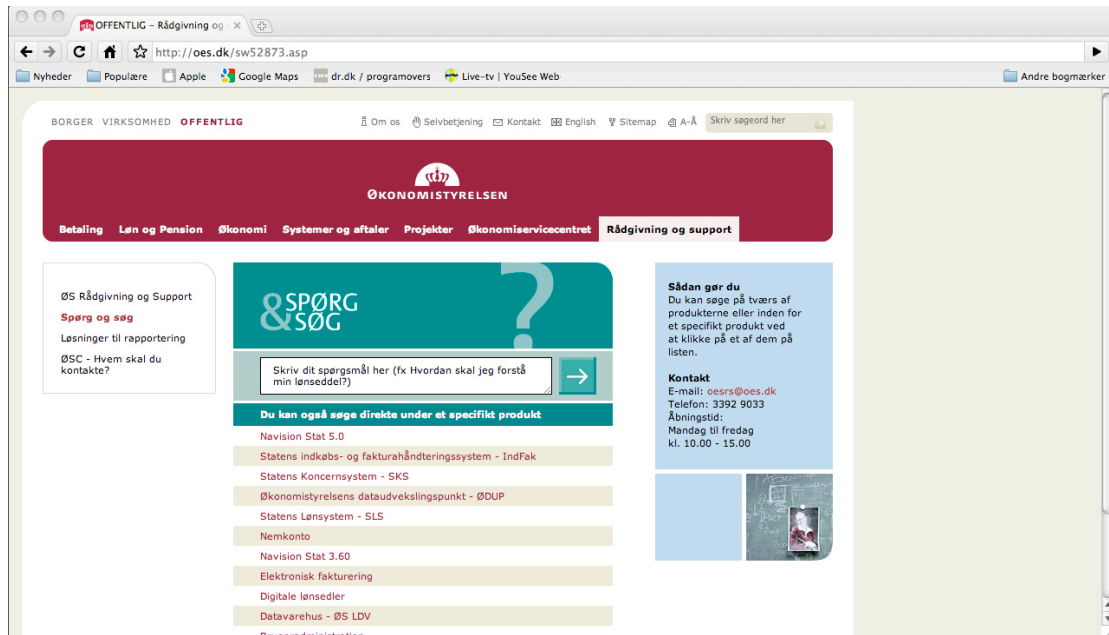
Figure 3: Screen shot showing the 'Ask and Search' functionality on GOVERN's website (www.oes.dk, accessed 24.01.2010)
In the white field it says: "Write your question here (for instance: How am I to understand my pay slip?)"[70] iFAQ enables GOVERN to register precisely what questions customers pose in this field.

This story suggests that implementing, valuing, and working with iFAQ at GOVERN can be understood as sociomaterial, generative and interfering processes of commensuration and processes of incommensuration. As the last part of the story shows, it might be analytically beneficial to understand the communicators' working practices more broadly as performing both commensuration and incommensuration and specific relationships between these. I will suggest that commensuration and incommensuration are crucial patterning effects, crucial modes of ordering, that can be imputed to the working practices of the communicators involved in the present study. Thus, I will sketch out Commensuration and Incommensuration as modes of ordering in the following two parts.

Mode of ordering #3: Commensuration

The concept of 'modes of ordering' designates the performance of patterns, and these patterns are understood as ordering the materially and discursively heterogeneous networks of the social in specific ways. I will conceptualize Commensuration as such a performance in the sense that it orders entities and their characteristics in a way that renders them comparable. It tells of the invention, introduction and implementation of a common metric that renders entities and their characteristics comparable. Commensuration might seem and be presented as a neutral process. For instance, it might be presented as a matter of mere technicalities. It might seem as if the possibility of Commensuration is a given: reality 'out-there' comes in

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[70] In Danish: Skriv dit spørgsmål her (fx: Hvordan skal jeg forstå min lønseddel?)

comparable entities. However, Commensuration as a mode of ordering is always a matter of making entities comparable. One example of this is how the iFAQ project seeks to make GOVERN's customers and their use of GOVERN's support comparable by way of qualitative insights, quantitative data and entanglements of these two. One vital feature of the notion of modes of ordering is that specific modes of ordering imply silencing. No mode of ordering can know, represent or perform everything. This also applies to Commensuration and is especially pertinent here, because Commensuration as mentioned often presents itself as neutral process. For instance, information about how the fifth web coordinator deals with specific customers in her day-to-day work is left out. Another vital feature of the notion of modes of ordering is that specific modes of ordering, including Commensuration, are embedded in and perform all kinds of materials. There are, for instance, many technologies at stake in the iFAQ project and they embed and perform processes of Commensuration. The technologies produce specific types of data: the website counts the number of visitors and the length of their stays, and the support division registers the number of calls and e-mails received. It is these specific types of data that make it possible to establish a relationship of comparability between the traffic numbers on www.oes.dk's FAQ sections and the number of enquiries to the support division. This, as we saw, is done in the iFAQ project's work plan. This relationship is not possible without the particular technologies in question and the particular data they produce. Further, the established relationship has an impact: it is to be used to determine whether the implementation of iFAQ has been a success or a failure.

This description of Commensuration as a mode of ordering does not rest upon empirical material alone. I have been theoretically inspired by philosophical and sociological work that seeks to describe commensuration as a social process in developing Commensuration as a mode of ordering. It is to this work I turn now.

Empirically, this project deals with government communication. It deals with how communicative solutions are produced and assessed in the working practices of the communicators involved. This production and assessment of communicative solutions seems to imply the measurement of something in connection to a common denominator. This begs the rather abstract questions: what is it to measure? What happens in practices of measuring? Philosopher Fred D'Agostino, whose work on commensuration as a social process is a part of my theoretical inspiration in developing Commensuration as a mode of ordering, gives an answer. He begins his book *Incommensurability and Commensuration* (2003) by listing a number of what he terms 'systems of measurement' (ibid.: 3). Two examples of such systems: a market is a system of measurement in the sense that it measures the demand for a given commodity by way of a price. Electoral systems are systems of measurement as they by measuring the

number of votes determine 'the will of the people'. D'Agostino goes on to outline the basic assumption on which systems of measurement depend if they are to retain their efficacy and legitimacy:

> [The basic assumption is] that the options being measured in these ways are commensurable, that is can legitimately be brought together on a scale and at least, rank-ordered with respect to it (ibid.: 4).

So, from a philosophical and general stance it can be said that to measure with efficacy and legitimacy is to assume commensurability between, for instance, goods or votes. In developing my multiplying approach to public administration and management I took inspiration from ANT's treatment of "everything in the social and natural worlds as a continuously generated effect of the webs of relations within which they are located" (Law 2007a: 2).[71] This leads me to view the assumption concerning commensurability mentioned by D'Agostino as a phenomenon, which is performed in webs of relations between an array of materially and discursively heterogeneous materials.

In their article 'Commensuration as a Social Process' (1998) sociologists Wendy Nelson Espeland and Mitchell L. Stevens develop an understanding of commensuration similar to the one I am seeking to develop here. The authors state that commensuration is ubiquitous (ibid.: 323), and the article is a kaleidoscopic journey into processes of commensuration spanning from college rankings (see also Espeland & Sauder 2007), through the calculation of a ratio of mom-to-caregiver hours, to an economist's evaluation of a proposed dam. The article's definition of commensuration as a social process is to a large extent in alignment with my definition of Commensuration as a mode of ordering: Espeland and Stevens underscore that commensurability is not a given, but achieved or done (Espeland & Stevens 1998: 323), and they focus on what is left out, what is discarded, in processes of commensuration (ibid.: 317).[72] Still, there is a decisive difference between Espeland and Stevens' and my approach to processes of commensuration. Espeland and Stevens conceptualize commensuration as a social process driven (and resisted) by people's various motives:

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[71] It is important to note that the effects of which Law speaks are continuously generated. Effects are not stable in and by themselves. If effects such as an organization seem stable to us, then this is because of a lot of continuous net-*work* go into stabilizing these effects. I will discuss this question of how phenomena gain and maintain obduracy in CHAPTER 05.

[72] Fred D'Agostino has discerned two mechanisms by which initially incommensurable entities might be commensurated: an evolutionary pattern and a revolutionary pattern. What distinguishes these two is that the evolutionary pattern does not discard information in rendering something commensurable – the revolutionary pattern does (D'Agostino 2000: 436-440). Espeland & Stevens 1998 is thus concerned with a specific type of commensuration. I will follow the article's lead and keep an eye on what might be discarded, discredited or rendered impossible to talk about in processes of commensuration.

We need to explain variation in what motivates people to commensurate, the forms they use to do so, commensuration's practical and political effects, and how people resist commensuration (Espeland & Stevens 1998: 315).

Further, commensuration "sometimes responds to murky motives. It may be prompted by a desire to look rational, limit discretion, or conform to powerful expectations" (ibid.: 316). This sits badly with the specific understanding of the social and how it is performed, which is an integral part of Law's concept of modes of ordering:

> Look at it this way: the social is a set of processes, of transformations. These are moving, acting, interacting. They are generating themselves. Perhaps we can impute patterns in these movements. But here's the trick, the crucial and most difficult move that we need to make. We need to say that *the patterns, the channels down which they flow, are not different in kind from whatever it is that is channelled by them.* So the image that we have to discard is that of a social oil refinery. Society is *not* a lot of social products moving round in structural pipes and containers that were put in place beforehand. Instead, the social world is this remarkable emergent phenomenon: in its processes it shapes its own flows. Movement and the organizations of movement are not different (Law 1994: 15, emphasis in original).

What does this mean here? It means that Commensuration as a mode of ordering is not to be understood as something that moves around in structural pipes and containers such as people's motives. Commensuration as a mode of ordering is not driven by people's motives – it is a pattern that can be imputed to the social, understood as moving, acting and interacting sets of processes. Commensuration generates and is generated in specific patterning effects. Commensuration is achieved in, and achieves, specific associations of heterogeneous entities. In the story above, these heterogeneous entities counted the iFAQ piece of software, qualitative insights, quantitative data, a project team, web coordinators, a website etc. In sum: I understand commensurability as a continuously performed effect of associations between heterogeneous entities and actors.

I will close this section's development and description of Commensuration as a mode of ordering by sketching its organizational manifestation and its ideal actor. Commensuration as a mode of ordering designates the performance of comparability and 'sameness'. These are also key features of an industrial factory, D'Agostino notes:

Commensurability is desirable from the point of view of 'industrial' forms of social organisation. Mass production requires predictability of consumption and hence sameness of preferences for goods and hence the reduction of dimensions of choice so that individual variability in preferences is reduced (D'Agostino 2000: 442).

The creation of predictability of consumption and sameness of preferences are core concerns of the iFAQ project. Individual variability in both GOVERN's customers' preferences and in GOVERN's employees' endeavours to satisfy these preferences is to be reduced by way of the iFAQ technology. Therefore, I will say that Commensuration's ideal organizational manifestation is the industrial factory. Commensuration seeks to perform an organizational actor that can take part in commensurating the initially or apparently incommensurable. Thus, the ideal organizational actor of Commensuration is the common denominator that secures comparability between the initially incommensurable. As sheriffs, part of the GOVERN communicators' job is to determine what GOVERN's customers share and to make sure that the professionals' work addresses this common denominator. As evaluators, part of the GOVERN communicators' job is to determine whether or not the implementation of the iFAQ solution has been a success. This is done by formulating success criteria that create comparability between the traffic on GOVERN's website and the number of enquiries to the support division. The success criteria function as a common denominator for initially quite different activities and numbers.

Mode of ordering #4: Incommensuration

In this section I present the fourth and last mode of ordering to be utilized in the present study. I term it Incommensuration, and I will begin with a description of the ordering pattern I wish to be able to impute to the working practices of the communicators involved by utilizing this mode of ordering.

Incommensuration describes the performance of entities and actors as incomparable. It orders entities and actors in a way so that they cannot be detached, delineated and rendered comparable. We met two entities and actors ordered in this specific way in the story above on helping some and knowing what information others need for helping themselves when working in GOVERN. The first was the fifth attendee's practical dealings with the GOVERN customers' problems in her day-to-day work. The fifth attendee described each customer's query as unique and each response by her as unique. A customer's specific problem and the specific solution to this problem could not be compared with another specific problem and its specific solution. The second entity was the work of the "hardcore professionals". As a communicator, Pia wishes to detach given points from the context of the hardcore

professional's work and to put these points into a newsletter that is to be of interest to all the newsletter's recipients. In Pia's account, the hardcore professionals at GOVERN are not always convinced that this detachment and delineation of specific points is possible. Whereas Administration, Enterprise, and Commensuration all reach out and create connections in their ordering attempts (to organizational hierarchies, to resources, to comparable entities respectively), Incommensuration attempts to cut or curtail networks by rendering entities incomparable.

Some of the key inspirational theorists for this fourth mode of ordering, Incommensuration, are again Fred D'Agostino, Wendy Nelson Espeland, and Mitchell L. Stevens. Generally speaking, these three all use incommensurability to describe processes that can counter processes of commensuration. As previously mentioned, commensuration is understood as connected to "murky motives" of delineating and constraining, whereas incommensurability, in stark contrast, is connected to "the exercise of human freedom" (D'Agostino 2003: 193). As modes of ordering, Commensuration and Incommensuration might be battling one another, but they might establish other relationships to each other in the communicators' working practices. Hence, I view the stark contrast mentioned by D'Agostino, Espeland and Stevens as one amongst a number of possible relationships between Commensuration and Incommensuration as modes of ordering.

In the article 'Commensuration as a Social Process' (1998) Espeland and Stevens "broadly define something as incommensurable when we deny that the value of two things is comparable" (ibid.: 326). Examples of incommensurable things are many, and span from the trivial – two kinds of delicious cake impossible to choose between – to what Espeland and Stevens term "constitutive incommensurables", meaning incommensurables which are "vital expressions of core values, signalling to people how they should act towards those things" (ibid.: 327).

Espeland and Stevens underscore one feature that commensuration and the making of incommensurables share:

> Just as commensuration is a considerable social accomplishment, so too the creation of incommensurables requires work (ibid.: 328).

While this is not wrong when talking about Incommensuration as a mode of ordering, it is not completely right either. Law's concept of modes of ordering implies an understanding of the social as recursive processes. As a concept, 'modes of ordering' is developed to grasp how the

heterogeneous networks of the social are recursively ordered. A central implication of this is that there is no ending point: there is no stabilized order in sight. Thus, in my utilization of Espeland and Stevens' argument concerning incommensurability, it does not imply a stable or settled state of affairs to describe two things as incommensurable. To underpin this I will not use the notion of 'incommensurable' as an adjective that describes the relationship between two things. I will use the notion of Incommensuration to describe a recursive ordering pattern, which orders entities and their characteristics in a way that renders them different from each other and, hence, incomparable.

This move from adjective and somewhat stable state of affairs, incommensurable things, to recursive ordering, Incommensuration, also implies that one of Espeland and Stevens' central hypotheses about incommensurability must be recast:

> We hypothesize that the most frequent and most durable claims about incommensurability occur at the borderlands between institutional spheres, where different modes of valuing overlap and conflict ibid.: 332).

As Story #2 suggested, the recursive processes of what I term Incommensuration can happen within a single institution and, further, within a single organization.[73] At the meeting that I report on, the iFAQ project embodies and performs more than one distinct mode of valuing: in one of these modes of valuing Commensuration plays the crucial role, whereas Incommensuration is vital to the other.

Turning to the organizational manifestation of Incommensuration this is somewhat difficult to depict. A related difficulty is at stake in Law's description of the mode of ordering Vision. Vision "tells of charisma and grace, of single-minded necessity, of genius and of transcendence," Law states (Law 1994: 79). In Law's study of the Daresbury Laboratory, Vision seeks to generate and is generated by an ideal actor who is brilliant, creative, and charismatic – a Scientist with a capital 'S'. Such an actor does not need an organization with its focus on rules, regulations, and due process, as Administration has it, for instance. Therefore, in "[Vision's] way of telling, an organization may be spoken and performed as an adjunct to the single-minded pursuit of the vision of the creator" (ibid.: 80). Vision performs

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[73] Sociologist David Stark makes a similar claim in his recent book *The Sense of Dissonance: Accounts of Worth in Economic Life* (2009). Stark has done ethnographic research on how entrepreneurship happens in three different sites: a socialist factory in late and post-communist Hungary, a new-media start-up in New York during and after the bursting of the Internet bubble, and an arbitrage trading room on Wall Street from 1999-2001. These cases demonstrate that different principles of evaluation or modes of valuing can coexist within a single institution and within a single organization.

an organization as something supplementary to, and not as an intrinsic part of, itself. I will argue that this line of reasoning can be transferred to Incommensuration: Incommensuration tells of and performs organization as something supplementary to, and not as an intrinsic part of, itself. For instance, it views the ongoing attempts of Administration to secure due process, and the ongoing attempts of Enterprise to optimize outcomes, as irritations. Incommensuration's ideal organizational actor can be termed single-minded in the sense that this actor is more interested in cutting or curtailing networks than it is in research out and creating new relations.

Concluding remarks: four modes of ordering and their coexistence

In this chapter I have described two modes of ordering, Administration and Enterprise, and I have developed and described two additional ones, Commensuration and Incommensuration. I understand these four modes of ordering as recursive and contingent ordering patterns that can be imputed to the working practices of the government organizations, in which communicative solutions are produced and assessed. In describing and developing these modes of ordering I have sought to relate empirical material, theoretical insights, and political aims for the Danish public sector expressed in three Danish reform programmes. With these four modes of ordering I suggest that in the working practices of the communicators the materially and discursively heterogeneous networks of the social are ordered in four different ways:

1. Administration describes an ordering towards the perfectly well-ordered organization. Its ideal organizational actor focuses on rules, regulations, and due process. The ideal organizational actor focuses on creating consistency;

2. Enterprise describes an ordering towards an organization as a set of risk-taking locations. Accordingly, its ideal organizational actor is perpetually attempting to make the most of the resources allocated to this actor. Its ideal organizational actor is a mini-entrepreneur;

3. Commensuration describes an ordering towards the industrial factory. This is an organization occupied with creating comparability in terms of its products and the consumption of these products. Its ideal organizational actor is the common denominator that ensures this comparability;

4. Incommensuration describes an ordering the renders entities and actors incomparable. Whereas the other modes of ordering attempt to reach out and extend the networks of the social, Incommensuration attempts to cut or curtail these networks by rendering entities incomparable. Its ideal organizational actor cuts or curtails networks.

In developing these four modes of ordering I have utilized theoretical insights that differ in scope and in their impact on how organizations are seen and ordered. Hence, I do not suggest that the four modes of ordering are on the same level, and neither do I suggest that they are developed in a way that renders them mutually exclusive. What do I mean by this? Both Administration and Enterprise are based on very strong and very influential and, hence, much discussed theoretical or political ideas concerning what it means to organize society, organizations, and subjects in a 'good' manner. For instance, within the field of organization studies the analytical potency of Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy has recently been challenged by ideas about the 'enterprising', post-bureaucratic organization. A '"discourse of endings"' (Courpasson & Reed 2004: 5) has been strong within this field, but as Law's *Organizing Modernity* (1994) and other works within the field of organization studies and public administration and management testify (for instance the works by Olsen, du Gay, and Aucoin discussed in CHAPTER 02), this discourse is a challenge 'only' . The discourse does not mark a definitive break away from the analytical potency of the ideal type of bureaucracy. In comparison, ideas about commensuration and incommensurability are small. They are not as strong, far less influential, and far less discussed. One reason for this might be that commensuration and incommensurability can be reduced to instances of the ordering attempts of Administration and Enterprise. It might be the case that, at times, it makes sense to Administration and to Enterprise to delineate and compare entities, and, at other times, it makes sense to hold apart and render entities incomparable.[74] However, in undertaking the present study I have found it crucial to be able to investigate when and how entities and actors are rendered comparable or incomparable more precisely. The reason for this is that it seems to be an ongoing discussion whether entities and actors are comparable or not in the practices of assessing the outcomes of government communication: is there a common denominator, or is it possible to establish one, for the divisions and the employees of a given government organization? Is there a common denominator, or is it possible to establish one, for the citizens' relationship to a given government organization? There are no ready-made answers to such questions in the communicators' working practices. Nonetheless, the answers given to these questions have consequences. An assessment that performs the ordering pattern of

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[74] For instance, Espeland & Stevens 1998 suggest that processes of commensuration are an intrinsic part of an administrative and bureaucratic mode of ordering (Espeland & Stevens 1998: 322).

Commensuration can give a very different result from one that performs the ordering pattern of Incommensuration. The results of these assessments take part in determining which communicative solutions it makes sense to the government organizations involved to produce. To view Commensuration and Incommensuration as ordering attempts in their own right enables me to follow such discussions and the effects of the decisions that are reached in these discussions. That is why my suggestion has been to conceptualize Administration, Enterprise, Commensuration and Incommensuration as four distinct modes of ordering.

In passing, I have mentioned that the four modes of ordering describe ordering attempts that relate to each other in the working practices of the communicators. I wrote that Administration seemed a bit irritated by the ordering attempts of Enterprise. The meeting on iFAQ proceeded without giving an answer to the questioning approach of the fifth attendee. It seemed as if Commensuration ignored Incommensuration. Ordering attempts coexist and they relate to one another in the working practices of the communicators. Irritating and ignoring are two examples of what this relating amounts to. But how does Commensuration relate to Enterprise, for instance? How do the four specific modes of ordering relate across the two pairs of: 1) Enterprise and Administration, and 2) Commensuration and Incommensuration? Concerning how modes of ordering relate to one another, Law says:

> Modes of ordering may define and generate a characteristic set of *boundary relations*. The issue, here, has to do with the relationship *between* modes of ordering. Remember that they are never fully performed. Neither do they exist in a vacuum. Accordingly, they interact. Indeed, one way of looking at this is to say that the networks of the social are *all* interactive boundary effects, and treat them accordingly – something I have sought to do with my empirical material in the present book. But what is the character of these effects? I think that this is where our imputations of ordering modes experience their limits. Other kinds of patterns, other contingencies, intervene. On the other hand, it is also likely that where they co-exist they develop protocols for dealing with, profiting from, or resisting one another (Law 1994: 111).

So, the concept of 'modes of ordering' does not tell us much about how these ordering attempts coexist. For instance, the concept does not tell us much about what these protocols for dealing with one another are, how these protocols are established, and whether these protocols are of a durable or more temporary nature. It is a matter of empirical investigation, and it is to such investigations I turn in the following analytical chapters.

How is experience assembled? What is it that is created and included? What is excluded, unknown, unheard?

(Law 1994: 151).

CHAPTER 05: managing the communicators' working practices

In the preceding chapters I have made the following arguments. I am seeking to provide ethnographic descriptions of how communicative solutions are produced and assessed in the working practices unfurling at five government organizations. The government communicators involved in the Industrial PhD project *Measurements you can learn from* have expressed a wish to become better at managing their own work by its outcomes. However, to manage the communicators' work by its outcomes soon proved to be a difficult task. Why was that? I pointed out that to manage the communicators' work by its outcomes implies defining what a 'good' outcome of this work is. I have argued that in the working practices of the communicators involved it is uncertain what a 'good' outcome is. This uncertainty is the reason why it is difficult to manage the communicators' work by its outcomes. Further, I have suggested that this uncertainty can be grasped analytically by way of John Law's notion of 'modes of ordering' and I have presented four such modes of ordering: Administration, Enterprise, Commensuration, and Incommensuration. These modes of ordering are imputable to the working practices of the communicators involved in *Measurements you can learn from*.

In the current chapter, which is the first of the thesis' three analytical chapters, I will provide a backdrop for the wish expressed by the communicators to become better at managing their own work by its outcomes. I ask: how is the work of the communicators managed today? In giving an answer to this question I will introduce three managerial actors which play important parts in the production and assessment of communicative solutions: the ministerial groups' team of group managers, performance contracts between the ministerial departments and their institutions, and the government organizations' financial managers. And I will show how the four modes of ordering are sequenced in today's management of the communicators' work. However, this sequencing does not always happen in a smooth manner.

I attempt to give a rather broad account of how the communicators' work is managed. I will present empirical material generated at all the five government organizations involved. The focus will be on significant empirical examples of what the three managerial actors do in the

production and assessment of communicative solutions, and how the four modes of ordering are sequenced in these practices of production and assessment. In the two analytical chapters following the current one I will follow the production and assessment of certain communicative solutions over longer stretches of time. Thus, when taken together the analytical chapters and the way I make use of the empirical material in these chapters demonstrate that the object of study, the outcome of government communication, was made present in different ways during fieldwork. This point concerning the changing ontological status of the object of study was made in CHAPTER 03. The outcome of government communication was an object of study that popped up in certain practices only to wither away again shortly thereafter, which the current chapter portrays. But it was also an object that over longer stretches of time and in numerous practices was made present. It was also an object that had a more solid presence. This more solid presence and how it was achieved will be described in the two analytical chapters following the current one.

The chapter has four parts. In the first part I will describe how Danish state institutions such as the five government organizations involved in the Industrial PhD project are managed according to two reports published by the Danish Ministry of Finance. These reports describe how three managerial centres manage Danish state institutions: teams of group managers, performance contracts between ministerial departments and their institutions, and internal, financial controllers. Further, at first glance the two publications leave the impression that these managerial centres can be understood as effects of the ordering pattern of Enterprise. But what are managerial centres, how are they created, and how do they stay in place in spite of multiplicity? In the second part I will answer this question by way of John Law's notion of 'logic of return' (Law 2001). In the third part I describe how the three managerial centres mentioned in the two official reports are enacted in the communicators' working practices. I conclude that managerial centres are created in the working practices of the communicators, but – contrary to what the two official reports seem to claim at first glance – these managerial centres are an effect of more than one mode of ordering. Thus, the fourth part returns to the two official reports and argue that if one attends to the more mundane wordings of these reports then the conclusion is that the reports perform more than just one mode of ordering. The sequencing of modes of ordering is built into the reports and, I argue, into the management of the government organizations' production and assessment of communicative solutions. In the fifth and last part I will offer some concluding remarks. I will relate the conclusion of the current chapter to those made in two inspirational studies: John Law's *Organizing Modernity* (Law 1994) and Annemarie Mol's *The Body Multiple* (Mol 2002a).

Three managerial centres performed by Enterprise

In this first part of the present chapter I will take a closer look at two official accounts of how the government organizations involved in this study, and by implication all other organizations within the Danish state, are managed. These official accounts are given in the publications *Efficient Task Execution in the State* (2003)[75] and *Responsibility for Management – Guidance on Management from Group to Institution* (2010a).[76] The Danish Ministry of Finance is the publisher of both publications. The publications formulate guidelines as to how the ministerial departments are to manage their institutions, for instance their agencies, which are taking care of the ministerial departments' ministerial areas. The publications do this on a very general level. As we shall see later in this chapter, there is a noteworthy reason for this generality.

Efficient Task Execution in the State commences with a foreword by the then Danish Minister of Finance, Thor Pedersen:

> The government will put the human before the system. With this point of departure, the government published its modernisation program in Spring 2002. This programme marked the beginning of a reform of the public sector. Clear goals must be formulated for the service we deliver to the citizens, the results and the tasks must take centre stage, and we must secure that the resources the citizens have entrusted us are utilized as effectively and efficiently[77] as possible. *Efficient Task Execution in the State* must take part in reaching these goals (Finansministeriet 2003: 3).[78]

The ordering pattern performed in this foreword by the then Danish Minister of Finance is Enterprise. Enterprise aims to put humans and resources before 'the system', meaning a way of ordering that performs the ordering pattern of Administration. Enterprise formulates clear goals, investigates whether they are reached or not, and continually aims to be as effective and efficient as possible. It always seeks to optimize. It is a way of ordering the social, which seeks to generate more for less. As we will see in the following the performance of the ordering pattern of Enterprise is not limited to the foreword of the publication.

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[75] In Danish: *Effektiv opgavevaretagelse staten*.
[76] In Danish: *Ansvar for styring – vejledning om styring fra koncern til institution*.
[77] In Danish the notion of 'effektiv' comprises to meanings: something is effective and something can be done in an effective manner. In English, the notions of 'effective' and 'efficient' capture these two meanings respectively. Both meanings are at stake when the government organizations involved talk about their resources and the utilization of these resources and I seek to capture this in my translation.
[78] In Danish: Regeringen vil sætte mennesket før systemet. Med dette udgangspunkt udgav regeringen i foråret 2002 sit moderniseringsprogram, og gav dermed startskuddet til en reform af den offentlige sektor. Der skal stilles klare mål for den service, vi leverer til borgerne, resultaterne og opgaverne skal i centrum, og vi skal sikre, at de midler, som borgerne har betroet os, udnyttes så effektivt som muligt. *Effektiv opgavevaretagelse i staten* skal medvirke til at nå disse mål.

After the foreword, *Efficient Task Execution in the State* goes on to offer guidelines on how each of the Danish ministerial departments are to formulate a strategy for handling their respective ministerial areas more effectively and efficiently. As a minimum, the ministerial departments' strategies are to involve four areas of management: 1) clear goals for user-oriented tasks, 2) a statement about the departments' work with management by goals and results, 3) policies for outsourcing tasks, and 4) policies for purchase. The publication offers guidelines on how the ministerial departments are to make these areas of management part of the strategies they are to develop.

Responsibility for Management – Guidance on Management from Group to Institution, which was published in February 2010, replaces the publication from 2003. It summarizes the existing rules for the ministerial departments' management of their institutions. No new rules or requirements are added in this publication. On the contrary, the rules have been revised and some even eliminated. This is part of an ongoing effort to de-bureaucratize Danish public sector organizations.[79] The publication then outlines rules and requirements for the ministerial departments' management of three, central areas of management: 1) group management[80], 2) goal and performance management[81] between the ministerial departments and their institutions, and 3) the internal economic management in the institutions[82] (Finansministeriet 2010a: 6).

The two publications by the Danish Ministry of Finance from 2003 and 2010 divide the ministerial departments' management of their institutions into three areas of management. The guidelines suggest that each of these three areas of management are managed in a specific way. Most notably, this specific form of management implies that each of these three areas of management is assigned a strong, managerial centre. In connection to the first area of management, group management, each ministerial area is taken care of by a large, ministerial group consisting of the ministerial department, its agencies, and, in some instances, other types of institutions. A team of group managers manages the finances and the professional work of this ministerial group. This team forms a managerial centre. It is the team's responsibility to ensure that the whole group works in a continually more effective and efficient manner (ibid.: 7). The second area of management is goal and performance management between the ministerial department and its institutions. "As a minimum,

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[79] See the publication *Simple Administration in the State*, which in Danish is entitled *Enkel administration i staten* (Finansministeriet 2010b).
[80] In Danish: koncernstyring.
[81] In Danish: mål- og resultatstyring.
[82] In Danish: den interne økonomistyring i institutionerne.

government institutions must set goals for their tasks and follow up on the results in the annual report," it says in *Responsibility for Management – Guidance on Management from Group to Institution* (ibid.: 7).[83] The setting of these goals happens in a dialogue between the government institution in question and its ministerial department. The final goals are written into a performance contract, which is signed by the ministerial department and the executive director of the institution in question. The goals should be formulated in terms of the outcomes of the institutions' utilization of their resources. The argument for this is that "[i]ncreased use of outcomes as goals can help ensure that state funds are used as effectively and efficiently as possible" (ibid.: 7).[84] Thus, the second area of management is also assigned a managerial centre, namely the performance contract between a ministerial department and its institutions. The third area of management is the internal economic management of state institutions. This financial management concerns the management of the institutions' "financial resources, activities, resources, and results" (ibid.: 7)[85] and it is to secure "optimal resource utilization" (ibid.: 7).[86] In practice, this financial management is undertaken by a group of controllers, which, again, can be understood as making up a managerial centre. I will return to these three areas of management in the third part of this chapter. There I will explore how the managerial centres of each of these areas of management unfold in the working practices of the communicators involved.

So far, I have taken a first, cursory look at two publications from the Danish Ministry of Finance, which describe how the government organizations involved are managed. I have suggested that according to these two publications this management implies the creation of three managerial centres in each of the ministerial groups: a team of group managers, performance contracts between the ministerial department and its institutions, and a group of controllers. Further, I suggest that it is not only the foreword by the minister of finance that performs the ordering pattern of Enterprise. The two publications portray the three managerial centres as effects of what I regard as the ordering pattern of Enterprise: the team of group managers is responsible for making the group's work continually more effective and efficient, the use of performance contracts between the ministerial department and the state institutions perform the institutions as risk-taking locations within the ministerial groups, and the internal financial management is carried out in order to secure an optimal utilization of resources. It can be said that the two publications seem to assume that Enterprise as a mode

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[83] In Danish: Statslige insitutioner skal som minimum opstille mål for deres opgaver of følge op på resultaterne i årsrapporten.
[84] In Danish: Øget anvendelse af effektmål kan bidrage til at sikre, at de statslige bevillinger anvendes så effektivit som muligt.
[85] In Danish: […] finansielle midler, aktiviteter, ressourcer og resultater.
[86] In Danish: […] optimal ressourceudnyttelse […].

of ordering will pattern the heterogeneous managing practices in a way that creates these three managerial centres.

I have been inspired by John Law's work on managing through strong managerial centres in this first, preliminary analysis of how the five government organizations involved are managed. In the following section I will go deeper into what managing through strong centres means, according to Law.

Obduracy as an effect of multiplicity

I have established that the creation of strong managerial centres seems crucial in managing the five government organizations involved. However, in the previous chapters I have made the argument that the government organizations' production and assessment of communicative solutions is a case of multiplicity. The question is: how can I make a case for management by strong managerial centres and a case for multiplicity simultaneously? How does management stay in place as strong managerial centres? Law gives three connected answers to questions such as these in his book *Organizing Modernity* (1994), in his book chapter 'Organizing Accountabilities: Ontology and the Mode of Accounting' (1996), and in his article 'Ordering and Obduracy' (2001). It is to these three answers I now turn.[87]

Material delegation: making modes of ordering durable

The first answer is that obduracy is gained by what Law terms 'material delegation'. One of ANT's early and influential insights is that what distinguishes human society from other types of societies is that "relations, including relations of power, get delegated into other more durable materials" (Law 2001: 3). In the article 'On Interobjectivity' (1996b) Bruno Latour compares human society with that of baboons. Whereas all sorts of relations are re-negotiated in an ongoing manner in the baboon society, human society has delegated these relations into numerous more durable materials, as, for instance, a sign outside your office door stating your name and title. As an effect, Latour claims, relations in human society achieve greater obduracy. However, it is important to mention that this obduracy is by no means understood as absolute. The sign outside your office door is not seen as a stabilized and determining constant – it is a relational effect. This implies that the relations which recursively make up this effect can weaken (or strengthen, for that matter).[88] Law transfers this point about material delegation to his modes of ordering and the question concerning how they achieve

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[87] In CHAPTER 01 I presented how multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses argue that obduracy is an effect of materially heterogeneous, multi-discursive ordering. This part is an explication of this argument.

[88] See Latour 1991 for another example of material delegation. And see Callon 1986 for an example of the, under certain circumstances, precarious processes of material delegation.

obduracy. His four modes of ordering are delegated into an array of materials, and this is one way in which greater obduracy is achieved. In connection to Law's Enterprise mode of ordering, Law gives the so-called manpower-booking system, which was implemented at the Daresbury Laboratory shortly before he began his studies, as an empirical example of such material delegation. The manpower-booking system asks the employees to code their work. They must fill out forms that ask them to state what they have been working on, when, and for how long. The result is a set of statistics, which allows the managers to see – "at a glance" (Law 1994: 156) – how manpower has been utilized within a given period of time. Law concludes that the manpower-booking system and similar 'enterprising' 'accounting devices' (Skærbæk & Tryggestad 2010)[89] create management as a place of discretion. Enterprise performs management as located "at one end of a gradient of materials" (Law 1994: 158), Law argues. From this particular location in a heterogeneous network it is possible for management to act upon how the employees spend their working time. Thus, the manpower-booking system, understood as an accounting device, takes part in creating a dualism between those who act, and those who are acted upon. It takes part in creating a dualism between subjects (managers) and objects (managed).[90]

Multiplicity as the sequencing of modes of ordering

I have established material delegation as the first of three mechanisms by which management and other strategic actors achieve obduracy, by which management stays in place as, exactly, management. The second mechanism, Law identifies, is – perhaps counter-intuitively – multiplicity. How does multiplicity help to establish obduracy? By multiplicity Law means that more than one mode of ordering can be imputed to the materially and discursively heterogeneous networks of the social as they unfurl at the Daresbury Laboratory. And he means that if one mode of ordering does not suffice in a given situation another mode of ordering substitutes it, temporarily. Law's use of the term multiplicity in his work on management therefore describes the sequencing of modes of ordering. One example of this is that Law speaks of "multiple accountability" (Law 1996: 298) and "shifting accountability" (ibid.: 300). The Laboratory's archives constitute one empirical example. A certain orderliness

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[89] Skærbæk & Tryggestad 2010's notion 'accounting devices' is greatly inspired by Latour's notion 'inscription device' (Latour & Woolgar 1986, Latour 1987) and sociologist Michel Callon's investigations of markets as constructed by 'market devices' (see for instance Callon & Muniesa 2005). With this notion of accounting devices the "coming-into-being of a particular strategy or strategic actor can be closely linked to a stream of calculative devices with which agencies are equipped. We suggest that the accounting devices can be active in (re)formulating strategy. The question of 'who' is the strategic actor can be extended to mean 'who or *what*' to allow more explicitly for the possibility that a stream of accounting devices can play a complex part in enacting and (re)formulating strategy" (Skærbæk & Tryggestad 2010: 108-109, emphasis in original). The manpower-booking system can be seen as an accounting device, as it takes part in enacting management as a strategic actor.
[90] I will return to material delegation in CHAPTER 06.

of these archives is legally required, but the current state of the archives does not live up to these legal requirements. What to do about this? At a meeting between the Laboratory's managers it is suggested (by Administration) that the archives are put in order, but this is a costly and, to the Laboratory, non-beneficial affair (Enterprise argues). "The solution? One that was messy: some money to make sure that the records were properly kept in order in the future; but no money to sort out the backlog mess" (Law 2001: 5). Concerning this specific example, as well as more generally, Law's point is that "no one strategy was ever sufficient by itself" (ibid.: 5). His argument is that in order to obtain obduracy a sequencing of the modes of ordering is necessary. Hence, sequencing describes one of the ways in which modes of ordering relate to one another and secure obduracy.[91]

The logic of return: similarities between modes of ordering creating a strong centre

To identify a third way in which obduracy is achieved Law looks not for differences between the four specific modes of ordering, but for their similarities.[92] He explains similarities between his four modes of ordering and he argues that these similarities enforce the obduracy of ordering. Law uses Andrew, one of the Laboratory's managing directors, and his knowledge of one of the Laboratory's research projects being behind schedule, as an empirical example. "How does he know this?" is Law's question, and his answer is what he terms "the logic of return" (Law 2001: 9). Law's argument is that in the heterogeneous networks unfurling at the Laboratory, Andrew is being made into a 'centre of calculation' (see for instance Latour 1990, 1987) and a 'centre of translation' (see for instance Callon 1986).[93] Andrew can be understood as a centre of calculation because information "is being created, collected, assembled, transcribed, transported to, simplified and juxtaposed in a single location, a centre, a panopticon, Andrew, where everything that is relevant can be seen" (Law 2001: 8). Simultaneously, he is made into a centre of translation, meaning that when "he issues orders something happens" (ibid.: 8). When he issues orders it produces "effects out there on the periphery" (ibid.: 8). Law's point is that this logic of return is not an ordering pattern that characterizes Enterprise only – Vocation and Administration take part in

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[91] As mentioned in CHAPTER 02, Mol develops a similar argument in her analysis of how atherosclerosis hangs together in spite of its enactment in different versions in the hospital's different diagnostic, treatment, and research practices. However, she does not use the notion 'sequencing' but develops three ways in which the different versions are made to cohere: 'coordination' (which comes close to sequencing), 'distribution', and 'inclusion' (Mol 2002a).

[92] In pursuing this train of thought Law takes "half a move on from the arguments of <u>Organizing Modernity</u>" (Law 2001: 2, emphasis in original) whereas the arguments concerning material delegation and multiplicity were made in *Organizing Modernity* (1994).

[93] Here Law makes a distinction between the notions of 'centre of calculation' and 'centre of translation'. In Latour and Callon's writings on these notions there does not seem to be much of a distinction between these two terms. However, in this chapter I will uphold Law's distinction.

performing the same, asymmetrical pattern. They work together in generating a centre and its peripheries. Law concludes:

> It is therefore unsurprising to discover that though they sometimes fight, they are also, at least at times, quite happy to coexist. For there is nothing in their basic ontologies that separates them. They share a general approach to the world and its possibilities. A general approach that assumes the need for centres, centred subjectivities, and the need to, the necessity, to come back (ibid.: 8-9).

The logic of return implies "flows, which go out [from] and back" (ibid.: 8) to a centre. On their way out from the centre these flows take the form of translations, and on their way back to the centre they take the form of representations or articulations.

Law identifies the logic of return and the implied recursive construction of a managerial centre and its peripheries as something the different modes of ordering share. This logic of return can be said to be at the heart of how Danish state institutions are managed according to the two publications from the Ministry of Finance. A team of group managers, performance contracts, and a team of controllers issue orders and articulations are sent back to these three managerial centres. This being the case, what I am interested in here is the question of how these flows going out from the centres to their peripheries and back happen in the working practices of the communicators involved. Are these flows, for instance, fast or slow, institutionalized or ad hoc, assigned great or few resources? We will see that strong managerial centres are created in the communicators' working practices, but this creation does not always happen in a smooth manner. The four modes of ordering are, at times, "quite happy to coexist" and create strong managerial centres, but this coexistence is not always smooth and unproblematic.

The logic of return in the communicators' working practices

In this third part of the current chapter I will return to the three areas of management created in the two publications from the Danish Ministry of Finance: group management, goal and performance management between the ministerial department and its institutions, and the institutions' internal, financial management. In the two publications each of these three areas of management is assigned a strong managerial centre: a team of group managers, performance contracts between the ministerial department and its institutions, and a group of controllers. I will explore how these managerial centres are enacted in the communicators' working practices. The questions are: do the communicators play their allotted roles in the

enactment of these managerial centres? Do they have an interest in enacting these managerial centres in their working practices? If so, how do they do this? If not, what do they do instead?

Group management: assumed and enacted in line communication

All the five government organizations involved in the project – one ministerial group (TAX), one ministry (FOREIGN), and three agencies (CONSUME, FOOD, and GOVERN) – make up a group, or are part of larger groups. These ministerial groups are complex organizations and each is organized differently. However, the following common organizational and managerial traits are discernable. At the top of a ministerial group we find the Minister of the ministerial area in question. Then there is the department and the permanent secretary. Most departments are divided into a few divisions and each division has its head of division. These heads of division form a team of managing directors. At a level which is neither higher nor lower than the ministerial department's team of managing directors, we have a team of group managers. This team of group managers "typically encompasses the top management positions in the department and in the ministry's institutions" (Finansministeriet 2010a: 19).[94] In this study I have been in touch with one type of these ministry institutions, namely agencies. Each agency has an executive director and one or more deputy directors. The agencies are divided into a number of divisions and each division has a head of division.

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[94] In Danish: [Koncernledelsen], som typisk omfatter de øverste ledelsespositioner i departementet og i ministeriets institutioner […].
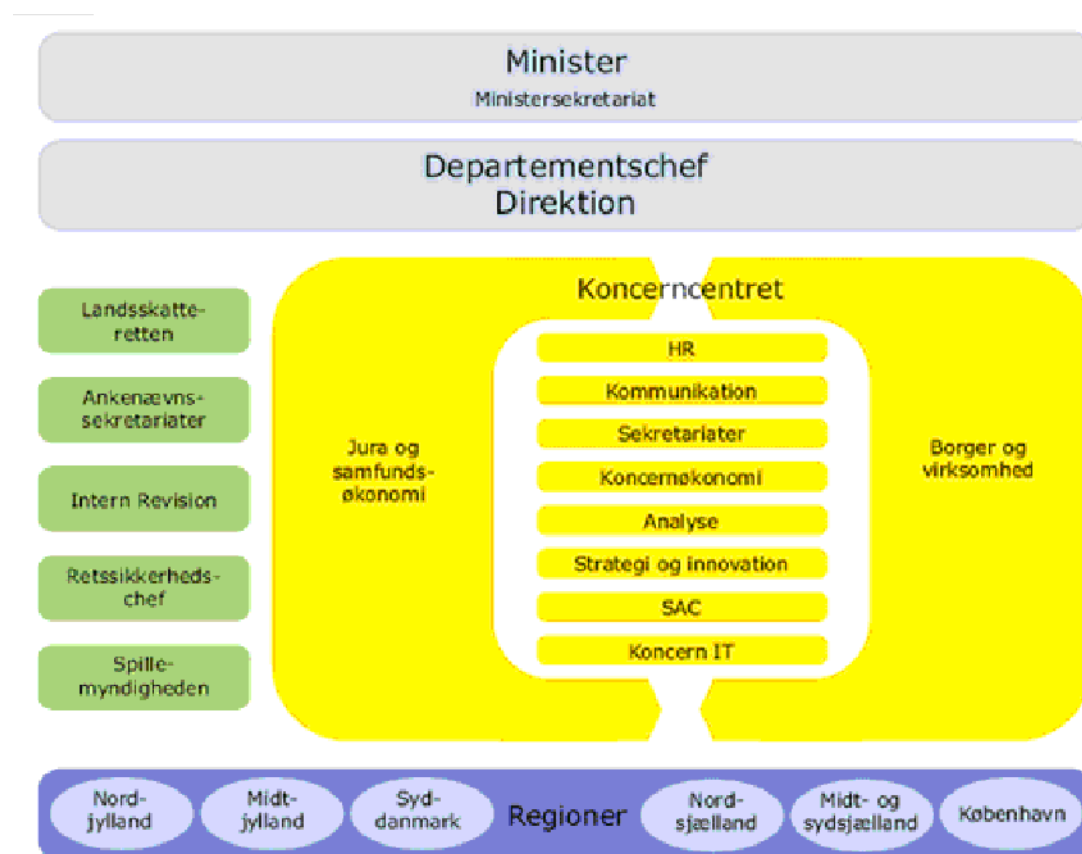
Figure 4: Organization chart showing how the TAX Group is organized (www.skm.dk, accessed 20.10.10).
This organization chart shows the various divisions and organizations that make up the TAX Group. There is the minister and the permanent secretary (the two top grey boxes), the ministerial department's agencies and other institutions (the green boxes on the left and the purple box at the bottom). Finally, as of January 1st 2010 the TAX Group has created a group centre (the yellow box), which encompasses tasks that go across the group's divisions and organizations. These tasks include communication, strategy and innovation, and IT.

In the course of the Industrial PhD project, the TAX Group has carried out what they termed a group communication project. This project included endeavours to enhance what in the communicators' working practices is termed 'line communication'. Line communication describes the endeavour to make a message from top management travel from this top level all the way down to the employees without distortion. Line communication and, especially, the enhancement of line communication, were of concern to other government organizations involved also. Communicators at GOVERN sought to enhance internal communication – including better meeting structures and enhancing managers' communicative skill by training – by making it part of their future strategy for internal communication. FOOD has put their executive director "on air" (FOOD, group interview, 17.03.09), meaning that he addresses his employees by way of a video streamed on FOOD's intranet. Thus, line communication can be viewed as a communicative solution produced in the communicators' working practices,

which seeks to enact the team of group managers as a strong managerial centre. In the following I will turn to the TAX Group in order to describe how this production happens.

Julie, who is working as a communicator in the TAX Group's ministerial department, tells me that every Thursday the department's team of managing directors has a meeting. If they make important decisions or discuss principal issues that they decide are of interest to the ministerial department's employees, these are communicated to the department's heads of division, who then communicate these to the employees under their management:

> Julie: That is... What's it called? Not hierarchy... Line communication (TAX, group interview, 02.04.08)!

Line communication presupposes and enacts a well-regulated organization with clear hierarchies. The department's team of managing directors makes decisions and they decide which of these decisions are to travel down the hierarchical levels of the organization, and how. Thus, line communication is a communicative solution that performs the ordering pattern of Administration.

In the TAX Group's ministerial department this line communication works quite well, Julie tells me. The department is a relatively small organization, comprising approximately 135 employees, and this may be the reason why. When the departmental team of managers has an important message to convey they set up a meeting where all departmental employees are asked to attend. In the TAX Group as a whole, it is a different story. This is a huge public sector organization with approximately 8,600 employees. In November 2005 the Ministry of Taxation merged with the Danish Tax and Customs Administration (SKAT), and the TAX Group, consisting of the Ministry of Taxation, SKAT and the Danish National Tax Tribunal, is the result.[95] Julie, who at the time of the merger is working in the ministerial department's division for Personnel and Organizational Strategy, underscores in an interview that the merger in 2005 is the main reason for the coming into being of the TAX Group's group communication project.

> Julie: In 2005 no direct channel for or structure on how to communicate [from the group management team] to all employees existed (TAX, interview, 14.04.08).

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[95] Up until November 2005 the Danish municipalities were responsible for collecting taxes.

In Julie's view, this lack of channels and structure creates problems in implementing the TAX Group's new business concept, the Effort Strategy, which sees the light of day in late 2006.[96] The group communication project addresses these problems:

> Julie: In the future top management will be unable to make a decision to implement a new business concept like the Effort Strategy without having a crystal clear and fully operational recipe for how to get it communicated to the employees. In fact, that's what top management [i.e. the team of group managers] will become accountable for [with the implementation of the new group communication policy] (TAX, group interview, 02.04.08).

In producing line communication, the communicators at the TAX Group and in the other government organizations involved take part in performing an ordering towards Administration. They attempt to create an organizational structure through which information can travel from a managerial centre and one level at a time without distortion. In the group communication project this centre is the team of group managers. However, in the case of the group communication project something is wrong with this line communication, Julie argues. Line communication needs to be enhanced if the team of group managers is to be a managerial centre. Thus, the group communication project also performs the ordering pattern of Enterprise. One central effect of this performance of Enterprise is that the team of group managers becomes accountable for always preparing "crystal clear and fully operational recipes" for how to communicate new developments to the employees. It is noteworthy that in Julie's report on the group communication project it was not the team of group managers who wished to become accountable for communicating new developments in a specific way. It was the group communication project that made them accountable for communicating in a specific way. And this was not always easy, as we will see in the next chapter, CHAPTER 06, where I will deal with the group communication project in greater detail.

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[96] In Danish: Indsatsstrategien. For an official Danish document by the TAX Group on this strategy see www.skat.dk/SKAT.aspx?oID=1617405, accessed 21.04.2010. In the introduction to this document it says about the Effort Strategy: "[The Danish Tax and Customs Administration (SKAT)] believes that with the Effort Strategy we can make more tax payers comply with the rules. By using all our tools – from the easy service and goal-oriented guidance to visible and consistent controls – we can create a coherent effort, which makes it easy to comply with the rules and difficult to cheat" (my translation). (In Danish: Med indsatsstrategien tror SKAT på, at vi kan få flere skatteydere til at efterleve reglerne. Ved at bruge alle vores værktøjer – fra den nemme service og målrettede vejledning til synlige og konsekvente kontroller – kan vi skabe en sammenhængende indsats, der gør det nemt at efterleve reglerne og svært at snyde). In her currently on going PhD project, ethnologist Karen Boll investigates ethnographically how tax compliance is constructed in heterogeneous networks involving the Effort Strategy and a plethora of other human and non-human actors. See www.kabophd.wordpress.com (accessed 21.04.10) for details.

My point here is that in the TAX Group's group communication project – and in similar attempts at producing and enhancing line communication in the other government organizations involved – Administration and Enterprise go together. They feed off one another in creating the TAX Group's team of group managers as a strong managerial centre. However, they also seem – at times – to be standing in the way of each other. Whereas Administration attempts to keep in place who is accountable for what, Enterprise attempts to redefine or reshuffle who is accountable for what. In producing line communication the challenge is to find out when what is needed: when is line communication to strengthen a well-ordered organization and when is it to redefine or reshuffle who is accountable for what? What is the 'right' sequence?

Goal and performance management: a difficult task

Performance contracts are signed between a ministerial department and its institutions, and they list the yearly goals of the institutions' work. Often and increasingly these goals are formulated in terms of the outcomes of this work. In a yearly report the institutions assess whether these goals have been reached or not. Thus, as a managerial device a performance contract has two sides. First, it is a managerial device for issuing orders. It does so by formulating goals for the institutions' work. A performance contract can be seen as a centre of translation. Second, a performance contract asks the institutions to assess whether the goals set have been reached or not. A performance contract can also be seen as a centre of calculation. A performance contract issues orders to the institutions and it asks the institutions to assess the outcomes of these orders.

Performance contracts are used in all the five government organizations involved, but how these performance contracts take part in managing the work of the communicators differs. In some of the government organizations, for instance FOOD, the performance contract works in rather "large chunks" (FOOD, group interview, 17.03.09), meaning that the production of specific communicative solutions is seen as part of larger efforts. Thus, the outcome of a pamphlet, for instance, is not assessed, as such a pamphlet is seen as part of a larger effort to tackle a given problem. In other government organizations, for instance CONSUME, the communication division has its own performance contract. In comparison, it can be said that the performance contract in CONSUME works in smaller chunks. In such cases the outcome of smaller communicative solutions might be assessed. Another difference is how actively the communicators take part in formulating the goals of the performance contract. In TAX and GOVERN I have met communicators who have recommended their respective managers to make specific parts of their work part of the performance contract. In other instances, the formulation of the goals of the performance contract has been talked about as something on

which the communicators have no direct influence. So far, the examples given of how the communicators encounter performance contracts in their work have concerned the performance contract as a managerial device for issuing orders. In CHAPTER 07 I will describe how communicators at CONSUME work with and around (Suchman 1983) CONSUME's performance contract. However, a performance contract does not make much sense if it is not assessed whether the goals that it formulates have been reached or not. A performance contract does not make much sense unless it is also a centre of calculation. Again, there are differences as to how the communicators involved encounter performance contracts as centres of calculation in their working practices. Some communicators are directly involved in the goal and performance management practices entailed by the government organizations' use of performance contracts, while other communicators do not seem to have this as one of their tasks. In the following we will meet Carina, communicator at FOREIGN, who is directly involved in FOREIGN's goal and performance management, and who seems to struggle – among other things – with the fact that some of her colleagues do not see goal and performance management as one of their tasks.

Figure 5: Carina, communicator at FOREIGN, working at her computer (FOREIGN, Heat #1, communicators' photographic documentation of their own work, Winter 2008)
Carina is working at her computer, but what is she doing more precisely? She describes the photograph as depicting her being the "big mother" (FOREIGN, group interview, 30.05.08) trying to collect information about the outcome of the communicative activities carried out by her colleagues.

Figure 5 is a photograph taken by communicators working at FOREIGN as part of their photographic documentation of their own work in the first heat of fieldwork. The photograph depicts Carina who, among other things, is working on FOREIGN's goal and performance management and evaluating the work of Danida DevForum (from now on just Danida).[97] In the photograph she is working in her office at her computer, but what is it she is doing more precisely, and what does it have to do with measuring or otherwise assessing the outcomes of the communicative solutions produced by FOREIGN? I ask her these questions in a follow-up interview.

Carina tells me that in the photograph she is making a list of all the strategy papers, communication activities, action plans etc. FOREIGN has on Danida's work. The list is to be sent to a consultancy firm. The consultancy firm is then to do a pilot study of what will, in turn, become a final evaluation of Danida's work. It is a list of things that FOREIGN finds should be part of the consultancy firm's pilot study and the final evaluation. This work is not easy, Carina elaborates:

> **Carina**: What I'm struggling with – among other things – is that in 2007 we got a new communication policy and that makes 2006 different from 2007. Further, I'm struggling with us [at FOREIGN] not being so good at doing outcomes... [I mean]: What did this [activity] result in? Either quantitatively, or [qualitatively]...? We have very few effect measurements... So, that's what I'm working on in the photograph (FOREIGN, group interview, 30.05.08).[98]

Carina here gives two reasons for why her work is not easy. The first is that FOREIGN got a new communication policy in 2007. This policy sets goals for FOREIGN's communicative work that are different from those set in the previous policy. So: which goals to go by in undertaking the evaluation? Second, Carina's statement implies that she is attempting to do a

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[97] "The Danida DevForum of the Technical Advisory Services provides information and news on development priorities and themes in Danish development assistance" (www.um.dk/en/menu/DevelopmentPolicy/DanidaDevForum/, accessed 26.04.2010). I will not go further into the work of Danida DevForum, as these matters are not of importance to the argument developed here.

[98] Talking about public diplomacy activities and their evaluation, Flemming, communicator at UM and working on evaluating UM's public diplomacy activities, argues: "If a regular company buys four advertising spots on TV 2 [a Danish, national TV station] in prime time, then you're probably able to see and measure an effect. But public diplomacy, specifically, has as one of its goals that we must promote the knowledge of Danish position of strength. But we also have to promote a positive decision-making environment in connection to that, which is Danish and Danish politics. That [desired outcome of our work] is pretty hard to measure – in which specific situation is it and when is it people make decisions about that which is Danish" (Flemming, UM, group interview, 30.05.08)? Flemming argues that public diplomacy is a specific form of communication with specific desired outcomes which are difficult to locate and measure. When Carina states that FOREIGN is not so good at doing outcomes one of the reasons for this might be that the outcomes of FOREIGN's communicative work are difficult to locate and to measure.

specific type of evaluation: she is attempting to do an evaluation that focuses on outcomes and not, for instance, due process or outputs. In undertaking the evaluation Carina attempts to perform the ordering pattern of Enterprise exclusively. This is difficult, and the reason for these difficulties might be that other modes of ordering attempt to order Carina's work as well.

Danida's work is a specific area of FOREIGN's overall communicative work. Therefore, I ask: is the photograph also a good representation of how FOREIGN assesses the outcome of its communicative work on a more general level? Carina answers:

> **Carina**: To some extent you can say that the photograph gives a quite good impression of that when doing evaluations it's a caseworker sitting relatively alone trying to sum up. I'm trying to get the things in from my colleagues and the responsibility for getting this done rests on this chair [i.e. my chair]. The responsibility for doing evaluations isn't that embedded in each employee's work: "Remember to do some communication measurement!" I might say [to my colleagues]. "And how are we to do that?" they might respond. It's very much she, sitting on that chair, being – right now – the big mother. She's trying to collect it all. It's a thankless job, I'll say, and what I always say is this: "Don't shoot at Mom! Or the messenger…" "We have to remember to evaluate," I say. People are sick and tired of it (ibid.).

Carina goes on to elaborate upon some of the reasons why her colleagues are sick and tired of evaluations, measurements, and goal and performance management. She says that in FOREIGN they have often not learnt much from doing the measurements and evaluations of their communicative activities:

> **Carina**: In these cases we've done [the evaluations] very quantitatively because we had to (ibid.).

The target audience of these evaluations are top managers at FOREIGN and/or a political mandate. This target audience wants to be able to see the results of the evaluations at a glance. Numbers allow for that – long, fuzzy, and more complex qualitative accounts do not. That is why Carina had to do her evaluations quantitatively in these cases. In these cases goal and performance management seems to be done solely in connection to a locatable place higher up in a bureaucratic hierarchy. As we saw in the above, Carina attempts to perform the ordering pattern of Enterprise in undertaking evaluations of FOREIGN's communicative work, but the ordering pattern of Administration can also be imputed to her working practices.

Carina sums up her argument concerning her colleagues being sick and tired of performance management by telling me about a goal and performance management animal that many FOREIGN employees sense is on the loose in FOREIGN:

> **Carina**: [There's this] meta-story in the organization, which is about this goal and performance management animal. We've calculated how many full-time equivalents [FTEs] we spend on doing goal and performance measurements [and it's quite a lot]. Goal and performance management is *also* used as a strategic management tool. I'm unsure about how widespread the employees' understanding of this is. Goal and performance management is also used in a sensible fashion and prospectively. It's also used to learn from. People have a clear perception of the goal and performance management system as something… As a huge, inflated animal, which we only spend resources on because there're demands in terms of documentation. Rigsrevisionen[99] puts these demands forward, among others. This meta-story overshadows some of the other activities that we might be able to do within the area of measurement. Further, it's also a question of the local management, meaning the management of our communication division, not having a strong focus on these issues. If there is no strong focus from local management then it's not going to become a strongly prioritized area. […] Then it's something we stumble upon in the end of the year: "We also have to do this [evaluation], and we also have to do that [evaluation]…" (ibid., my emphasis).

The important word in this quote is the 'also' near the beginning. At FOREIGN, goal and performance management is about documenting FOREIGN's work. This is done in connection to external authorities, for instance Rigsrevisionen. The local management does not, in Carina's account, have a strong focus on developing other ways of working with goal and performance management. The goal and performance management animal feeds off this version of goal and performance management, which is preoccupied with documenting due process and nothing more. This version of goal and performance management is performed by the ordering pattern of Administration. However, at FOREIGN goal and performance management is also a strategic management tool: it is also about being strategic, looking ahead and learning. This version of goal and performance management is performed by the ordering pattern of Enterprise. In FOREIGN, goal and performance management is practised and performed in two different ordering patterns: Enterprise and Administration. This coexistence of the ordering pattern of Enterprise and the ordering pattern of Administration might be the reason why goal and performance management is achieved. On the one hand, goal and performance management gets done because Carina, who already has

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[99] Apparently, Rigsrevisionen has not translated its name into English. However, "Rigsrevisionen is a public institution; its primary task is to audit the state accounts and to examine whether state funds are administered in accordance with the decisions of the Folketing [the Danish Parliament]" (www.rigsrevisionen.dk/about, accessed 26.04.10).

been convinced, is convincing her colleagues that it is not only about documentation. It is also about being strategic, looking ahead, and learning. In short: it is meaningful to Carina and to her colleagues. On the other hand, goal and performance management gets done because, according to Carina, FOREIGN is obliged to do it because of certain external authorities. Enterprise and Administration go together. Together they establish goal and performance management, which implies a performance contract, work devoted to setting the goals of the contract, and work devoted to assessing whether these goals are reached or not, as a strong, managerial centre. Enterprise and Administration can be said to form a two-sided and flexible, and thus strong, argument for undertaking goal and performance management.

Carina began by stating that it is not easy for her to work on FOREIGN's goal and performance management. The reason why it is not easy is that she attempts to do a specific type of assessment of FOREIGN's work, namely an assessment that orders FOREIGN's communicative work towards the ordering pattern of Enterprise. Throughout the year she makes attempts at this, but this is complicated by a new communication policy that sets new goals, difficulties with locating and assessing the outcomes of FOREIGN's communicative work, a demand for assessments that document and nothing else, and colleagues that are less convinced than she is about the meaningfulness of doing goal and performance management. In spite of these difficulties, goal and performance management is undertaken at FOREIGN. The reason for this might be that another ordering pattern takes over from time to time. At the latest this happens at the end of the year, when the yearly report must be completed on whether the goals of the performance contract have been reached. At the end of the year due process kicks in and the attempts at assessing the work of the communicators in terms of outcomes give way to attempts at ordering the communicators' work in terms of what has been done. I will say that the ordering pattern of Administration kicks in at the end of the year.

Internal financial management: the assessment of an agency's products

During fieldwork, the communicators involved in the Industrial PhD project did not talk about or otherwise engage much with the respective government organization's financial management. Amounts of money or working hours devoted to the production of given communicative solutions would pop up in their notes – in drafts and in the ones that had been "nodded at" by top management alike.[100] However, on a few occasions I was directly introduced to financial management, including the controllers who are in charge of this type

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[100] The communicators prepare notes and present them to the government organizations' teams of managers. Based on these notes the team of managers decides on a course of action. In preparing these notes the communicators discuss them numerous times with relevant colleagues.

of management. In CHAPTER 06 I will describe how a controller at the TAX Group takes part in formulating the success criteria for its group communication project. In the present section I will describe how a controller at CONSUME takes part in assessing one of CONSUME's products.

Figure 6: A plastic card and cash money as symbol of CONSUME's financial resources (CONSUME, Heat #1, communicators' photographic documentation of their own work, Winter 2008)
This is one of the photographs which Michael, communicator at CONSUME, took in response to my asking him to photograph measurements, especially communication measurements, going on currently in CONSUME. He went to CONSUME's "chief VIP controller" (CONSUME, interview, 09.04.08) and had a talk with the controller about the financial overviews he produces. The credit card and the cash money depicted symbolize this financial overview.

Figure 6 is a photograph Michael, communicator at CONSUME, sends me in Winter 2008. In a follow-up interview I ask him why he has taken this particular photograph. He tells me that in thinking about measuring at CONSUME, CONSUME's "chief VIP controller" came to his mind:

> **Michael**: I talked to the chief VIP controller. He's in charge of much of the overall management of CONSUME's resources. He's got a finger on the pulse when it comes to how CONSUME fulfils different types of agency contracts and performance contracts and how CONSUME's finances are going. He measures how we measure the resources we have. The [resulting] financial overview is also a kind of measurement (ibid.).

The formulation of interest here is tricky: according to Michael the chief VIP controller "measures how we measure the resources we have." What does this mean? As we saw earlier,

financial management in the organizations of the Danish state and, thus, in CONSUME, is about continually making sure CONSUME utilizes its resources in the most effective and efficient way. I ask Michael how this works in his day-to-day work: does he encounter the chief VIP controller's work? Of course he does, he answers. The financial overview forms the framework within which CONSUME's employees – including CONSUME's communicators – work, he elaborates. To explain this further Michael uses an example: in 2007 the Danish Government announces that in 2008 all ministerial areas are to save up one percent of their finances.[101] About this Michael says:

> **Michael**: It's clear that we can feel it on the number of products we have to put out there. For instance, the number of product tests could decrease. It could be many other things, though... (ibid.).

So, in a rather straightforward manner Michael points at a direct relationship between the financial overview created by the controller and CONSUME's production of one of its products, product tests. Other CONSUME products could, however, be cut if CONSUME cannot finance their production. In deciding upon which products to cut, the following question becomes pertinent: what is the outcome of CONSUME's products in connection to the resources spent on producing them? In other words: how well do CONSUME's products perform? Finding an answer to these questions is a less straightforward matter. In the interview, Michael and I talk about CONSUME's product tests. Therefore, I will take this specific CONSUME product and the assessment of its outcome as an example.[102]

Michael tells me that statistical software is connected to CONSUME's website. The website had a lot of visitors when a specific product test was published on so-called smartphones a while ago:

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[101] See the Danish government bill, *A Society of Possibilities* (Regeringen 2007). In Danish: *Mulighedernes samfund*.

[102] The following analysis is inspired by recent work within the research fields of accounting studies and public administration and management suggesting that the "existing literature has been too focused on organizational forms, and has largely neglected the hybrid practices, processes and expertises that make possible lateral information flows and cooperation across the boundaries of organisations, firms and groups of experts or professionals" (Miller, Kurunmäki et al. 2007: 944, see also Bloomfield & Hayes 2009 for an analytical utilization of the hybrid-oriented research agenda formulated in Miller, Kurunmäki et al. 2007). I understand financial management as happening in such hybrid practices. However, I prefer the notion of 'multiplicity' to that of 'hybridity', because 'hybridity' suggests a strong bond between the heterogeneous elements making up a given hybrid practice. CONSUME's assessments of its products can be described as multiple – rather than hybrid – practices, because different modes of ordering that relate to each other differently can be imputed to these practices.

> **Michael**: It was completely crazy how many wanted to see the test of the smartphones! I should have taken a photograph of the statistics generated – it's an important part of it all, an important measurement (ibid.).

However, the traffic on CONSUME's website is not the only principle at stake in deciding what to test. The additional principles are: the product to be tested has to be new; it has to be complex; it has to be relatively expensive; and it has to be a product that others – private companies, for instance – do not test. As Michael tells me, you have to treat the taxpayers' money with cautiousness and the principles for what products to test are to secure that this happens. However:

> **Michael**: If we do this [if we follow these principles] 100 percent, we will only end up testing products that nobody wants to hear about. That is why we, of course, also think about what is of interest to many people (ibid.).

Several principles are at stake in the assessment of CONSUME's products. The assessment is a heterogeneous matter. Taking the product test as an example, the assessment of this product is made up of statistics showing the number of visitors to CONSUME's website, an awareness of the importance of being cautious in spending the taxpayers' money, and what might be termed 'public interests'. And then there are the financial entities concerning what it costs to undertake these product tests. These heterogeneous entities are associated and all take part in assessing and, thus, accounting for CONSUME and its utilization of the resources that have been entrusted to this agency. It is noteworthy that the assessment of a CONSUME product like the product tests relies on principles that do not add up to a coherent whole. The principles do not describe different aspects of the product test as a CONSUME product. On the contrary, some of these principles are contradictory: some principles imply that CONSUME is fundamentally different from private companies undertaking similar product tests, while others put CONSUME's product tests in competition with private companies undertaking similar product tests. I understand it as an instance of an ordering attempt occupied with due process, when principles are applied that render CONSUME fundamentally different from private companies, and I understand it as an instance of an ordering attempt occupied with results, when principles are applied that put CONSUME in competition with private companies. The ordering attempts of Administration and Enterprise coexist in the assessment of the product test. Further, it seems possible to sequence these ordering attempts in the actual practices of assessing this CONSUME product.

As it was the case in the two areas of management discussed in the above, internal financial management also operates on the basis of a logic of return. Principles are in place for deciding

upon what to test and how to assess the outcomes. These principles secure that CONSUME's products can be assessed, and that this assessment can be transported to the internal financial managers such as the chief VIP controller. However, the principles do not add up to a coherent whole. Different logics can be imputed to these principles and a relatively peaceful coexistence of these logics, these ordering attempts, seems to be achieved by sequencing them in the practices of assessing CONSUME's products.

Sequencing: required, but difficult

So far, I have made the following arguments in the present chapter. Two official publications by the Danish Ministry of Finance state that Danish state institutions such as the five government organizations involved are managed by three managerial centres: a team of group managers, performance contracts, and internal controllers. I have shown that in the communicators' working practices these three managerial centres are indeed enacted. Further, I have shown that this enactment happens because – and not in spite – of the coexistence of two modes of ordering: Administration and Enterprise. A sequencing of Administration and Enterprise marks this coexistence. However, especially in the cases concerning line communication in the TAX Group and goal and performance management in FOREIGN, this sequencing does not always happen smoothly. The sequencing of modes of ordering is required if the communicators' working practices are to be managed by the three managerial centres. If this sequencing does not happen, the flow of orders from the managerial centres and the flow of articulations to the managerial centres stop. This conclusion contradicts my cursory analysis of the two official publications from the Ministry of Finance, which left the impression that the three managerial centres were the effect of the ordering pattern of Enterprise exclusively. Therefore, I will take a closer look at the two official publications on how the government organizations are to be managed in the current part. I will argue that the need for sequencing modes of ordering in managing the communicators' working practices is built into these to two publications. As we have seen, this sequencing does not always happen in a smooth fashion in the communicators' working practices. I will give one last example of this from CONSUME before I end this chapter with some concluding remarks.

Ambivalent guidelines for managing

In the first part of this chapter I reported on two publications by the Danish Ministry of Finance on the management of the Danish state institutions: *Efficient Task Execution in the State* from 2003 and *Responsibility for Management – Guidance on Management from Group to Institution* from 2010. Both publications underscore that the various ministerial areas are different. For instance, the ministerial areas vary in size, tasks, and financing. Both publications highlight

that these differences have consequences for how each ministerial area is to be managed by the ministerial department in question:

> The areas the ministries cover and the state institutions are not identical when it comes to size, tasks, or financing. Differences in management needs mean that different processes and tools are relevant in the endeavours to satisfy the requirements in each institution. Therefore, the publication does not give detailed guidelines or guidance on precisely *how* management is to be organized. Instead, this publication describes fundamental minimum requirements. Further, it depicts *the goals* for management and *what* is to be focused on in the management endeavours. The ministerial departments' and the state institutions' responsibilities and opportunities for themselves to estimate the type and extent of management are hereby upheld (Finansministeriet 2010a: 6, emphasis in original, see also Finansministeriet 2003: 16).[103]

The two publications present the goals of management, and they present what the ministerial departments must focus on in their management. Each ministerial department is left room and made responsible for conceptualizing and implementing a type and extent of management that suits the specifics of the ministerial area in question. In that sense, the two publications can be said to straddle the ordering patterns of Incommensuration and Commensuration. The publications stress the differences between the ministerial areas and, thus, Commensuration is a needed, present, and performed ordering pattern in the publications. These differences are to be evened out. The guidelines of the publications offer a common denominator for assessing the performance of each ministerial department and its institutions. However, again because of the differences between the ministerial areas, it is up to each of the ministerial departments to decide how it will manage its institutions more specifically and, thus, secure a legitimate performance. Hence, Incommensuration is also at stake. Imperfection, in terms of incommensurate and, hence, incomparable ministerial areas, is practised. Delineating and measuring each ministerial area by the same common denominator is made impossible. In the publications a balance is produced between Commensuration and Incommensuration, between sameness and difference. It is the generality of the publications that allows for this production of a balance between Commensuration and Incommensuration.

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[103] In Danish: Ministerområderne og de statslige institutioner er ikke ens, hverken hvad angår størrelse, opgaver eller finansiering. Forskelle i styringsbehov betyder, at der er forskel på, hvilke processer og værktøjer, der er relevante for at opfylde kravene i den enkelte institution. Publikationen giver derfor ikke detaljerede retningslinjer eller vejledning om, *hvordan* styringen præcis skal tilrettelægges. Publikationen beskriver i stedet grundlæggende minimumskrav og angiver derudover *målene* for styringen samt *hvad*, der skal fokuseres på i styringen. Dermed fastholdes departementerne og institutionernes ansvar og muligheder for selv at vurdere form og omfang af styringsindsatsen for at opfylde målene.

This balance can also be understood as a "double movement of responsibilization and autonomization" (Rose 1999: 476, see also du Gay 2007: 148-155). The ministerial departments are on their own in determining how to delineate, visualize and materialize the performance of their institutions. Still, guidelines and more specific accounting devices are invented and deployed. How the ministerial departments assess the outcome of the work done within their respective ministerial areas must be administered. The ministerial departments are on their own in determining how they will assess the outcome of their work and they are administered from a centre simultaneously.

In the first part of this chapter I stated that *Efficient Task Execution in the State* and *Responsibility for Management – Guidance on Management from Group to Institution* were performing the ordering pattern of Enterprise in their descriptions of guidelines for how the ministerial departments must manage the work of their institutions. The publications focus on strategies, effectiveness, efficiency, users as more important than the system, management by goals and results, policies for outsourcing, policies for getting the best deals, and de-bureaucratization. The publications give the impression that the management of the Danish state institutions is a singular case of "entrepreneurial government" (see for instance du Gay 2007: 165-173). However, if one attends to the more mundane wordings of those publications, as I have done in the above, a different impression takes form. It can be said that the ordering patterns of Administration, Commensuration, Incommensuration and Enterprise go together in these publications. Administration, Commensuration, Incommensuration and Enterprise are all ordering patterns that can be imputed to the two publications by the Danish Ministry of Finance. The sequencing of these four modes of ordering is built into the guidelines offered in the two publications for managing state institutions. In the part above we saw that this sequencing does not always happen smoothly in the working practices of the communicators involved in the current study. In an attempt to bring the point home I will give one last example of smooth and non-smooth sequencing of modes of ordering in the working practices of the communicators. The example concerns the question: what do CONSUME's executive director and deputy director want from CONSUME's communicators?

What do the managers want?

In spring 2009 I receive Anna and Laura's documentation of how the five preliminary modes of ordering I had developed by then are unfolding at CONSUME. Anna and Laura are both rather newly appointed communicators at CONSUME. I had termed one of the preliminary modes of ordering 'a logic of administration' and its contents were close to the Administration mode of ordering presented in CHAPTER 04. Anna and Laura write in their joint documentation that this logic is very strong in their work. They explain that everything

leaving CONSUME must first be approved by CONSUME's managers, that the organizational hierarchy at CONSUME is the frame within which they carry out their work, and that there is a principle of cautiousness at stake in their working practices. Another of the five preliminary modes of ordering I had termed 'a logic of change'. Its contents were close to the Enterprise mode of ordering that was presented in CHAPTER 04. In connection to this logic of change, Anna and Laura write in their joint documentation:

> **Anna and Laura**: Independently, we've both been wondering why our colleagues have been talking so much about the limitations [in what's possible and isn't possible in terms of communication initiatives] and, in fact, we've both had the experience that [the managers at CONSUME] don't live up to this image. On the contrary, we've both been surprised [by] the managers' openness towards and initiations of new initiatives. For those reasons it can be the case that in some matters CONSUME's employees apply a form of self-censorship in their day-to-day work (CONSUME, Heat #3, documentation of preliminary modes of ordering, Spring 2009).

What Anna and Laura here briefly describe I understand as interference between two modes of ordering: Administration (limits for what is and is not possible) and Enterprise (openness towards and initiation of new initiatives). Further, it is a form of interference that does not imply a smooth sequencing of these two modes of ordering. According to their documentation, one of the effects of this interference is a form of self-censorship. I undertake follow-up interviews with Anna and Laura independently, and I ask them if they can give me some more concrete examples of the self-censorship that is mentioned in their documentation. Their examples resemble one another and here I will limit myself to the example given by Anna.

Anna's example concerns CONSUME's press releases. She tells me about how CONSUME communicators write press releases and how they include quotes from high-ranking CONSUME employees. The workflow is as follows: the communicators write draft versions of the press releases including quotes and then managers approve the wordings of the press releases. While crafting these press releases Anna has experienced colleagues claiming that given quotes are not workable. These colleagues argue that they have tried something similar before and it did not meet with the managers' approval. Or the colleagues claim that the quotes are too political. However, it is Anna's experience that the managers are more progressive than some of her colleagues seem to think: she has experienced that managers ask her to make a press release sharper and clearer. She goes on to elaborate how this situation of ambivalence in what the CONSUME managers want from the communicators arises:

> **Anna**: You try to make your work easier for yourself by not getting into these kinds of problems. Because sometimes it's a completely insane process with little words being discussed 100 times by all sorts of different people. That's really frustrating, so you try to get around that and to get through it as smoothly as possible. However, sometimes I think that the communicators here [at CONSUME] see some ghosts [that might not be there]. Things change… Or the boss' outlook has changed (CONSUME, interview, 17.03.09).

I wish to underscore that Anna's story about the drafting of press releases is not about choosing between the due process of Administration and the more daring approach of Enterprise. It is about finding out when what kind of ordering pattern is needed. That Anna is not arguing for making a choice between the two modes of ordering also comes out in her answer to my next question. I ask her to describe CONSUME's managers in a few words. She says that CONSUME has an executive director and a deputy director. The executive director is "flying over the waters" (ibid.), and she is, in Anna's opinion, more daring than the former executive director. The deputy director, on the other hand, is really "good with big reports" (ibid.) and insisting that the numbers and the statistics are in place:

> **Anna**: I think it's positive that they embody both parts because otherwise it'd be really heavy. If they only had one [part] – that everything must be documented [then it'd be really heavy]. What I mean is that they're willing to listen to good arguments. And strong, what to say…? [They're willing to listen to] gut feelings, for lack of a better term (ibid.).

In alignment with the two publications from the Ministry of Finance, Anna here argues that everything is needed if CONSUME is to function: Enterprise (daring to fly over the waters), Administration (documentation and big reports), Commensuration (statistics), Incommensuration (gut feelings that cannot be delineated and measured) are all needed to make CONSUME work. Following due process and being cautious can result in 'good' government communication. And using sharper quotes and relying on gut feelings can result in 'good' government communication. However, the questions are: when is what needed? What is the sequence that makes CONSUME work? The answer to these questions is uncertain in the CONSUME communicators' working practices, and it is this uncertainty that gives rise to the self-censorship mentioned by Anna and Laura in their documentation.

Concluding remarks: capturing attempts at singularizing multiplicity

The point of departure for the current chapter was the wish expressed by the communicators involved in *Measurements you can learn from* to manage their own work by its outcomes. I sought to understand the nature of this wish by exploring how the working practices of the

communicators are managed today. I showed how three managerial centres are enacted in the working practices of the communicators and I showed that the four modes of ordering are sequenced in the flow of translations from these managerial centres and the flow of articulations back to them. This means that the management of the communicators' work is marked by multiplicity: more than one mode of ordering can be imputed to the practices of managing the production and assessment of communicative solutions.

I see the wish of the communicators to manage their own work by outcome and not, for instance, by due process or output, as a performance of the ordering pattern of Enterprise. As a mode of ordering, Enterprise fosters and is fostered by an organizational actor that perpetually attempts to make the most out of the resources allocated. The communicators express a wish to become such an organizational actor. Today, the management of the communicators' work is marked by multiplicity. Thus, the wish of the communicators to manage their own work by its outcomes can be understood as a specific way of handling this multiplicity. I will say that it is a wish that implies *singularizing* the initial multiplicity by focusing on one specific way of ordering their work and its outcomes. In the present chapter we encountered some attempts at fulfilling this wish. One example was Carina from FOREIGN who stated that FOREIGN has to become better at doing outcomes. However, to Carina and to the other communicators that we have met in this chapter it proved impossible to singularize the initial multiplicity. Instead, multiplicity was handled by *sequencing* modes of ordering. I suggest that the notions of singularizing and sequencing can be used to describe two different ways by which the multiplicity of government communication is handled in the communicators' working practices. These different ways of handling multiplicity will be explored further in the two following analytical chapters. As we saw in the present chapter and as we will see in the following, some of the communicators involved seem frustrated by the multiplicity of the working practices in which they are engaged. I sense that this frustration sets the type of multiplicity I am dealing with here apart from the one Annemarie Mol and John Law have dealt with in their respective studies. I will discuss how in the following.

In the article 'On the Consequences of Post-ANT' (2010) STS researchers Christopher Gad and Casper Bruun Jensen seek to illustrate what the analytical consequences are of thinking with post-ANT. They do this by way of two case studies: Annemarie Mol's study of the enactments of atherosclerosis in a Dutch hospital (Mol 2002a, 2002b) and Marilyn Strathern's book chapter 'What is intellectual property after?' (1999), which was Strathern's contribution to the anthology *Actor Network Theory and After* (1999). John Law and John Hassard edited this anthology and its contributions discuss how to go beyond traditional ANT without simply

dismissing it (Gad & Jensen 2010: 55). Here, I will limit myself to the conclusions Gad and Jensen draw on the grounds of Mol's study of the enactments of atherosclerosis. After reviewing Mol's study, Gad and Jensen state that:

> [a]n emerging post-ANT insight is […] that many different networks exist and produce multiple versions of phenomena such as atherosclerosis, which may seem singular at first. The elucidation of different versions of phenomena and their overlapping and fractal relations and effects […] consequently presents itself as a key task for post-ANT (ibid.: 66-67).

Mol's argument is that atherosclerosis is not a natural, objective, or passive object in the middle which can be explored from a range of different perspectives. Mol engages in a critique of perspectivalism by way of her study and she describes atherosclerosis as a "flexible participant in various enactments" (ibid.: 70). Hence, multiplicity becomes an ontological condition in her study:

> […] although the disease is therefore unable to provide any 'objective' or 'natural' ground for perspectives, this does not mean that everything that happens is purely social or solely subjective. Rather, multiplicity is an ontological condition that presents itself to the student of the phenomenon (ibid.: 70-71).

Correspondingly, Law states that he "came to the view that the organization of the laboratory was not any single thing. It wasn't simply entrepreneurial. Neither was it simply administrative. Both of these […] were being enacted and enacting the structure of the laboratory" (Law 2004: 112). Hence, one analytical consequence of thinking with post-ANT, as Mol does in her study of the enactments of atherosclerosis and as Law does in his study of the enactments of the Daresbury Laboratory (Law 1994), is that multiplicity presented itself as an ontological condition to Mol and Law.

In the present study I am also thinking with post-ANT. And I also view the five government organizations involved as enacted by and enacting more than one mode of ordering. Multiplicity presented itself to me as an ontological condition. However, this multiplicity is not – at least not always – simply sequenced and, thus, upheld in the working practices of the communicators involved. The multiplicity of government communication is frustrating to some of the communicators involved. As I have shown in the current chapter, attempts at singularizing the initial multiplicity are made in some of the communicators' working practices. Attempts are made at getting rid of a multiplicity that is experienced as frustrating,

whereas the organizational actors that we meet in Mol and Law's studies seem to do and handle multiplicity in ways that uphold the initial multiplicity. Mol captures this with her notions of 'coordination', 'distribution', and 'inclusion' (Mol 2002a), and the corresponding notion developed by Law is that of 'sequencing' (Law 2001). The organizational actors that I have met in the current study seem to do and handle multiplicity in ways that uphold the initial multiplicity *and* in ways that seek to do away with it. Multiplicity is not only a condition that presents itself to me, the student of the phenomenon. It is also a condition that presents itself to the communicators and other organizational entities and actors involved in *Measurements you can learn from*. It is a kind of multiplicity that asks something of the communicators involved. Whereas the notion of 'sequencing' describes a way of handling multiplicity that upholds the initial multiplicity, I suggest 'singularizing' as a notion by which attempts at getting rid of the ontological condition of multiplicity can be grasped analytically.

Once again, even if it has become somewhat irritating, the only viable slogan is to 'follow the actors themselves';

*yes, one must follow them when they **multiply** entities and again when they **rarefy** entities*

(Latour 2005: 227, emphasis is original).

CHAPTER 06: attempts at singularizing the TAX Group

The investigations undertaken in the previous chapter, CHAPTER 05, showed that more than one mode of ordering can be imputed to the practices of managing the government organizations' production and assessment of communicative solutions. Thus, the phenomenon to be managed, the outcome of government communication, can be described as multiple. I suggested that this multiplicity is handled in two different ways. In some practices the various modes of ordering are *sequenced*. At times, this sequencing happens rather smoothly; at other times, rather non-smoothly. When this sequencing happens in a rather non-smooth manner, the reason for this is that attempts are made at *singularizing* the initial multiplicity. To attempt to singularize multiplicity is the second way by which the multiplicity of government communication is handled. In the current chapter, CHAPTER 06, I will further investigate such attempts at singularizing the initial multiplicity of government communication.

Whereas CHAPTER 05 was concerned with giving an account of how the communicators' own work is managed, the current chapter and CHAPTER 07 also address how the communicators' work takes part in managing employees and governing citizens. In the preceding chapters I have talked quite a lot about the outcome of the communicators' work and about how the communicators involved wish to manage their own work by its outcomes. However, I have not said much about exactly what the outcomes of the work of government communicators are. In the INTRODUCTION I stated that I understand the aim of government communication as being about managing employees and governing citizens. Hence, the outcome of government communication is employees and citizens who think and act in a way desired by the communicators and their places of work. The communicators' work takes part in defining what this desired way of thinking and acting is. By producing and implementing communicative solutions, the communicators' work takes part in achieving the result that employees and citizens actually think and act in the desired way. In the present chapter I will address how the communicators' work takes part in managing employees.

I have chosen a case of government communication that allows me to explore how attempts are made at singularizing the multiplicity of government communication and to explore how government communication aims at managing employees. This case is the TAX Group's group communication project, which I followed ethnographically throughout the first two years of the current study. According to Julie, the manager of the project, the context for this group communication project is the merger of the Danish Ministry of Taxation and the Danish Tax and Customs Administration (SKAT) in November 2005. This merger created the TAX Group, consisting of the Ministry of Taxation, SKAT and the Danish National Tax Tribunal. In November 2005 Julie was working in the ministerial department's division for Personnel and Organizational Strategy. She highlights that back then the TAX Group's team of managers had no channel for communicating with the new TAX Group's employees. The group communication project defined this lack of a channel as a problem. It sought to produce such a channel and to measure the outcomes of the implementation of such a channel. I followed the group communication project in two stages. The first stage ran from early 2008 until mid May 2008 and in this first stage a finalized policy for group communication was produced. In the second stage, which ran from early 2009 to late 2009, the finalized policy was implemented and its outcomes were assessed. The policy formulates the aim of the group communication project as follows:

> Our communication across the Group must support our mission, which is to secure a fair, effective and efficient financing of the public sector of the future. Further, communication across the group must support our visions concerning public security, effectiveness and efficiency, openness, service, quality and an attractive workplace. All employees ought to know of important, joint decisions and essential news. At the same time we must secure dialogue and professional knowledge sharing. This will strengthen the way we work and it will increase the TAX Group employees' satisfaction with the Group as a workplace (TAX, finalized policy for group communication, 19.05.08).[104]

This aim exemplifies how the government communicators' work takes part in managing employees: it is part of the government communicators' work to formulate what the TAX Group employees ought to know about (important decisions and essential news) and to formulate what the TAX Group employees ought to do (enter into dialogue and share knowledge with other TAX Group employees). Further, it is part of the government

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[104] In Danish: Vores kommunikation på tværs af koncernen skal understøtte missionen om at sikre en retfærdig og effektiv finansiering af fremtidens offentlige sektor og visionerne om retssikkerhed, effektivitet, åbenhed, service, kvalitet og attraktiv arbejdsplads. Alle bør kende vigtige fælles beslutninger og væsentlige nyheder. Samtidig skal vi sikre dialog og faglig videndeling. Det vil styrke vores måde at arbejde på og øge tilfredsheden med koncernen som arbejdsplads.

communicators' work to produce communicative solutions that ensure that what ought to happen according to the TAX Group's overall strategy actually does happen.[105]

The current chapter is comprised of four parts. In the first part I will describe what happens in the first stage of the group communication project. I will argue that the project and its aim go from being rather unspecific to being quite specific by way of the making of a range of what I term specifying connections. In the second part I will describe these specifying connections further by way of the modes of ordering developed in CHAPTER 04. I will show that the majority of these specifying connections can be understood as effects of the ordering pattern of Enterprise. I see this rather exclusive performance of Enterprise as an attempt to singularize the TAX Group when it comes to group communication. The third part deals with the group communication project's second stage in which the policy produced in the first stage is implemented and assessed. Although there was an exclusive focus on the ordering pattern of Enterprise in the first stage, the remaining modes of ordering were not eliminated. They were lurking, and I argue that these lurking modes of ordering gain strength in the second stage. I will show how the communicators handle this re-enacted multiplicity. In the fourth part I will offer some concluding remarks and discuss whether singularizing is a viable strategy for handling the multiplicity of government communication.

A gradually more connected and, thus, more specific project

What happens in the first stage of the TAX Group's group communication project? I will suggest that as the group communication project begins, its aim is rather unconnected to the central concerns and materials of the TAX Group. This disconnectedness results that it is unclear to the project team and to me what the project actually addresses. Connections to these concerns and materials are tied during the first stage and the aim of the group communication project becomes gradually more specific.

A project with an "airy" aim

A project team is to produce a policy for the TAX Group's group communication during the first stage of the group communication project. This policy is to include concrete recommendations for how group communication in the TAX Group can be enhanced. And it is to include success criteria for these recommendations' implementation. The project team consists of TAX Group employees working with communication and related issues such as

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[105] What I am suggesting here is that I understand communicating and organizing as "flip sides of the same coin" (Fairhurst & Putnam 1999: 2). For more on this approach to organizational communication see for instance Cooren, Taylor et al. 2006. I am describing how the TAX Group communicators handle this organizing property of communication (Cooren 2000) in their production and assessment of a specific communicative solution: group communication.

organizational development and human resource management in several of the Group's divisions and organizations. The project team is staffed in this particular way on the assumption that this will help to anchor the project and its recommendations in the Group's various divisions and organizations. As mentioned, Julie, who is working as a special consultant in the Group's ministerial department, manages the project team's work. In addition to this project team the group communication project has a project owner and a reference group. This project owner is part of the TAX Group's team of group managers, and the reference group consists of top managers from each of the three organizations that make up the TAX Group.

I observe the project team's work during two days in early 2008. The group communication project's plan says that the project has two strands. The first is about internal dialogue. During the work on the project this is renamed 'knowledge sharing across the Group' and the first day is devoted to this strand. The second strand concerns what all the TAX Group's employees ought to know when it comes to important decisions made in the Group and news of importance to the whole Group and its work. During the work on the project this is renamed 'group communication' and it entails themes, issues, strategies, news, media attention etc., which are considered of interest and importance to all the of the TAX Group's employees. Hence, group communication concerns that which a TAX Group employee ought to have knowledge of.

The project team convenes in a room named 'Creativity' at 9am on the first day of project work. Creativity is one of the ministerial department's rooms for project work. It is equipped with a rectangular table, a projector, a big screen, and a laptop computer that Julie has brought with her. The other members of the project team bring various notes and documents in hard copy to Creativity.

Figure 7: Julie in Creativity, one of the ministerial department's rooms for project work (TAX, Heat #1, communicators' photographic documentation of their own working practices, Winter 2008)
The laptop on Julie's right is connected to a projector and it is this computer's screen that is projected onto the big screen. The open document is a draft version of a specific part of the policy for group communication that the project team is producing. Note the multi-coloured circles in the right corner. These are placed all over the room's walls and it is possible to take a white marker and write thoughts and ideas on these circles. However, these circles were not in use during my two days of observations. Note also the fruit on the table and the accompanying napkins. As we will see later some of the project team's members draw organization charts on these napkins in an effort to create an overview over how the TAX Group is organized.

The first item on the agenda this morning is the planning of a workshop to be held a few weeks later in Copenhagen. A range of employees from the TAX Group's various divisions and organizations is to be invited to this workshop.[106] The idea is to bring these different employees' ideas on how group communication can be enhanced into the project. As Julie explains in a follow-up interview:

> **Julie**: Well, what you [i.e. the project team] want to achieve with these workshops is that it's not just us [in the project team] who sit here and, one might say, develop this product. […] Further, there's the issue of ownership. It sends a certain signal to the employees that we've been talking to them. We've been across the organization, we've talked to employees and to managers… It's not going to be a top-managed product that we imposed on people. People

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[106] The workshop is one in a series of workshops that have been undertaken in various parts of the country. Earlier, a series of workshops was undertaken with TAX Group managers.

have been involved in the process. So, [the workshops] are about getting inputs and about ownership (TAX, interview, 02.04.08).

The TAX Group has approximately 8,600 employees. It is impossible to involve all of them in the workshops. Further, the project team assumes that certain groups of employees might have the ideas the project team requests while others might not. Therefore, the following question arises: who to invite to this workshop? And, connected to this question, how to get in touch with these employees? Soon, the project team discusses these questions as a matter of knowing how the TAX Group is organized:

> **Julie**: Well, again it's this issue about understanding the organization… […] It'd be really useful with a map [of the organization]…
> **Martin**: [To do a map of the organization] is simply impossible! To do such a map you'd need a fourth dimension or something like that. That's why this is so difficult (TAX, observation, 06.02.08).

Here Martin, who is working in one of SKAT's Tax Centres, states that it is simply impossible to arrive at an overview of a huge organization like the TAX Group. This lack of overview makes it, to him, very difficult to carry out the group communication project as it is about seeking to overview and seeking to uniform the TAX Group in certain respects. It is not yet clear what these respects are. However, the napkins, which came with the fruit the project team is nibbling at throughout the day, seem to offer the fourth dimension mentioned by Martin. During this first day of project work, some of the members of the project team draw their own organization charts on these napkins. They tell each other stories about how things are done in their respective organizations or divisions. In these stories they refer to cultural differences between the divisions, to different traditions, and to different hierarchies. They wonder if a larger survey has been conducted which could answer the question of how the TAX Group is organized. In sum: these members of the project team question the official accounts of how the TAX Group is organized by showing and telling each other how it is organized from their respective points of view.

The project team does not arrive at an overview of the TAX Group. Still, the project team goes on to discuss how the experiences of the TAX Group's employees are collected and shared today. They soon conclude that there is nothing uniform in how this is done. For instance, the project team discusses how some divisions have knowledge and competence centres where the employees' experiences are collected and shared. Julie comments that for a project like the group communication project these centres are extremely valuable. In other divisions the employees' experiences are shared informally and this makes it difficult to find

out which employees to invite to the workshop and how to get in touch with them. What to do? Suddenly, the overall aim of the group communication project is discussed:

> **Martin**: 1:1 communication... You can have that as a goal, but it's not going to happen.
> **Julie**: No, but that's the goal! You can try to make it uniform. And here, [meeting] around professional issues is one of the strongest things one can do. We need to find some tools, so that you, as an employee, can meet around sharing professional issues in all places [i.e. in all the TAX Group's divisions and organizations] (TAX, observation, 06.02.08).

It is a bit unclear what Martin means by 1:1 communication. However, if this statement concerning 1:1 communication is connected to the one he made concerning the impossibility of doing a map of the organization of the TAX Group, then his argument is that 1:1 communication is impossible because of the many organizational differences within the TAX Group. Julie suggests that it is the goal of the group communication project to ease away these differences. A reason why it is not crystal clear what Martin means by 1:1 communication and, for that matter, what it is, exactly, that Julie wishes to make uniform, might be that it is not crystal clear to the members of the project team themselves. Julie reflects on this lack of clarity in a follow-up interview I undertake approximately two months later, when the policy for group communication is almost completed. In this interview Julie says that in the group communication project's plan it is unclear what knowledge sharing is in the TAX Group. Thus, in the early stages of the project it was unclear what organizational problems the project team was addressing by seeking to enhance knowledge sharing. She elaborates:

> **Julie**: One of our focal points is knowledge sharing. In the project description this focal point has, say, two lines [which is very little]. When we had to find out what we wanted to solve with knowledge sharing, well, then we listed a number of things, but it was always very airy – it never became concrete. We tried to make it more concrete by focusing on the policy formulation process. That also ended up being our primary focus. [...] We invited the project owner to a meeting because we [in the project team] were uncertain whether this was what was meant by knowledge sharing. [...] [At this meeting it] turned out that the problem was that we [meaning the project team and the project owner] would like SKAT to be part of the policy formulation process at an earlier stage... If that was the case then we shouldn't waste our time on other issues. [...] Actually, you can easily talk a lot about these things without becoming gradually more specific (TAX, interview, 14.04.08)!

The question is: when and how does a project like the group communication project go from having "airy" goals to having more concrete and graspable ones? Talking, as Julie suggests, does not always do the trick. What then? I will offer an answer to these questions in the following.

From plasma to connectedness and specificity

When the discussion concerning the project's aim and 1:1 communication arose I had been observing the project team's work for a few hours. And I was confused. What was going on? The project team's members had been using many words I did not know what to make of. For instance, what, exactly, is 'group communication', '1:1 communication', and 'knowledge sharing' in the TAX Group? My confusion was, of course, due to the fact that this was my first encounter with the project team's way of working on the group communication project. However, I think something else was at stake too. It has to do with the statement by Julie reported on in the above: "Actually, you can easily talk a lot about these things without becoming gradually more concrete!" On this particular morning the aim of the group communication project was flimsy. "You can try to make it uniform," Julie said, but what was to be made uniform? And why? I suggest that on this particular morning the group communication project and its aim can – to some extent – be understood as an instance of what Bruno Latour has termed plasma, "[…] namely that which is not yet formatted, not yet measured, not yet socialized, not yet engaged in metrological chains, and not yet covered, surveyed, mobilized, or subjectified" (Latour 2005: 244). Plasma can become formatted, measured, socialized etc. and, thus, it "resembles a vast hinterland providing the resources for every single course of action to be fulfilled" (ibid.: 244). With the notion of 'plasma' Latour points to the flip side of ANT's network metaphor, namely the unconnected:

> Contrary to substance, surface, domain, and spheres that fill every centimetre of what they bind and delineate, nets, networks, and 'worknets' leave everything they don't connect simply *unconnected* (ibid.: 242, emphasis in original).

Employing these ideas of plasma and the unconnected to the working practices unfurling this morning it can be said that the aim of the group communication project was – to some extent – unconnected to the concerns and materials of the TAX Group. Further, no firm connections to a hinterland of resources were made during the first few hours of project work. The project team was trying to format the group communication project and its aim, but did not succeed. Thus, it did not become gradually more specific. The aim of the project was and kept on being "airy", as Julie suggests. Later in the project this changed. Julie gave one example of how this change happened: the meeting with the project owner. At this meeting the group communication project and its focus on knowledge sharing is connected to the project owner's wish to make SKAT part of the policy formulation process at an earlier stage. This connection to one of the TAX Group's concerns makes the project's aim more specific. If this is the project owner's wish, then the project team should not waste time on seeking to make other possible connections to the TAX Group's concerns. So, in understanding what

154

happened in the course of the group communication project's first stage I will focus less on what, for instance, 'knowledge sharing' is and more on how the project team makes connections to a range of concerns and materials in their work. I will suggest that it is these connections that specify what the project is about. Therefore, I will term them 'specifying connections'. But, what more can be said about these connections? I will suggest that certain ordering patterns, certain modes of ordering, can be imputed to the different ways in which these connections are made. Before turning to this argument concerning the nature of these specifying connections I will provide some more empirical details from the first stage of the group communication project. First, I will focus on the possible specifying connections discussed in the project team's work and, second, I will describe the most vital, actual specifying connections made in the course of the project team's work.

Some possible specifying connections

The planning of the upcoming workshop ends, and the project team is split into three smaller working groups. The first group is to determine how internal communication is organized in the TAX Group's three organizations: the ministerial department, SKAT, and the Danish National Tax Tribunal, respectively. The discussion concerning how the TAX Group is organized continues in this working group. It is in this working group that organizational charts are drawn on the napkins that came with the fruit.

The second group is dedicated to producing an overview of all the media that could be of use in the project's endeavours to enhance group communication. This second group's central concern is: how to make sure that knowledge is actually shared between the employees? A number of possibilities are discussed: is it possible to set up a straightforward demand? What about formulating knowledge sharing as something that is expected of all the employees of the TAX Group? Another possibility is to make knowledge sharing part of the performance contracts – that would underscore its importance. Lastly, the project team could suggest making activities of knowledge sharing part of the TAX Group's policy for how its employees can earn a wage bonus. No decision is reached. Further, it is agreed in the working group that whatever one does, it is going to be very difficult to measure whether the individual employee shares knowledge or not. Martin concludes:

> **Martin**: When you've been to the toilet, you flush. It's the same with sharing your knowledge – you just do it (TAX, observation, 06.02.08).

The other project workers in this second group seem a bit surprised and slightly startled by this blunt conclusion. However, the statement does not entail a firm decision on how to secure

that the TAX Group's employees do share knowledge with each other. No enduring connection between the project's aim and, for instance, the wage bonus policy is made.

The third group is working under the heading 'Effect and Measurement'. Julie and Lisa, who is working as a communicator in SKAT's Central Centre, work together in this third group. One issue attracts particular attention: how to be specific when formulating the group communication project's success criteria? As was the case in the other two groups, no final answer to this question is found. Julie and Lisa discuss a number of specifying connections. They have printed a PowerPoint presentation by Bjerg Kommunikation on measuring communication. Now and then they discuss some of its points. They have a copy of FOREIGN's communication policy, which includes a brief section on how FOREIGN measures communication. They use this section as inspiration. They discuss how easy it is to be "fluffy" (ibid.) when formulating the success criteria, and seek to find ways of being more specific. This discussion concerning fluffiness, Julie says, also concerns the group communication project's plan and the draft version of the group communication policy which has been produced. The fluffiness – entailing that it is not completely clear what the exact goal of the group communication project is – makes it difficult to be specific when formulating success criteria. Finally, Julie and Lisa discuss the type of measurements they wish to recommend in the group communication policy. Julie says that they are not looking for a "bureaucratic evaluation scheme" (ibid.) as this "kills the incentive" (ibid.) for doing measurements. She elaborates:

> Julie: [We need to find ways of measuring] so that you undertake these measurements for your own sake and not for the sake of some bureaucratic institution or other. What do we want to know something about? Who is it important to? Just so that you, yourself, get that evaluation and that learning (ibid.).

As in the other two working groups a number of possible specifying connections are discussed, but no firm connections are made.

This lack of firm connections might be the reason why the draft version of the success criteria formulated, which Julie sends to Bjerg Kommunikation and me a few weeks later, are general and longish. This draft version entails two documents. The first outlines one set of success criteria for the group communication project's first strand, knowledge sharing. The second document outlines a set of success criteria for the group communication project's second strand, group communication, meaning themes, issues, strategies, news, media attention etc., which are defined as being of interest and importance to all of the TAX Group's employees.

Julie asks Bjerg Kommunikation to formulate a response to these documents. Bjerg Kommunikation and I talk about these success criteria. As mentioned, we sense that they are too general and that there are too many of them. Our argument is that it would take a lot of resources to measure something that would not really amount to much. Further, and connected to these issues, it is unclear why the group communication project wants to enhance knowledge sharing and group communication. What is the project aiming at? A clearer answer to these questions would, we assume, result in clearer success criteria. This response was given to Julie and resulted in thorough changes in the two documents. Something important happens here: the response from Bjerg Kommunikation results in the project team going from discussing possible, specifying connections to making firm, specifying connections.

After the reworking of the two documents the document concerning knowledge sharing begins:

> **Why do we wish to strengthen the knowledge sharing between the Tax and Customs Administration and the Ministry of Taxation's ministerial department concerning the policy formulation process?**
> The Group managers have a wish to enhance knowledge sharing between the Danish Tax and Customs Administration and the Ministry of Taxation's ministerial department concerning the policy formulation process. This is in order to solve the policy formulation tasks most effectively and efficiently, to secure policies of high quality, and to create professionally inspiring milieux (TAX, draft version of note, Specific areas of focus and success criteria for knowledge sharing between the Danish Tax and Customs Administration and the Ministry of Taxation's ministerial department concerning the policy formulation process, 28.02.08, emphasized heading in original).[107]

The document concerning group communication begins:

> **Why do we wish to strengthen group communication between the Danish National Tax Tribunal, the Tax and Customs Administration and the Ministry of Taxation's ministerial department?**
> The Group managers have a wish to strengthen the Group as an attractive workplace and a wish to strengthen the understanding amongst the employees that all the Group's managers

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[107] In Danish: Hvorfor ønsker vi at styrke videndeling om lovgivningsprocessen mellem SKAT og Skatteministeriets departement? Koncernledelsen har et ønske om at styrke videndelingen om lovgivningsprocessen mellem SKAT og Skatteministeriets departement for at løse lovgivningsopgaven mest effektivt, sikre lovgivning af høj kvalitet og skabe fagligt inspirerende miljøer.

and employees move in the same direction (TAX, draft version of note, Specific areas of focus and success criteria for group communication, 28.02.08, emphasized heading in original).[108]

What happened here? The group communication project no longer aims at broadly enhancing knowledge sharing. To enhance knowledge sharing is now connected to and enacted as being about formulating policies more effectively and efficiently, enhancing the quality of policies, and creating more inspiring, professional working environments. The same has happened to group communication. The group communication project no longer aims at broadly enhancing group communication. To enhance group communication is now connected to and enacted as being about creating an attractive workplace and to make all the TAX Group's employees move in the same direction. When the group communication project began it was rather unconnected to other, central concerns of the TAX Group; now it is connected to these concerns. By way of these connections the aim of the group communication project has been specified. This specification implies that it is possible to formulate more specific success criteria for the group communication project. The two revised documents also entail such specific success criteria. Whereas the first draft versions of the two documents entailed a plethora of success criteria, these have been narrowed down in the revised documents. The document concerning knowledge sharing reads:

> A feedback seminar concerning two strategically chosen policies, where there has been collaboration [between the ministerial department and SKAT] in 2009 and 2010, show that a minimum of 80 percent of the managers and employees that have participated in these collaborations:
> - have knowledge of where to go with their ideas concerning policy formulation;
> - assess that the chosen policies are manageable;
> - are satisfied with the information they have received from the ministerial department's employees.
> (TAX, draft version of note, Specific areas of focus and success criteria for knowledge sharing between the Danish Tax and Customs Administration and the Ministry of Taxation's ministerial department concerning the policy formulation process, 28.02.08).[109]

The document concerning group communication reads:

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108 In Danish: Hvorfor ønsker vi at styrke koncernkommunikationen mellem Landsskatteretten, SKAT og Skatteministeriets departement? Koncernledelsen har et ønske om at styrke koncernen som attraktiv arbejdsplads og styrke forståelsen for, at alle koncernens ledere og medarbejdere går i samme retning.

109 In Danish: Feedback-seminar om to strategisk udvalgte lovforslag, hvor der har været samarbejde i 2009 og 2010 viser, at minimum 80 pct. af ledere og medarbejdere blandt deltagerne: – har kendskab til, hvor de skal gå hen med idéer vedrørende lovgivning; – vurderer, at de udvalgte love er administrerbare; – er tilfredse med den information de har fået fra Skatteministeriets departements medarbejdere.

> A user survey undertaken in 2009 and 2010 shows that a minimum of 80 percent of the TAX Group's managers and employees feel well-informed about current events, which fall within the definition of group communication worked out by the TAX Group.
>
> A feedback study undertaken in 2009 and 2010 shows that a minimum of 80 percent of the TAX Group's managers and employees have knowledge of and understand a strategically chosen strategy (TAX, draft version of note, Specific areas of focus and success criteria for group communication, 28.02.08).[110, 111]

The specifying connections just mentioned, which enacted knowledge sharing as being about formulating policies more effectively and efficiently, and which enacted group communication as being about making sure that the TAX Group managers and employees move in the same direction, are recognizable in these formulations, but where do the 80 percent success criteria come from? And why is the focus solely on outcomes (for instance, it is an outcome that 80 percent of the TAX Group's employees know and understand a chosen strategy) and not on outputs (for instance, it could be an output that the communicators have produced and launched a campaign for enhancing the TAX Group employees' understanding of a given strategy)? As we will see in the following sections the answers to these questions have to do with a Strategy Paper and an increased focus on measuring the outcomes of the TAX Group's work.

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[110] In Danish: Brugerundersøgelse i 2009 og 2010 viser, at minimum 80 pct. af ledere og medarbejdere i koncernen føler sig godt informerede om aktuelle begivenheder, der opfylder kriterier for koncernkommunikation, fra koncernen. Feedback-undersøgelse i 2009 og 2010 viser, at minimum 80 pct. af ledere og medarbejdere i koncernen har kendskab til og forstå en strategisk udvalgt strategi.

[111] In the third part of the current chapter I will get back to these three sets of success criteria and how it is measured and otherwise assessed whether these success criteria have been reached or not. Note how the first set addresses collaboration between the ministerial department and SKAT in the policy formulation process, how the second set addresses information about current events, and how the third set addresses knowledge and understanding of a strategically chosen strategy. These three areas of communication are the focal points of the policy and the communicative solutions produced. They organize the assessment of whether or not the success criteria of the policy have been reached.
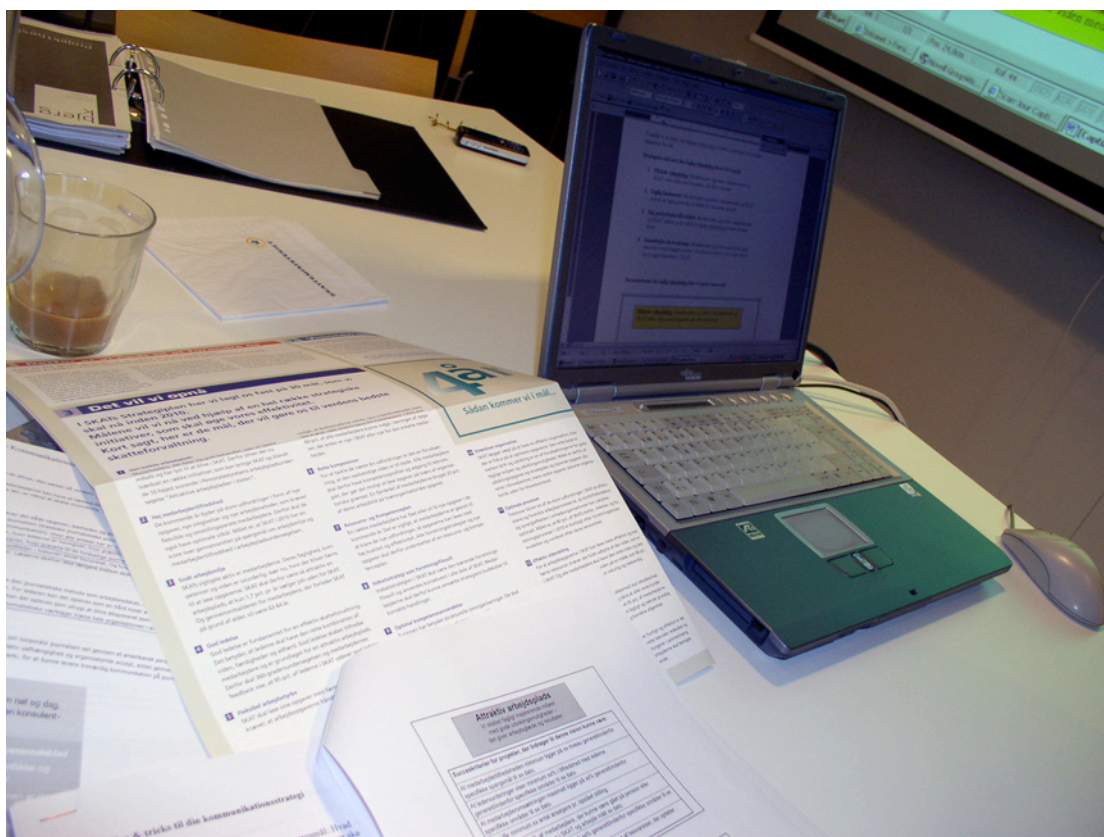
Figure 8: A photograph depicting the end of the rectangular table in the ministerial department's room for project work, Creativity, during the project team's work on the group communication project (TAX, Heat #1, communicators' photographic documentation of their own working practices, Winter 2008)
The document in colour on the left of the laptop computer is the Strategy Paper produced and implemented by SKAT in early 2006. In the purple field the heading says: "This is what we want to achieve".[112] This Strategy Paper played an important part in the project team's formulation of the success criteria of the group communication project.

So, why did the project team decide to use the 80 percent success criteria? In a follow-up interview I ask the project team what the Strategy Paper, depicted in Figure 8, did in the group communication project. Quickly, Julie answers:

> **Julie**: It was Lisa's revelation! Which she then shared with the rest of the project team (TAX, group interview, 02.04.08).

Lisa explains her revelation. During the project team's work on formulating success criteria, Bjerg Kommunikation suggested that they should connect the group communication project and its success criteria to the long-term goals of the TAX Group. The Strategy Paper makes the TAX Group's rather abstract strategy and long-term goals more concrete by listing a number of milestones which the Group has as its ambition to reach by 2010, Lisa elaborates.

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[112] In Danish: Det vil vi opnå.

Therefore, Lisa suggested that they should find inspiration in these milestones in formulating success criteria for the group communication project. The project team decided to do so. I ask whether it is typical that they consult an organizational strategy in working with communication. Julie answers:

> **Julie**: No, but it was a good tool for setting up success criteria and for formulating how we wanted to measure. It was a source of inspiration. We could use the structure you find in the Strategy Paper to our advantage, because the managers could recognize this structure. [In our group communication policy] we go towards 2010, and we set 80 percent as our success criteria, because that's what they [i.e. the managers] do in the Strategy Paper (ibid.).

So, at first glance it seems that the 80 percent success criteria have more to do with formulating success criteria that are recognizable to the TAX Group's managers than they have to do with the activities the group communication project addresses: knowledge sharing in the policy formulation process and group communication. This impression is solidified and another dimension is added to it in the following.

Figure 9: This photograph depicts Camilla, who is working as a controller in the TAX Group (TAX, Heat #1, communicators' photographic documentation of their own working practices, Winter 2008)
This is the second photograph in which the Strategy Paper is depicted. The Strategy Paper can be seen in the bottom left corner, where it says "1,3".

Figure 9 is the second photograph depicting the Strategy Paper. A small corner of the Strategy Paper can be seen in the bottom left corner. At the interview I ask Julie, who has taken the photograph, what is happening in it. Julie tells me:

> **Julie**: Well, this is a photograph of Camilla, who's working as a controller. I'm telling her why we've set up the success criteria correctly in the group communication project. The Strategy Paper is a part of this… […] To sit at a meeting with Camilla and be able to refer to [our use of the Strategy Paper] ensures that our thing – the group communication project – is taken more seriously. […] You can say that we've chosen a structure, which is recognizable [to the TAX Group's managers]. We didn't just invent the wheel one more time (TAX, group interview, 02.04.08).

The 80 percent success criteria are about creating recognition at the level of top-managers. The first impression is solidified. However, there is another dimension to it as well. To connect the group communication project and its aims to the Strategy Paper has, according to Julie, the effect that the group communication project "is taken more seriously". By using the Strategy Paper in formulating the success criteria, the group communication project is now firmly connected to the TAX Group's overall concerns.[113]

Hence, the Strategy Paper explains the 80 percent. But what about the exclusive focus on outcomes rather than due process or outputs, for instance? Julie has photographed a document regarding a specific area of the TAX Group's work.[114] I ask her why. The document lists a number of activities to be carried out within this area of work in 2008 and 2009, Julie tells me. She continues:

> **Julie**: Well, within this particular area of work and in this document the success criteria have been formulated in a very loose way. This means that any idiot can say afterwards that this has been a success… One example is that the list suggests reviewing some templates we use for communicating with citizens who have contacted us. What one should have done instead is to [say that we will] measure outcomes (ibid.).

In a later interview I do a follow-up on this statement. I ask her what she meant: what are, in her opinion, bad measurements? I will quote her answer at some length:

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[113] In the final version of the group communication policy the success criteria are formulated not around the initial 80 percent for both 2009 and 2010, but saying that the goal is 60 percent in 2009 and 80 percent in 2010. I did not follow this revision, but at a meeting with the project's reference group Julie mentioned a concern with formulating reachable goals (TAX, observation, 10.03.08). This may explain why the success criteria for 2009 are 60 and not 80 percent.
[114] Due to confidentiality reasons I cannot show the picture nor mention the specific area of work.

> Julie: Bad measurements are when they just note what has been done! [...] In these instances you formulate success criteria saying: 'This is what we are going to do.' [...] You don't formulate success criteria that focus on the outcome [of a given activity]. [If you focus on what you are going to do] then, when the year is coming to an end, you can simply and lyrically note: 'Well, we've reached our goal because we've done what we said we'd do a year ago' [...]. In the ministerial department we've been working like that [and we've been focusing on what's been done] for a number of years. However, I know that our Financial Office – that's where the work on our performance contracts happens – is focusing on this to a still rising degree. They ask: 'Well, but what do you want to achieve by this? It's not enough to say that you will do it.' It's a change in mentality, really [...]. Especially in the group communication project we've had a focus on making sure that what we put into this world has an outcome. Otherwise it's just a waste of everybody's time. That is why our success criteria are formulated in a way that ensures that we'll measure the project's outcomes (TAX, interview, 14.04.08).

Drawing upon Julie's explanation of the exclusive focus on outcomes it can be said that the group communication project seeks to argue for its own worth by formulating success criteria in a way that emphasizes outcomes and not (just) what has been done or what has been produced. And, again, the group communication project seeks to connect itself to broader organizational concerns. This time the broader organizational concern is not the Strategy Paper, but the Financial Office and its, according to Julie, increasing focus on measuring outcomes and not (just) what has been done or what has been produced.

In the above I have described some of the vital steps in the project team's production of a policy for group communication. I have argued that this work can be understood as the making of a range of specifying connections. By way of these specifying connections the aim of the group communication project went from being an instance of plasma to being an aim that could help the TAX Group to address its central concerns. I will now go a bit deeper into what these connections are and what they do apart from specifying. I will argue that the four modes of ordering outlined in CHAPTER 04 can be imputed to these connections and, thus, be of help in describing these connections further.

Enterprising connections, mainly

In CHAPTER 05 I argued that modes of ordering become more durable by way of material delegation. Modes of ordering are delegated into a range of materials, and this adds to their durability (Law 2001). Employing the vocabulary of specifying connections used in this chapter it can be said that the modes of ordering connect to a range of materials in the course of the group communication project's first stage. I will add that each mode of ordering connects to specific materials in specific ways. In the following I will argue that the mode of

ordering Enterprise is delegated into numerous materials in the course of the first stage of the group communication project. Consequently, the group communication project is performing the ordering pattern of Enterprise very strongly. However, in spite of this delegation other modes of ordering are lurking and, at times, performed.

Enterprise: very strong, but not hegemonic

I use the mode of ordering Enterprise to identify organizational orderings towards organizations as risk-taking locations and organizational actors as mini-entrepreneurs. As a mode of ordering, Enterprise is all about resources and continually securing an optimal return on these resources. These traits of the mode of ordering Enterprise can be discerned in a number of the specifying connections that are tied in the course of the first stage of the group communication project. Below I will review the materials encountered in the above in light of the ordering pattern of Enterprise.

I have stated that the group communication project and its aim could – to some extent – be understood as an instance of what Latour has termed 'plasma'. I used the qualifier 'to some extent' because it does not make sense to claim that the group communication project and its aim were ever completely disconnected from the TAX Group, its concerns, and its materials. One of the resources from the hinterland of plasma that the group communication project drew on and was connected to at its outset was the ministerial department's room for project work, Creativity. With its name and its material setup, this room has very little to do with due process, and everything to do with getting ideas for how to make things better. As a workspace, the project room Creativity sought to enact the project team as a group of mini-entrepreneurs. It did not always succeed in doing so. As mentioned, everybody can write his/her ideas on the circles on the walls, but these circles were not in use during my two-day observations. Further, Julie's exclusive access to the laptop computer enacted a clear hierarchy between Julie, the project manager, and the rest, the project workers. Only once during my two days of observations was this hierarchy questioned. This happened as one of the project team members rose from her chair at the rectangular table. She went to the big screen, pointed at a specific sentence she wished to have changed, and Julie changed it accordingly. As a mode of ordering, Enterprise gains strength from the material setup of Creativity, but the ordering pattern of Administration is lurking in these materials as well and is, at times, performed.

The group communication project entailed a series of workshops that was planned and undertaken by the project team. These workshops sought to enact the employees of the TAX Group, who are invited to the workshops, as organizational actors who have ideas for how the

TAX Group can work in a more effective and efficient manner. In February 2008 I observed one of these workshops. It had approximately 30 participants from several of the TAX Group's divisions and organizations, and it ran over the course of one day. After a brief introduction the participants were placed in five smaller working groups and asked to carry out three assignments concerning: 1) the notion of 'knowledge sharing' – what does it mean to you? 2) knowledge sharing across the TAX Group – what, more precisely, should be the focal points? and 3) if these are the focal points – how to make knowledge sharing happen? After each assignment each group was asked to report in plenum what they had been discussing. When I left the workshop it was with some ambivalence. What had been going on? Yes, some of the participants had been highly engaged in the workshop and these engaged participants did come up with ideas for how to make the TAX Group work more effectively and efficiently. Yet, in the workshop groups I followed, some of the participants found the assignments difficult. "It is not very concrete," one said (TAX, observation, 20.02.08). To me it seemed paradoxical that some of the participants were of the opinion that the workshop and its theme – the Group and knowledge sharing within the Group – had very little to do with their actual work. In a later interview with Rikke, one of the communicators who worked on the group communication project in its second stage, we talk about the workshops and their aim. Rikke says that it is a good idea to seek to anchor a project by way of workshops. She says it is difficult, though, because "a theme like this one is so far away from most [TAX Group] employees' day-to-day work" (TAX, group interview, 30.03.09). Another instance that added to my ambivalence towards the workshop was that some participants seemed to employ irony towards the workshop and its ambitions. In one of the groups, they were planning how to tackle the first assignment and a participant said: "We can use the last 10 minutes to plan who's saying what [in the subsequent presentation of our discussion]. This will ensure that our creative process isn't inhibited" (TAX, observation, 20.02.08). I did not ask what he meant by this, but I am quite sure that "creative process" was said with some amount of irony. What I am suggesting here is that the enterprising logic of these workshops was questioned during the workshop. The enterprising logic did not make sense to some of the participants when an attempt to connect this logic to these employees' day-to-day work was made, which the ironic attitude suggests. Incommensuration is a mode of ordering describing orderings that render entities incomparable. During the workshop the ambitions of the workshop and the participants' day-to-day work were, at times, rendered incomparable; they were made to have nothing to do with one another. Incommensuration was lurking and, at times, performed during the workshop. This coexistence of Enterprise and Incommensuration can explain my ambivalence towards what went on during the workshop.

One of the crucial specifying connections I have outlined above was the one made to the policy formulation process and the project owner's idea that this process can be enhanced. It can be said that the group communication project sought to delegate Enterprise into this process. Before the merger of the ministerial department and SKAT in late 2005 there was a clear division of work: the ministerial department formulated the policies, while SKAT administered these policies. This clear division of work can be understood as an effect of the ordering pattern of Administration. It is too strong to claim that this division of work, implying certain organizational boundaries, collapsed in the course of the group communication project. The group communication policy outlines the policy formulation process today, and it outlines the policy formulation process when the group communication policy is finalized. Today, there is some collaboration between the ministerial department and SKAT in the process of formulating a new policy suggestion. However, this collaboration is non-formalized and it relies on personal contacts across the two organizations. By way of a communication toolkit, the policy seeks to formalize this collaboration. It can be said that the policy asks TAX Group employees to transgress organizational boundaries that are crucial to the mode of ordering Administration. The policy does this in the quest for creating a policy formulation process, which is more effective and efficient than the current. The group communication policy aims to strengthen the ordering pattern of Enterprise in the policy formulation process, but it does not aim to collapse the organizational boundaries between the ministerial department and SKAT. The ordering pattern of Administration is still crucial in the policy formulation process.

Enterprise also seems to be delegated into the project group's, especially Julie's, way of talking about the TAX Group as an organization and as a workplace. In this way of talking it is pivotal to diminish the TAX Group's bureaucratic traits and, instead, make sure that the employees work and learn in the best possible way – not for the sake of a bureaucratic organization but for their own sake. It seems crucial to promote the ordering pattern of Enterprise. The urgency of this promotion suggests that the ordering pattern of Administration is lurking.

The mode of ordering Enterprise is about scoring well on performance indicators. It is an ordering that sets goals and that measures whether or not these goals have been reached. This trait was delegated into (at least) two materials in the course of the group communication project. First, there was Bjerg Kommunikation and the advice it gave concerning how to formulate success criteria. The advice was to set very specific goals and be sure to spend your resources right when you measure whether or not you have reached them. The project group followed this piece of advice. Second, there was the Strategy Paper. The basic logic of this

document is also one of setting a number of goals, advising how to measure whether these goals have been reached or not, and, finally, undertaking such measurements. However, in defining the success criteria of the group communication project, not only Enterprise was performed, but also the ordering pattern of Commensuration. The success criteria formulated assume that the TAX Group's employees and managers can be delineated, measured, and compared when it comes to group communication. The success criteria do not take into account any kinds of differences between these organizational actors. They set 80 percent as the success criteria for employees and managers alike. The ordering patterns of Enterprise and Commensuration coexist in the group communication project. Commensuration's performance of the TAX Group's employees and managers as organizational actors that can be delineated, measured, and compared follow the project group's attempt to set clear goals and be enterprising. In the group communication project Enterprise seems to feed off Commensuration.

Finally, Enterprise was delegated into Julie's talk about what the focal point of the Financial Office is when it comes to formulating success criteria. As a mode of ordering Enterprise describes how outcomes are rendered more important than due process and outputs. Enterprise values outcomes and devalues due process and outputs. Julie and the group communication project connected to this ordering pattern of Enterprise in formulating the project's success criteria. However, it is important to note that other ways of assessing whether the TAX Group has done a 'good' job or not coexisted with this exclusive focus on outcomes. Julie exemplified this point with an example from another of the TAX Group's areas of work, where focus is on what has been done, which is in accordance with an ordering towards the well-regulated organization.

An attempt at singularizing multiplicity

In the above I have argued that the first stage of the group communication project can be seen as an attempt to singularize the multiplicity of government communication. I did this in three steps. First, I showed how the aim of the group communication project became gradually more specific by way of a range of specifying connections tied to the TAX Group's concerns and materials. Second, I made the case that these specifying connections were enterprising, meaning that they were performing the ordering pattern of Enterprise. They did this very strongly and the policy produced in the first stage of the group communication project strongly promoted the ordering pattern of Enterprise. Still, other ordering patterns were lurking and I showed this in the third step. In the next part I will describe what happened in the group communication project's second stage: the implementation and

assessment of the group communication policy. In this second stage the project takes a rather surprising turn as the lurking ordering patterns gain strength.

Re-enacting organizational differences

The work carried out in the project's first stage results in a final policy for group communication, which is dated May 19th 2008. The policy suggests a range of actions to be taken immediately after its finalization. Despite this, nothing much seems to happen. During January and February 2009, nine to ten months after the finalization of the group communication policy, Bjerg Kommunikation and I meet up with each of the five government organizations involved to talk about their and our plans for the project's second year. Two communicators – Rikke, working in the ministerial department, and Caroline, working in SKAT's Central Centre – attend the meeting at which the second year of our collaboration with the TAX Group is to be discussed. I had met Rikke and Caroline once before, at the joint meeting in December 2008. Rikke was a part of the group communication project early on when the project's plan was formulated; shortly thereafter, she went on maternity leave. Now she is back. Caroline was not part of the project earlier. The two communicators are to find a way of setting in motion the recommendations and promised actions of the finalized policy. Julie is no longer the project's project manager. The reason for this is that she went on maternity leave shortly after the policy was finalized. At the meeting, Caroline and Rikke express a rather sceptical attitude towards the group communication policy, towards the actions it promises will be taken, and towards what it asks of the TAX Group employees. Caroline says:

> **Caroline**: [The policy] includes all these things about how all the employees have to think across [the TAX Group's] various divisions and organizations… I just don't believe in it. In the day-to-day work in my division we don't think about the Group – we don't [even] think about the ministerial department (TAX, intro meeting, 17.02.09).

Rikke agrees and says:

> **Rikke**: I think it's going to take a really long time before people become aware of being part of the Group (ibid.).

These statements left me very surprised. This was because they go against what in the first stage was established as the aim of the group communication project: to heighten all the TAX Group's managers' and employees' awareness of being part of the TAX Group, and to enable all the managers and employees to think across, share knowledge across, and work across the

TAX Group's various divisions and organizations. The policy orders the TAX Group's employees and managers in a manner that renders them comparable when it comes to group communication. In contradiction, Caroline and Rikke can be said to be performing the ordering pattern of Incommensuration in their statements: to them it does not make sense to demand that all employees and managers think across, share knowledge across, and work across the Group in the name of group communication. By their statements, Caroline and Rikke seem to curtail the networks made by the ordering patterns of Commensuration and Enterprise in the first stage of the project. The question is: what is going to happen now? I will suggest that the modes of ordering which were suppressed but still lurking in the first stage of the project gain strength in the project's second stage. In showing this I will focus on Caroline and Rikke's way of dealing with the rigid success criteria formulated for the group communication project in its first stage. I will argue that an array of organizational differences, which were kept in check in the first stage of the project, are re-enacted in Caroline and Rikke's way of dealing with the rigid success criteria.

Administration and elastic success criteria

In CHAPTER 03 I mentioned the guide on measuring communication, which was presented to the communicators involved in *Measurements you can learn from* at a joint meeting in December 2008. This guide entailed an assignment, which asked the communicators involved to put the guide to use. As part of this assignment the communicators were asked to consider whether the success criteria of a communicative solution chosen by them should be formulated rigidly or loosely. As we saw in the above, Julie formulated success criteria for the group communication project in a highly rigid fashion. She focused exclusively on outcomes. This focus can be understood as being in alignment with the ordering pattern of Enterprise and its focus on resources and securing an optimal return on these resources. Rikke is of a different opinion. In the assignment she writes:

> Rikke: The success criteria [of the communicative solution in question, here the group communication project] must be formulated in a loose fashion so that we do not promise more than we can deliver (TAX, assignment in connection to guide on measuring communication, 17.03.09).

Again, I am slightly confused. Was it not once and for all agreed upon that the group communication project should focus on outcomes in formulating success criteria? And is it not difficult to incorporate these two very different ways of formulating success criteria in the same project? I ask Rikke these questions in an interview that follows up on this assignment

and on Rikke and Caroline's documentation of the five preliminary modes of ordering. She answers:

> **Rikke**: Yes, but I'm still of the opinion that in connection to where we are now [with the group communication project]… I mean, actually that's a problem we have in connection to the group communication policy right now. The policy formulates quite rigidly what we're to do, right? And that's a little… Now we… Well, actually, we don't think that that's suitable. However, we have a team of group managers who've finalized this policy and fundamentally that means that we have to do it. Unless we go all the way up the system again… And that's [not really an option]… You have to be really careful not to commit yourself to something that you cannot carry out subsequently, right (TAX, group interview, 30.03.09)?

In the first stage of the group communication project the success criteria were formulated in alignment with the ordering pattern of Enterprise. Here, in the project's second stage, where the policy is to be implemented and its outcomes measured and otherwise assessed, Rikke suggests than the ordering pattern of Administration should have been taken into consideration when formulating these success criteria. On the grounds of Rikke's argument it can be said that Administration orders in a slow and resource-demanding way. A policy like the group communication policy goes "all the way up the system" and that takes time and resources. However, once a policy like the group communication policy is finalized, it is finalized. In practice it is not an option to change the policy more or less thoroughly and re-finalize it. Therefore, you need to be careful in formulating success criteria, Rikke argues. You need to formulate these quite loosely as this creates some room for manoeuvre in spite of the finalization. The loose formulations can be seen as a way to "creatively conform" (Law 1994: 78) with the ordering pattern of Administration as it is performed in the TAX Group.

The ordering pattern of Administration, which was pushed into the background in the first stage of the group communication project, here re-enters the project's front stage. What Rikke and Caroline find unsuitable is the enterprising manner in which the success criteria have been formulated in the project's first stage. As shown in the part above, the rigid success criteria also perform the ordering pattern of Commensuration: they delineate, measure, and compare all employees and managers by the same common denominator. In the two following sections I will show how Rikke and Caroline deal with this, to them, problematic ordering in the second stage of the project.

Differences between the TAX Group's divisions and organizations

In December 2008 I presented five preliminary modes of ordering to the communicators involved. I asked the communicators to tell me whether or not they recognized these in their

day-to-day work. One of these modes of ordering described situations, practices, or events that cannot be delineated, measured, or compared. This preliminary mode of ordering resulted in the mode of ordering Incommensuration. Caroline recognizes this mode of ordering and gives the group communication policy as an example of it. She elaborates:

> **Caroline**: The group communication policy: Because the three organizations [the ministerial department, SKAT, and the Danish National Tax Tribunal] are so different concerning size, the way they are organized, culture, and tasks. Also, within the area of communication it varies how prioritized communication is (TAX, Heat #3, documentation of preliminary modes of ordering, 30.03.09).

I ask Caroline to elaborate upon this in the follow-up interview: what are these differences, and how can the group communication project deal with them? She says that lately she has had long discussions with Rikke and with Bjerg Kommunikation concerning how to measure the outcomes of the group communication project in the best possible way. It is not easy to find a way of doing this because of these organizational differences, she says, and elaborates:

> **Caroline:** Well, it'd be easier if we lived in some other world where all three organizations [which make up the TAX Group] were akin and had gotten… Well, maybe not equally far, but had [arrived at] a shared view on communication. If that was the case we could, actually, measure on the same grounds – we could use the same criteria. […] But the reality of it all is that we're extremely different. I think that maybe in 1000 years the Danish National Tax Tribunal [will be doing communication in the same way] we [at SKAT] did it five years ago. Yes, that's basically what I meant [in the documentation] (TAX, group interview, 30.03.09).

Here Caroline talks about differences between the TAX Group's divisions and organizations when it comes to their work with communication and what communication does in these divisions and organizations. SKAT, which is by far the largest of the three organizations making up the TAX Group, is quite heterogeneous regarding their employees' background and what they do: from academics, through employees who service the citizens, to customs officers. The ministerial department, which compared to SKAT is a rather small organization, primarily employs lawyers and economists and they are engaged in policy making and servicing the minister. Hence, communication solves different tasks within each of these different divisions and organizations, because they are different when it comes to the employees and the tasks they solve. How to 'measure across' these differences as demanded by the rigid and commensurating success criteria of the group communication policy? How to find a common denominator that can make these differences comparable? This is the difficulty Caroline is addressing and it resembles the difficulty the project team encountered in

the project's first stage, where the project team sought to define the aim of the group communication project. However, where the project team sought to ease away these organizational differences, Caroline acknowledges and performs their presence and seeks to find a way to work around them.

Differences between the TAX Group's managers and employees

A second and related set of differences concerns the TAX Group's managers and employees. In the two quotes that launched the current part, Rikke and Caroline both imply that the group communication policy asks too much of the TAX Group's managers and employees: it is too much to ask all managers and all employees to think, work and share knowledge across the various divisions and organizations of the TAX Group. This discussion continues in the interview when we talk about how the policy is going to be implemented and who its target group is: is it all the TAX Group's managers and employees, or is the target group limited to the employees working within the related areas of communication and management? At one point in this discussion Rikke says:

> **Rikke**: Well, I think that the group communication policy is a very strange document. I mean, the first three pages, which are plain text, suggest that an editorial group is to be formed and that this editorial group is to coordinate group communication across the Group. My opinion is: so far, so good. But then come the appendices, which are about media for doing group communication. In my opinion things go completely wrong there. I mean: in these appendices it is suggested that it is the TAX Group employees [broadly speaking] who are to be active in this [i.e. in doing group communication] (ibid.).

Caroline agrees. She says that in her opinion the policy should only be implemented in the TAX Group divisions working with communication and management:

> **Caroline**: I mean – that's where I think the task should be located.
> **Rikke**: It's not something you can expect each employee to be thinking [about]…
> **Caroline**: For instance, if you work in the airport [as a customs officer]… To say, then, that you are to think across the Group – that wouldn't make sense (ibid.).

In the first stage of the group communication project it was agreed that all the TAX Group's managers and employees have a shared responsibility to think, share knowledge and work across the TAX Group. The ordering pattern of Commensuration can be imputed to the work carried out in the first stage of the project and to the policy this work resulted in. Now Caroline and Rikke are performing differences between the TAX Group employees. To Caroline and Rikke it does not make sense to delineate, measure, and compare all the TAX

Group's managers and employees by the same common denominator when it comes to thinking and working across the Group. Caroline and Rikke can be said to be performing the ordering pattern of Incommensuration in their work. They handle these differences by locating the responsibility for undertaking group communication in one place: the divisions working with communication and management. Whereas the group communication policy asks all managers and employees to perform the ordering pattern of Enterprise when it comes to group communication, Rikke and Caroline locate the performance of Enterprise in the divisions working with communication and management. They do not discard the enterprising ambitions of the group communication project – they just redefine from where the performance of the ordering pattern of Enterprise is to happen.

The solution: discarding the dream of singularity, for now…

In the above I have sought to show how Rikke and Caroline deal with the enterprising and commensurating success criteria in the project's second stage. I have argued that all four modes of ordering can be imputed to their dealings. The first stage of the project attempted to singularize the multiplicity of the working practices unfurling at the TAX Group. The adequacy of this attempt is questioned in the second stage and the group communication project is turned into a case of multiplicity. Rikke and Caroline's problem is, as Rikke mentioned in the above, that the TAX Group's team of group managers has finalized the policy. Therefore, it is practically impossible not to undertake the actions promised in the policy. What are Rikke and Caroline to do? How to move on? If singularizing is not an option then what is the solution to this situation of multiplicity?

Rikke and Caroline decide to follow a suggestion put forward by Bjerg Kommunikation: to do a communication balance sheet. Communication balance sheets are part of a number of Danish consultancies' and communication agencies' product portfolios. Thus, they come in many forms. However, there seems to be a common trait. The primary aim when doing a communication balance sheet is to enable a given organization's communication division to show and tell others – primarily the organization's managers, but also, for instance, colleagues or financial stakeholders – that the work of the communication division contributes to the organization reaching its overall goals. The aim of the TAX Group's communication balance sheet is formulated in alignment with this common trait:

> The aim of this communication balance sheet is to evaluate, manage, and develop the communicative solutions necessary in order to fulfil the group communication policy. The TAX

> Group's team of group managers finalized this policy in 2008 (TAX Group, communication
> balance sheet, 19.11.09).[115]

The communication balance sheet aims at showing how the communicative solutions produced contribute to the TAX Group's reaching of its aims concerning knowledge sharing and group communication. These aims were, as we saw in the above, formulated and finalized by way of three sets of success criteria in the group communication project's first stage. Apart from the introduction, the communication balance sheet consists of four parts: a methods part describing how the communication measurements were carried out, a part outlining the measurements' results, a part discussing what lessons can be learnt from those results and, finally, a part outlining a concept for the communicative solutions to be produced in 2010 if the success criteria for 2010 are to be reached.

A traditional, financial balance sheet counts and measures everything. This does not apply to the TAX Group's communication balance sheet. The balance sheet's methods part begins:

> It has been impossible to measure everything and everybody within the [group communication
> policy's three focal points, i.e. its three sets of success criteria]. Therefore, we have chosen
> measurements that in our opinion are either representative or strategically important (ibid.).[116]

The communication balance sheet does not mention why it has been impossible to measure "everything and everybody". However, in the interview I talk to Rikke and Caroline about these limits to measuring. These limits come in two dimensions: first, to measure demands resources and the ones who are to undertake the measurements, the communicators, do not have the resources to carry out measurements of "everything and everybody". Second, the ones who are to be measured, in this case the TAX Group's managers and employees, are busy carrying out their various jobs. Because of this busyness they do not always highly prioritize giving answers to surveys or taking part in focus groups organized by the communication division.

During the interview, which was undertaken before the completion of the communication balance sheet, Rikke and Caroline both underscore that what they want to do in the communication balance sheet are "itsy-bitsy measurements" (TAX, group interview, 30.03.09). At the time of the interview I understood this commitment to rather small

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[115] In Danish: Formålet med dette kommunikationsregnskab er at evaluere, styre og udvikle den kommunikationsindsats, som er nødvendig for at opfylde Politik for kommunikation på tværs af koncernen. Politikken blev vedtaget af Skatteministeriets koncernledelse i 2008.
[116] In Danish: Det har ikke været muligt at måle alt og alle inden for fokusområderne, og vi har derfor udvalgt målinger, som vi mener, enten er repræsentative eller strategisk vigtige.

measurements as a consequence of the limits to measuring mentioned in the paragraph above and of the ordering pattern of Incommensuration performed in this second stage of the project. Differences between the TAX Group's divisions, organizations, managers, and employees were performed and these differences made big, all-encompassing measurements impossible. Small, but representative or strategically chosen measurements seemed to be the only solution. However, something with this understanding is wrong. If my understanding was right, there should have been quite a disagreement between what was done in the first stage of the project and what is done now in the second stage. It can be said that whereas the first stage of the project dreamt of singularity, the second stage stopped dreaming and got real. If this was the case, there should have been quite a disagreement between Julie and her way of working in the first stage, and Rikke and Caroline and their way of working in the second stage. There was not. How to explain this?

A clue came in June 2009 at a meeting arranged by The Danish Communication Organization (DCO)[117]. At this meeting Rikke presents the experiences gained with undertaking communication measurements in the group communication project. In the latter part of her presentation she talks about "lessons learnt". For the argument I seek to develop here, the crucial point Rikke makes is that "small steps are better than big ones" (TAX, presentation at DCO meeting, June 2009). Rikke elaborates that in this, their first communication balance sheet, they have undertaken rather small measurements, but she hopes that with the experiences gained they will be able to do larger and more all-encompassing measurements the next time around. She compares the movement she hopes they will be able to do with the shape of an hourglass: in this, their first communication balance sheet, they are at the narrow middle of this hourglass. As they gain more experience with doing communication measurements they will be able to move, gradually, towards the broader end of the hourglass.

My point is that it might be wrong to say that the dream of singularity was discarded in the project's second stage. More rightly, Rikke and Caroline's arguments seem to imply that the project's first stage was trying to fulfil this dream too rapidly. The project's second stage takes a more humble point of departure and it slows down the pace. However, the dream of singularity still exists. The "itsy-bitsy" measurements are not a breakaway from the dream of singularity – they are small steps on the way to fulfilling this dream.

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[117] In Danish: Dansk Kommunikationsforening.

Concluding remarks: is singularizing a viable strategy?

In the current chapter I have used the case of the TAX Group's group communication project to explore how attempts at singularizing the initial multiplicity of government communication are made in the working practices of the communicators involved. I have outlined two different attempts at singularizing the initial multiplicity. The first attempt was practised in the first stage of the group communication project. Here the project group sought to singularize the initial multiplicity *quickly*. The project group attempted to do away with the multiplicity by formulating rigid and enterprising success criteria for the group communication project. These success criteria delineated, measured, and compared all of the TAX Group's managers, employees, divisions, and organizations by the same common denominator. In this stage of the project the ordering pattern of Enterprise fed off the ordering pattern of Commensuration while other modes of ordering were consigned to lurking. The second way of singularizing the initial multiplicity was practised in the second stage of the group communication project. In this second stage the adequacy of the common denominator constructed in the first stage was questioned. This was because it promised an outcome of the group communication project that did not seem viable to the two communicators, Rikke and Caroline, who were working on the project in this second stage. The common denominator promised that all the TAX Group's managers and employees would think and act across the Group in their day-to-day work. The two communicators regarded this outcome as neither possible nor desirable. Hence, their way of working on the project re-enacted differences between the TAX Group's managers, employees, divisions, and organizations. This implied that the group communication project was re-enacted as a case of multiplicity. However, I argued that the second stage is not to be understood as a breakaway from the work done in the first stage. The ordering pattern of Enterprise was not abandoned, but whereas the first stage sought to spread the ordering pattern of Enterprise to all the TAX Group's employees, divisions, and organizations, the second stage curtailed this pattern to the TAX Group divisions working with communication and management. "[T]hat's where I think the task should be located," as Caroline said. In the first stage attempts were made at quickly fulfilling a dream of singularity in the practices of group communication. In the second stage this dream still exists, but its fulfilment is seen as something that can only be achieved *slowly*.

These concluding remarks beg the questions: will the dream of singularity ever be fulfilled when it comes to group communication? And, more generally, is singularizing a viable strategy for handling the multiplicity of government communication? As an empirical case, the TAX Group's group communication project cannot give a univocal answer to these

questions. It is yet to be seen if the multiplicity can be done away with when a slow, step-by-step strategy is employed. However, it should be noted that a vast amount of work went into the attempts at singularizing the practices of group communication in the first stage of the project, but it was not enough. All four modes of ordering were lurking and, at times, performing and performed in the working practices of the project team. In the working practices unfurling in the group communication project there seemed to be limits as to how far Enterprise could go. Hence, the group communication project seems to suggest that singularizing is not a viable strategy for handling the multiplicity of government communication. Other cases from my empirical material support this conclusion. In these cases multiplicity acts as an ontological condition that the communicators work around (Suchman 1983), rather than attempt to do away with. I turn to such cases in the following chapter, CHAPTER 07. This change in empirical focus changes the analytical agenda as well. The analytical agenda of the current chapter has been to show how attempts at singularizing the initial multiplicity were made in the production and assessment of a specific communicative solution, in this case group communication. This analytical agenda had implications for my description of the relationship between the modes of ordering: I analyzed how attempts at turning Enterprise into a hegemonic mode of ordering were made and the other modes of ordering – apart from Commensuration – were portrayed as hindrances to a successful outcome of these attempts. The other modes of ordering – again apart from Commensuration – were portrayed as blocking the orderings of Enterprise. I see singularizing and the implied blocking as one protocol for the coexistence of the modes of ordering utilized in the current study. In CHAPTER 07 the analytical agenda is to explore another such protocol. I introduced this protocol in CHAPTER 05 and named it sequencing. In CHAPTER 07 I will present two cases that allow me to explore sequencing as a way of handling multiplicity further.

Public services are charged with projects that are intended to change the public, producing new subjects through behaviour change strategies, the discipline of social contracts, and the monitoring and sanctioning of citizens. But at the same time public services are themselves in the process of transformation as a result of governance reforms that emphasize personalisation, flexibility and choice. And it is through public services that tensions between different meanings of active citizenship have to be resolved, some of which constitute 'empowered' citizens as the co-producers of services, while others seek to induce compliance to new norms of responsibility and self-reliance; some of which privilege economic activity and others moral responsibility. […] Such tensions [between these different political formations of citizenship] create dilemmas for public services, and open up 'spaces of translation' in which policies are interpreted (by staff) and negotiated (between managers, staff and citizens)

(Newman & Clarke 2009: 169).

CHAPTER 07: sequencing modes of ordering in producing and assessing communicative solutions

In the current chapter I will explore what it means to handle the multiplicity of government communication by way of sequencing. This exploration will happen through two empirical cases from the Danish Consumer Agency (CONSUME). The first case concerns CONSUME's production and assessment of an electronic newsletter that aims to disseminate information about the concerns of Danish consumers to Danish businesses. The second case concerns CONSUME's production and assessment of a new website, the new forbrug.dk. First, I will provide an introduction to these two CONSUME products and to the chapter.

In CONSUME's performance contract (2008) it says that CONSUME:

> […] works to ensure that the conditions for the consumers in Denmark are amongst the best in Europe. At the same time this is to make it easier to be a consumer – and to create growth and welfare (ibid.: 3).[118]

That is the overall goal of the work carried out by CONSUME. The performance contract entails a so-called task hierarchy where this work is divided into three areas: consumer information, consumer protection and consumer politics. In undertaking the current study's fieldwork I focused on the first of these areas, consumer information, as this area most directly

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[118] In Danish: Forbrugerstyrelsen arbejder for at sikre, at forbrugerforholdene i Danmark er blandt de bedste i Europa. Det skal samtidigt gøre det lettere at være forbruger – og skabe vækst og velfærd.

concerns government communication. The performance contract lists five public services, discussed as "products" at CONSUME, which CONSUME produces and assesses within the area of consumer information. In the current chapter we will encounter four of these products:

- a telephone hotline offering the caller information about consumer rights;

- dissemination of information about the consumers' concerns to Danish businesses, which CONSUME collects by way of its hotline and other products, and which CONSUME believes can lead to service innovations in Danish businesses;

- CONSUME's website, forbrug.dk, which is the Danish government's consumers portal, and offers consumer information;

- a number of web 2.0 solutions offering user-oriented consumer information via user involvement.[119]

So, one of the products produced by CONSUME is a hotline, which offers the callers information about consumer rights. However, as the second product on the list above testifies, CONSUME also uses this hotline as a device for collecting information about the callers and their concerns when they act as consumers in given markets. This information, which in CONSUME's performance contract is termed "user-generated information" (ibid.: 7),[120] is disseminated to Danish businesses, and CONSUME states that there it can contribute to Danish businesses' innovation of "products and/or services for the benefit of consumers and industry alike" (ibid.: 7)[121]. More specifically, this dissemination happens by way of an electronic newsletter and it is the production and assessment of this electronic newsletter that will be interrogated in the first part of the present chapter.

The second product, whose production and assessment I will explore in the chapter's second part, is what was talked about during my fieldwork at CONSUME as "the new forbrug.dk". Forbrug.dk is the Danish government's consumer portal. During 2009 forbrug.dk was redesigned and reorganized and the new forbrug.dk was launched in December 2009. In CONSUME's performance contract it says that the need for consumer information is

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[119] The fifth product is Track and Trace, which is an IT solution allowing a citizen to follow a complaint s/he has filed. This product is not of relevance to the present study.
[120] In Danish: brugergenereret information.
[121] In Danish: […] produkter og/eller ydelser til gavn for både forbrugere og erhvervsliv.

currently undergoing a transformation from traditional information about consumers' rights within given markets to a more active dialogue between CONSUME and the consumers and between the consumers. Therefore, the new forbrug.dk encompasses several web 2.0 solutions, which allow the users of the website to enter into dialogue with CONSUME and with other users. According to CONSUME these web 2.0 solutions are to create "consumer information, which is closer to the citizens and more relevant [to the citizens]" (ibid.: 8).[122]

Throughout this chapter I will argue that more than one mode of ordering can be imputed to the practices of producing these two CONSUME products and I will show how this entails that CONSUME is enacted differently in different practices of production. These different versions of CONSUME do not easily add up to a coherent whole. There is tension between these versions. I will explore what happens to these different versions and to the tension between them in the assessments of the two products. This empirical exploration and its results will lead me to discuss Annemarie Mol's notion of 'living-in-tension' (Mol 1999) in this chapter's concluding remarks.

An electronic newsletter: a traditional assessment of a new type of product

In this part I will investigate how CONSUME produces and assesses one of its products: an electronic newsletter by which information about the consumers' concerns is disseminated to Danish businesses. This electronic newsletter is a new type of product and it marks that CONSUME is not 'just' an agency disseminating consumer information to Danish citizens. It is more than this, and the question is whether this 'more' is taken into consideration in the assessment of the newsletter. First I will take a look at the production of the newsletter, and a crucial element in this production is CONSUME's collection of information about the consumers' concerns. This collection of information happens by way of CONSUME's hotline and in the following section I will provide some empirical details concerning this hotline.

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[122] In Danish: […] en mere borgernær og relevant forbrugerinformation […].

Figure 10: Sign marking the rooms at CONSUME where CONSUME's hotline is located (CONSUME, Heat #1, communicators' photographic documentation of their own working practices, Winter 2008).
Michael, communicator at CONSUME, took this photograph in my fieldwork's first heat. The hotline turns up numerous times in later observations and interviews with other CONSUME communicators. The reason for this is that the hotline takes part in CONSUME's currently ongoing development of a new type of product: a newsletter disseminating user-generated information about consumers' concerns to Danish businesses.

As with the other government organizations involved in *Measurements you can learn from,* I ask the communicators at CONSUME to photograph working practices in which communication measurements or other related assessments are at stake. Michael, communicator at CONSUME, takes up this challenge. Michael primarily works with campaigns and CONSUME's press relations. In a follow-up interview he tells me that he went to CONSUME's various divisions and photographed the specific measurements at stake in each of these divisions. One of his photographs depicts a sign marking where CONSUME's hotline is located at CONSUME's offices in Copenhagen. I ask him why he took this photograph. He tells me that the hotline receives 40,000 calls a year, and that the performance contract between CONSUME and the ministerial department, to which CONSUME is responsible, says that the waiting time for each caller is to be no more than three minutes.[123] This seems rather straightforward to me. However, Michael explains that something more is going on:

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[123] CONSUME is organizationally part of the Danish Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs Group and thus is responsible to this Group's ministerial department. I will return to this ministerial affiliation later in the present part.

Michael: There're some really interesting measurements going on in connection to the hotline, which are about [CONSUME] registering what the consumers [i.e. the callers] complain about. Well, it's not necessarily complaints… Pretty often it's questions. The consumers ask in order to have their rights clarified. It's very concrete – for instance, when you've just bought a toaster. You [i.e. CONSUME] register [the callers' concerns] so that you can see where the problems lie […]. Currently, we're working on using this information in a more proactive manner. We do this by producing some statistics, which we can disseminate to Danish business so that they can see: "Well, when the consumers call CONSUME then it's because they experience it as a problem that the Danish businesses are unable to tell them their actual rights." We can tell that to the businesses (CONSUME, interview, 09.04.08).

By registering the callers' concerns CONSUME collects what in CONSUME's performance contract is termed user-generated information. One might, again, conclude that this sounds rather straightforward. However, Michael alludes to a potential complication by stating that CONSUME is not using the information as proactively as desired. I ask him what he means by this. He tells me that it has something to do with registering the callers' concerns. When you call the hotline as a consumer with a given concern, you often wait to get through to one of the hotline consultants. It is important that it is the callers' wishes you fulfil, Michael says, and here it can become a problem if the hotline employees ask the callers a number of survey-like questions concerning, for instance, age, sex, location, education etc. Michael tells me that at CONSUME they are currently working on finding out what to register and how to do this in a way that fits with the callers' reason for calling: to acquire information about their rights when acting as consumers within a given market. So, in Michael's account there seems to be a tension between CONSUME disseminating information to the callers and CONSUME collecting information about the callers and their concerns. If this is the case, if tension is the case, then why does CONSUME pursue the latter objective, which is to collect information about the callers and their concerns? Michael gives his answer to this question in the last part of the interview where I ask him to elaborate upon an article he has written recently. The article has been published on the website of *Measurements you can learn from*, kommunikationsmaaling.dk. In his elaboration he touches upon CONSUME's hotline and the ambitions CONSUME attaches to this hotline. Michael writes about user-driven innovation in his article, saying that it is something CONSUME has great hopes for (Jessen 2008). I ask him what he means by this: what is user-driven innovation in CONSUME, and what is it supposed to do there?

Michael: Well, that is where the project [*Measurements you can learn from*] really comes into its own. Do we reach our target group – or does our information just pass them by? That's

really just a measurement of whether we've reached the aim intended [with our communicative activities]. That's, of course, a part of it all. But where it becomes very, very interesting, in my opinion, is if we can begin to plan and organize our work on the grounds of the information we get in by way of the measurements conducted. If we do a communicative effort, measure its effects, and then do a qualified assessment of whether there was a reasonable relationship between costs and benefits... Maybe, you could ask the consumers whether it was something they valued, or whether it was something they would rather have been without. Then we would be able to say: "Well, OK, if they [the consumers] all say: 'Yes, we've seen it, and we all knew that beforehand and shut up, please!'" Then, maybe, we could say: "OK, we could have used the resources better elsewhere." And ask them [i.e. the consumers]: "What, then, is it you need?" [...] As an agency we have to think a little ahead. [...] We try to enable the consumers to make the right choices before it's too late when a new product hits the market. We have to be able to use user-driven innovation understood in the following way: what are the users' needs? Then we can plan and organize our efforts accordingly (CONSUME, interview, 09.04.08).

Michael sees a direct link between CONSUME's ambition for joining *Measurements you can learn from*, and CONSUME's ambition to listen to the users and their needs in the spirit of the version of user-driven innovation, Michael describes.[124] The ambition is to develop and produce communicative solutions on the grounds of accounts of the users', in this case the consumers', needs. Michael mainly talks about this as something CONSUME will do in the future. It is CONSUME's ambition – not its current practice. However, I ask Michael if they in CONSUME have had any experiences with working with the version of user-driven innovation he has just described. Michael considers his answer briefly and then mentions the hotline and the registration of the callers' concerns as an example:

> **Michael**: Yes, the hotline. The hotline is considered to be a form of user-driven innovation. This particular form of user-driven innovation doesn't impact CONSUME, but it aims at giving business some new information. The aim is that this new information will enable businesses to work in a user-driven fashion with CONSUME as a channel (CONSUME, interview, 09.04.08).

We talk some more about user-driven innovation and the hopes CONSUME attaches to this particular way of working. In Michael's account, user-driven innovation at CONSUME seems to be mainly about CONSUME asking the consumers what their needs are. Despite Michael's claim that the subsequent enactment of the hotline as a device for collecting

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[124] I follow the version of user-driven innovation that unfolds in CONSUME and will not go into a discussion of various definitions of user-driven innovation. However, it can be noted that within the Danish central administration, user-driven innovation has been defined as innovation processes that comprise a systematic focus on the users' acknowledged and unacknowledged needs (FORA 2005). Traits of this definition can be discerned in the version of user-driven innovation described by Michael.

information about the callers' concerns does not impact CONSUME, we discuss how this way of working, meaning to work on the grounds of what is established as the consumers' needs, might lead to quite thorough changes in how CONSUME plans and organizes its communicative activities. I ask Michael: is CONSUME ready for these potential changes? Michael answers that CONSUME has to be. His argument is that if CONSUME does not take the consumers' needs into consideration in developing and producing their products, then they risk spending money on communicating issues nobody wants or has a need to hear about. Such a mismatch between the consumers' needs and CONSUME's products can create problems, especially if a third party can show that a mismatch is the case. The most obvious example of such a third party is the media. Therefore, CONSUME has to be willing to work in a user-driven manner, and CONSUME has to undertake the changes this might entail, Michael argues. However, Michael stresses that this is not to be seen as a defensive strategy. He underscores this in the following statement, which ends the interview:

> **Michael**: Of course we are not interested in those kinds of problems [i.e. problems concerning the relevance of CONSUME's products]. The most important thing is to be able to prioritize and to find out where we are needed (ibid.).

In Michael's account this is what user-driven innovation can do: it can help CONSUME to prioritize and to find out where its products are needed. However, and as I will argue below, when it comes to the electronic newsletter, which disseminates information to Danish businesses about the consumers' concerns collected by way of the hotline, it is not a given that this product is needed in Danish businesses. Before turning to the questions of how CONSUME collects the user-generated information, how the agency disseminates this information to Danish businesses, and how CONSUME measures and otherwise assesses the success of this new type of product, I will discuss what Michael told me about CONSUME and its hotline in connection to two of the modes of ordering developed in CHAPTER 04.

CONSUME as enacted in three versions

In the interview, Michael gives an account of CONSUME's ambition to work in accordance with a specific version of user-driven innovation. He gives CONSUME's hotline and the registration of the consumers' concerns as one example of how this ambition is practised by CONSUME today. Michael describes a version of user-driven innovation that is about CONSUME deciphering the consumers' needs when it comes to consumer information and, subsequently, producing products that can satisfy these needs. However, CONSUME's work with this version of user-driven innovation also comprises the needs of Danish businesses and the needs of CONSUME itself. In Michael's account of CONSUME's ambitions for working

with user-driven innovation, CONSUME seems to be more than one thing. Annemarie Mol's argument that the same object can be enacted differently in different practices, which implies that the same object is enacted in different, but related versions, inspires this point (Mol 2002a: 5-6, 32-33).[125] Three different versions of CONSUME can be delineated in Michael's account:

1. *CONSUME as a traditional agency*: as a traditional agency CONSUME must secure that all citizens can gain information about their rights when they act as consumers within given markets. Michael calls this a typical approach to communication for government organizations: "Information must be accessible to everybody" (CONSUME, interview, 09.04.08). CONSUME has an obligation to disseminate consumer information broadly and the hotline is one way by which CONSUME fulfils this obligation. This version of CONSUME focuses on satisfying the consumers' needs. I see this version as an effect of the ordering pattern of Administration: the hotline consultants and the CONSUME communicators are civil servants who fulfil CONSUME's obligation to disseminate consumer information broadly;

2. *CONSUME as mediating consumers and Danish businesses*: in this second version, CONSUME takes into consideration the needs of Danish businesses. CONSUME assumes that Danish businesses need information about the consumers' concerns, CONSUME can collect such information by way of its hotline, and CONSUME can disseminate such information to Danish businesses. A prerequisite for this version of CONSUME is that the hotline is enacted as a device for collecting information about consumers' concerns. I see this version as an effect of the ordering pattern of Enterprise: it is about CONSUME utilizing resources to satisfy not only the needs of the consumers, but also the needs of Danish businesses. It is about securing an optimal return on the resources allocated to CONSUME;

3. *CONSUME as competing with a range of organizations and institutions offering consumer information*: in this version, which is less connected to the example concerning the hotline and the registration of the callers' concerns, CONSUME is enacted as being in competition with a range of organizations and institutions offering consumer information. Hence, CONSUME's own need for retaining its legitimacy is in focus. CONSUME must be able to "prioritize and to find out where we are needed," as Michael puts it. Michael hopes that user-driven innovation can help CONSUME to

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[125] See also Petersen & Pogner 2009.

do exactly that: to prioritize and find its gap in what Michael seems to view and perform as a market for consumer information. Michael stresses that if CONSUME does not prioritize, then this can hurt CONSUME's legitimacy. I understand this version of CONSUME as another effect of the ordering pattern of Enterprise: whereas Administration renders CONSUME fundamentally different from other organizations and institutions offering consumer information, Enterprise puts CONSUME in competition with these. An effect of this ordering pattern is that CONSUME's utilization of its resources is assessed in relation to these 'competitors'.[126]

But how are these three different versions of CONSUME related? In Michael's account they seem to exist in tension. One example of such tension is that, when enacted as a traditional agency, CONSUME has an obligation to disseminate consumer information broadly, but at the same time CONSUME needs to prioritize and find out where it is needed, because CONSUME is also enacted as an agency competing with other institutions and organizations offering consumer information. Another example is CONSUME's registration of user-generated information via its hotline and its dissemination of this information to Danish businesses, which suggests that one of the places in which CONSUME is needed is Danish businesses. However, this enactment of CONSUME as a mediator between the consumers' concerns and the needs of Danish businesses, which implies the registration of the callers' concerns, seems to be in tension with CONSUME's obligation to 'be there' within three minutes, when the consumers call the hotline with their questions and complaints. It is noteworthy that in Michael's account CONSUME is able to cope with these tensions. Michael describes these tensions as a matter of practicalities: it is a matter of CONSUME finding out what to register and how to do this. This registration of the consumers' concerns, Michael argues, can be undertaken in a way that does not compromise that CONSUME meets the consumers' interests and fulfils its obligation to disseminate the information that the consumers need. There is tension between the three different versions of CONSUME and between the three different sets of needs – the consumers' needs, the Danish businesses' needs, and CONSUME's needs – they imply, but Michael argues that CONSUME can hang together in spite of these tensions.

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[126] The Danish Consumer Council (in Danish: Forbrugerrådet) is one prominent example of an organization which offers consumer information. The Council "represents the interests of consumers and is independent of public authorities and commercial interests. Founded in 1947, the Consumer Council is the spokesperson for consumers' interests, lobbying vis-à-vis the Government, the Parliament, public authorities and the business community" (www.forbrugerraadet.dk, accessed August 16th 2010). Other examples are the rather wide range of newspapers and TV programmes offering consumer information.

As mentioned, my inspiration for this analysis of how CONSUME can be seen as enacted in three different versions, and how these different versions can be understood as hanging together in spite of tensions between them, is inspired by Mol's study of the disease atherosclerosis (Mol 2002a). Atherosclerosis is enacted in different versions in a range of different sociomaterial practices. There can be tensions between these different versions. For instance, two different sociomaterial, diagnostic setups can enact slightly different versions of a patient's atherosclerosis, which can make it difficult to decide upon how to treat the atherosclerosis in question. Mol's point is that in spite of this, multiple objects such as atherosclerosis are not, necessarily, "falling into fragments" (ibid.: 5). The different versions of atherosclerosis are made to hang together via certain procedures and routines that are in place in the hospital's diagnosis and treatment of and research into the disease. The multiplicity of atherosclerosis is coordinated, distributed, and included in these procedures and routines, Mol argues.

As already stressed, Michael primarily told me about CONSUME's ambitions for using the hotline to collect user-generated information that can be disseminated to Danish businesses and there kick-start user-driven innovation processes. The question is: how did these ambitions unfurl in practice in the months that followed? Were the different versions of CONSUME made to hang together or did they fall into fragments in the production and assessment of the NFC newsletter?

A simple newsletter's production in a multiple agency

Approximately 10 months after the interview with Michael, I undertake a 'work and talk' at CONSUME as part of the third heat of fieldwork. Michael has left his job at CONSUME in favour of a new job at a communications agency. I am therefore working and talking with another communicator at CONSUME, Anna. Anna has been working at CONSUME for eight months. She is the Industrial PhD project's new contact person. She is a trained journalist, and she primarily carries out tasks that have to do with the press.

Anna has been part of a project team that sought to determine how the user-generated information, which the hotline allows CONSUME to collect, can be disseminated to Danish businesses. As mentioned in the introduction to the present part, the product that this project team came up with was an electronic newsletter. Now, Anna is part of a project team that produces this newsletter. This production entails the hotline and the registration of the callers' concerns, and both pop up a number of times during the work and talk. Anna works on a questionnaire, which is somehow connected to the production of the newsletter. She tells me that the term 'user-driven innovation' is often found in CONSUME's "big papers" (Anna,

work and talk, 27.01.09). This term is also connected to the newsletter. And she discusses the newsletter's number of subscribers with a colleague. The question is: how do these materially heterogeneous actors – a survey, CONSUME's big papers, user-driven innovation, a discussion with a colleague, and the newsletter's number of subscribers – take part in the production of this newsletter by which CONSUME aims to disseminate user-generated information about the consumers' concerns to Danish businesses? The work and talk gave some initial answers to these questions. In a follow-up interview with Anna, which took place two months later, these initial answers were elaborated upon. It can be argued that an electronic newsletter is a relatively simple product. However, in the follow-up interview, Anna describes the project in which the newsletter was conceptualized and, now, is produced, as the worst project she has worked on at CONSUME. Why is that? I will seek to show and argue that although the electronic newsletter might be a relatively simple product, its production is far from simple because CONSUME is enacted as a multiple agency in the practices of production.

From uneven data to representative representations

I undertake the work and talk on a day in late January 2009. Anna and I meet at CONSUME at 9am and she begins her work. She tells me that she has quite an unplanned day. She has a bunch of different things she has to get done today. On other occasions much of her working day consists of meetings. At one point during the morning, one of Anna's colleagues, who does not work in CONSUME's Communication Centre but in CONSUME's Division for Consumer Policy, comes up to Anna's desk. Anna and her colleague talk about a survey that is to be carried out soon. I ask what the survey is about. It turns out that the survey is connected to what Michael told me about 10 months earlier: CONSUME's ambition to disseminate the information about the consumers' concerns collected by way of the hotline to Danish businesses. Anna and her colleague work together on preparing the survey's questionnaire. The colleague has a few comments to a draft version of the questionnaire, and they agree that Anna will take a look at them later on in the day. She does and finishes the questionnaire. But why are they working on a survey, I wonder? Anna explains that the information about the consumers' concerns collected by way of the hotline is quite uneven still. Thus, CONSUME is unable to disseminate this information directly to the Danish businesses. CONSUME has to turn the uneven information collected into what can be termed a representative representation of the consumers' concerns. Preparing a questionnaire on the grounds of the uneven data collected and hiring an external consultancy firm to collect a representative response to the questionnaire achieves this.

In the practices of undertaking this survey CONSUME is enacted as a mediator between the consumers' concerns and the Danish businesses' need for information about the consumers' concerns. The needs of the Danish businesses are in focus, and what they need are representative representations of the consumers' concerns rather than uneven data. In order to satisfy this need CONSUME hires an external consultancy. This is rather expensive. In the next section Anna and one of her colleagues question whether it is too expensive.

Is it worth it?

Later that morning, one of Anna's colleagues from CONSUME's Communication Centre, Jens, stops by her desk. He asks her, jokingly, whether they are going on with the News From the Consumers project. News From the Consumers (NFC)[127] is the name of the newsletter that Anna takes part in producing. The newsletter conveys the results of the surveys, which are carried out on the information CONSUME collects about the consumers' concerns by way of its hotline. Jens' question concerning whether the NFC project will continue results in the following exchange between Anna and Jens:

> **Anna**: Yes [the NFC project is continuing]. Well, it's written into our performance contract – I think it's prioritized quite highly.
> **Jens**: If you have 50 NFC subscribers, then you could consider inviting them to the movies instead (ibid.)!

I jot down this brief exchange immediately. I do so because it seems, in a very direct manner, to be about what establishes a 'good' outcome of government communication at CONSUME. And it seems to suggest that it is not always clear what it is that establishes a 'good' outcome of government communication at CONSUME. Thus, in the follow-up interview I ask Anna to elaborate upon what it is that unfolds in this exchange between Jens and her. She tells me that the first NFC newsletter was produced in December 2007. Three newsletters were produced in 2008, and the plan is to produce three newsletters in 2009 also. Danish businesses, which constitute the newsletter's target group, can sign up for the electronic newsletter on CONSUME's website. Anna goes on to tell me that the success criterion for the NFC newsletter was set at 1000 subscribers. Today, the newsletter has "300 – maybe 400" (CONSUME, interview, 17.03.09) subscribers, Anna says. That is quite far from the initial success criteria, she adds. In an attempt to attract more subscribers CONSUME collaborates with the Danish Chamber of Commerce,[128] "but that hasn't really amounted to much" (ibid.), Anna says. A third strategy has been applied for disseminating the user-generated knowledge.

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[127] In Danish: Nyt fra kunderne (NFK).
[128] In Danish: Dansk Erhverv.

This third strategy is to use the press to disseminate the user-generated information collected by CONSUME, and it has worked pretty well. Anna says that one of her close managers has been quite satisfied with the press attention, compensating for the lack of subscribers. However, Anna sums up her experiences with the NFC newsletter in the following way:

> **Anna**: That NFC newsletter has never really found a format. There're some people in the house [i.e. in CONSUME] who're really excited about this idea and then there're some other people, Jens and I included, who think it is… To do this newsletter – it's a little futile! Because we use a lot of resources on its production and it doesn't really… There aren't that many who want to read it. [To me] it's a bit like this: exactly what sort of information can we disseminate to the businesses that they cannot get better elsewhere (ibid.)?

Jens is hinting at the futility of the production of the NFC newsletter when he says that Anna and her colleague could consider inviting the 50 subscribers – "that [number] is, of course, a little on the low side" (ibid.), Anna adds – to the movies instead of producing and sending them the newsletter. Anna terms her exchange with Jens "sarcastic" (ibid.). What they are saying to each other is that to them it would be a better idea to "kill" (ibid.) the newsletter. In Anna and Jens' view, to kill the newsletter would allow CONSUME to use the resources allotted to the agency in a more fruitful way.

CONSUME, in the exchange between Anna and Jens and in Anna's summing up of her experiences with the newsletter, is enacted as an agency that should not strive to mediate between the consumers' concerns and the needs of Danish businesses. Further, Anna says that CONSUME is in competition with the Danish businesses' other sources of information. She is doubtful that CONSUME can win this competition. Anna and Jens seem to suggest that CONSUME should be enacted as a traditional agency, which focuses on the consumers' needs for consumer information. In contrast with Anna and Jens, some of CONSUME's employees are really excited about the NFC project, Anna says. Why is that?

Why not kill the newsletter, then?

In the exchange between Anna and Jens, Anna mentions CONSUME's performance contract. She says that the NFC newsletter is written into the performance contract and therefore it has a high priority. However, the specific NFC newsletter is not part of the performance contract. What is part of the performance contract is, as mentioned in the introduction to the present chapter, an ambition to disseminate the user-generated information collected by CONSUME to Danish businesses. This dissemination of user-generated information aims at stimulating Danish businesses to innovate "products and/or services for the benefit of consumers and industry alike" (Forbrugerstyrelsen 2008: 7). Anna

tells me that the idea behind the NFC newsletter is, exactly, user-driven innovation. The term 'user-driven innovation' "is a good term in this Group [i.e. the Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs Group]" (CONSUME, work and talk, 27.01.09), she elaborates. In the follow-up interview I ask her what she means by this: what does it mean that user-driven innovation is a "good term" in the Group?

> **Anna**: As far as I know it's something one wants to work in accordance with in the whole ministry [the whole Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs Group]. The idea is that you must innovate... We get a lot of input from the consumers, for instance by way of our hotline, and the idea is to try to disseminate a part of this knowledge... That's what user-driven means... [...] But I'm not sure about this at all. I've just heard several times that user-driven innovation is a term that is often found in big papers in the agency [i.e. in CONSUME] (CONSUME, interview, 17.03.09).

The term user-driven innovation has found its way into CONSUME's performance contract and into other "big papers", meaning other strategic documents. The NFC project is user-driven innovation in practice and this is why it is difficult to discard the project. But how and why has user-driven innovation found its way into these "big papers"? Anna does not have a clear answer to these questions. However, it can be noted that the Danish Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs Group, of which CONSUME is part, is one of MindLab's three "parent ministries" (www.mind-lab.dk, accessed August 12th 2010).[129] MindLab is a cross-ministerial innovation unit and it is:

> [...] instrumental in helping the ministries' key decision-makers and employees view their efforts from the outside-in, to see them from a citizen's perspective. We use this approach [i.e. user-driven innovation] as a platform for co-creating better ideas" (ibid.).

This membership of MindLab might be the reason why Anna has heard that the term 'user-driven innovation' is often present in CONSUME's "big papers". MindLab's endeavours to help government organizations to view their efforts from a "citizen's perspective" are to ensure that when new solutions are developed these hit the spot, meaning that they are of value to the citizens. But there is more to it: if these new solutions hit the spot, then this can take part in ensuring that public resources are utilized in a still more effective and efficient manner.[130] It can be said that CONSUME's membership of MindLab performs the ordering pattern of Enterprise. It is difficult for CONSUME to claim that it does not want to utilize its

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[129] The Danish Ministry of Taxation and The Danish Ministry of Employment are the two remaining parent ministries of MindLab.
[130] See MindLab's formulation of its strategic goals on www.mind-lab.dk, accessed August 12th 2010.

resources in the most effective and efficient manner possible. To kill the newsletter would be to cut CONSUME's connection to user-driven innovation, to MindLab, and to an effective and efficient utilization of its resources. This is difficult to do.

Another reason why it is difficult to kill the newsletter is CONSUME's ministerial affiliations. During the work and talk, Anna tells me that the NFC project has been difficult to carry out because there are more interests at stake in it than in other CONSUME projects. In the follow-up interview I ask her what she means by this. Since the Danish parliamentary election in November 2007, CONSUME has been part of the Danish Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs Group. Before that, CONSUME was part of the Danish Ministry of Family and Consumer Affairs, which was closed down after the 2007 election. Anna elaborates that this means that CONSUME "has one foot in consumer politics and one foot in business" (CONSUME, interview, 17.03.09). This limits what CONSUME can say:

> **Anna**: [It's difficult for us to go out and say that the businesses aren't good enough at this or that], because there might be a journalist around who thinks: "OK, the businesses are too poor at this or that. Who is the responsible minister? That's [the minister of the Danish Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs]." Then [the minister] has to say some things [the minister] doesn't feel like saying, because [the minister] has to speak on behalf of a lot of companies as well. Similarly, we can't say: "It just isn't good enough that the consumers don't know this or that," because, actually, it's our job to inform them about it (ibid.).

In a very direct manner, the production of the newsletter and the ambition to disseminate user-generated information to Danish businesses are practices which comprise, enact, and seek to straddle the tension between CONSUME as an agency focusing on what the consumers need and CONSUME as an agency focusing on what Danish businesses need.

Singularizing CONSUME in assessing the newsletter

Let me sum up what I have said about the production of the NFC newsletter thus far. Anna views the NFC project as one of the most difficult projects she has worked on during her time at CONSUME. She explains:

> **Anna**: I understand that it sounds really good: we [at CONSUME] collect a lot of information about the consumers and then we disseminate this information to the businesses. In practice it is just really difficult to do (ibid.).

In the above Anna has elaborated upon the difficulties she has encountered in disseminating knowledge about the consumers' concerns to Danish businesses by way of the NFC

newsletter: the desired number of subscribers is far higher than the actual number of subscribers; CONSUME is used to disseminating consumer information to citizens, but it is unclear what the agency can offer businesses; she and some of her colleagues sense that a lot of resources are being spent on something that does not amount to much; and, lastly, in the production of the newsletter Anna has felt very directly that CONSUME, organizationally speaking, "has one foot in consumer politics and one foot in business". I have sought to show that these difficulties arise because CONSUME is enacted in two different versions in the practices of producing the newsletter. I understand CONSUME's ambition to collect and to disseminate user-generated information as a trait of the ordering pattern of Enterprise. The NFC project is about going beyond the ordering pattern of Administration, which enacts CONSUME as a traditional agency with an obligation to make sure that all citizens have easy access to information about their rights when they act as consumers in given markets. Disseminating consumer information broadly fulfils this obligation. It is about viewing this enactment as a traditional agency "from the outside-in," as MindLab has it, and to find out how resources can be utilized and legitimacy secured beyond the ordering pattern of Administration. The ambition to collect and disseminate user-generated information about the consumers' concerns suggests that CONSUME is in a situation where the ordering mode of Administration does not by itself produce 'enough' legitimacy. Enterprise is interested in performance and outcomes rather than due process and this is why Enterprise is able to look at Administration from the outside-in. From this outside-in position, Enterprise as a mode of ordering assesses how the existing working practices and the products produced in these working practices can be optimized. However, the obligation to disseminate consumer information broadly is still there. It is impossible for CONSUME to fully go beyond this obligation. Thus a tension between the ordering pattern of Enterprise and the ordering pattern of Administration arises in the NFC project. More specifically, a tension between CONSUME enacted as a traditional agency and CONSUME enacted as an agency mediating consumers and Danish businesses arises in the production of the NFC newsletter.

Seen from the outside-in the NFC project makes sense; seen from the outside-in there do not seem to be any tensions at stake. CONSUME does collect a lot of information about the consumers and their concerns and it does makes sense to try to do something with this information. It does make sense to try to turn this user-generated information into something that is of value to Danish businesses. In the above I have described how the NFC project is seen and carried out on what can be termed the inside, meaning the working practices unfurling at CONSUME. In these working practices it is less obvious that the NFC project is a good idea, because more than one mode of ordering can be imputed to these working practices. However, it should be noted that the newsletter is actually produced and sent to the

subscribers. Neither the newsletter nor CONSUME falls into fragments. The different versions of CONSUME are made to hang together, and one example of how this happens is found in the "sarcastic" exchange between Anna and Jens: they perform the ordering pattern of Administration in this exchange, but when it stops Anna goes on to produce the newsletter and, thus, to perform the ordering pattern of Enterprise. The ordering patterns of Administration and Enterprise are sequenced and sarcasm is a way for Anna and Jens to handle and make sense of this sequencing.

Despite this sequencing, the production of the newsletter turned out to be limited. When I started writing the present chapter approximately 18 months after my work and talk with Anna, I searched CONSUME's website for the NFC newsletter. I could not find it. Therefore, I e-mailed Anna and asked her whether CONSUME had stopped producing it. Further, I asked her to tell me about the background for the decision to close down the newsletter if this had been done. Her answer reads:

> **Anna**: We expected that there was a demand for this type of product [i.e. the NFC newsletter] from the Danish businesses. But we never found a form that made it [i.e. the user-generated information conveyed by way of the newsletter] interesting for the businesses. The number of subscribers was an important indicator of the businesses' lack of interest. There weren't enough subscribers for it to make sense to go on producing the NFC newsletter (CONSUME, e-mail, 30.08.10).

An electronic newsletter aimed at Danish businesses might be a relatively simple product. However, the NFC newsletter had a far from simple aim: to contribute to Danish businesses' innovation of "products and/or services for the benefit of consumers and industry alike" (Forbrugerstyrelsen 2008: 7). How to explain that whether this far from simple aim is reached is measured by way of a rather simple indicator: the number of subscribers? Why not, for instance, ask some of the subscribers whether the newsletter has, actually, kick-started innovation in the subscribers' respective businesses? I have no direct answer to these questions. However, all five government organizations involved have stressed that their respective resources are scarce. They simply do not have the resources to carry out thorough investigations of how all their products work. In the case of CONSUME's electronic newsletter, one specific feature of the electronic newsletter is that it automatically counts its number of subscribers. In the assessment of the NFC newsletter this number of subscribers is the dominant indicator of the newsletter's success. In the NFC project the electronic newsletter monitors its own success and it visualizes and materializes this success in the format of a number. In counting the number of subscribers the newsletter does not care about, for instance, who the subscribers are, whether the subscribers actually read the newsletter, or if

the subscribers use the newsletters' contents to kick-start innovation processes. These issues are left out. So, in the assessment of the newsletter's success, the ordering pattern of Commensuration is at stake. In the case of the newsletter the consequence of this automatic counting of the number of subscribers was that Commensuration became the dominant mode of ordering in assessing the newsletter's success. This closed down the newsletter. In the practices of producing the NFC newsletter, CONSUME is enacted in two versions: as a traditional agency and as mediating consumers and Danish businesses. Both these enactments are sources of CONSUME's legitimacy. However, in the practices of assessing the newsletter the latter version of CONSUME, CONSUME as mediating consumers and Danish businesses, is only enacted very weakly, because it is not assessed whether the newsletter contributes to the Danish businesses' innovation processes. The multiplicity of CONSUME is, to a large extent, singularized in the assessment of the newsletter.

In the next part I will interrogate the production and assessment of another CONSUME product, namely the new forbrug.dk. As was the case with the NFC newsletter, I will argue that in the production of this new website CONSUME is enacted as a multiple agency. However, and contrary to the newsletter's assessment, I will argue that this multiplicity is not eroded in the assessment of the new forbrug.dk.

The new forbrug.dk: a new type of assessment of a new type of product

As part of the preparation for the follow-up interview with Anna, which I have drawn upon in the part above, Anna undertook a documentation of the preliminary modes of ordering developed in the second heat of fieldwork. At the follow-up interview Anna tells me that she did this documentation in collaboration with another communicator at CONSUME, Laura. Further, Anna says that each of them filled out certain parts of the documentation, and that Laura was the one who wrote the following, noticeable sentence in their shared documentation:

> **Anna and Laura**: In other words: we need to measure the various parts of the site [i.e. the new forbrug.dk] by various parameters, which are not necessarily comparable (CONSUME, Heat #3, documentation of preliminary modes of ordering, Spring 2009).

This sentence is intriguing, because whereas the NFC newsletter's success was measured by one, dominating indicator of its success, the number of subscribers, the CONSUME product mentioned in this sentence, which is CONSUME's new website, needs to be measured "by various parameters, which are not necessarily comparable," according to Laura.

CONSUME's new website is under development at the time of Anna and Laura's documentation, and in the working practices unfurling at CONSUME it is termed 'the new forbrug.dk'. As mentioned in the introduction to the present chapter, CONSUME's performance contract says that a need for a more active dialogue between CONSUME and the consumers, and between consumers, is currently gaining strength. The new forbrug.dk addresses this need. In the paragraph Laura gives the new forbrug.dk as an example of one of the preliminary modes of ordering presented at the joint meeting. This mode of ordering is concerned with plurality and incomparability. It is a mode of ordering that insists that certain things, practices, and other phenomena cannot be delineated and compared. A common denominator cannot be established, this mode of ordering claims. Thus, the things, practices or other phenomena are performed as incomparable. Since then I have developed this preliminary mode of ordering into the mode of ordering Incommensuration. Anna and Laura did their shared documentation mid-March 2009, and I do a follow-up interview with Laura mid-April 2009. At the time of the interview Laura has been working at CONSUME for four months and one of her main tasks has been to take part in the development of the new forbrug.dk.

In the following sections I will provide a description of the production and assessment of the new forbrug.dk. I will do this in two steps. Laura discerns two vital challenges to CONSUME's dissemination of consumer information by way of its new website. The first is that there is a great diversity in the users of the website: how can the website satisfy this diversity? The second is that developments happen very fast within some areas of consumer information: how can the website cover these fast-moving areas? The new forbrug.dk is conceptualized in a way that seeks to counter these two challenges. In the first step I will further describe these challenges and how CONSUME seeks to counter them in the production of the new website. In the second step I will turn to the assessment of the new forbrug.dk.

Two challenges: diversity in user types and fast moving areas of consumer information

In Laura's account, the new forbrug.dk addresses two challenges to the public service CONSUME produces by way of the website forbrug.dk: dissemination of consumer information. The first challenge is a great diversity in the user types CONSUME wishes to be able to satisfy via the new website. Laura says that the concept of the new forbrug.dk is based on a "huge amount of qualitative interviews" (CONSUME, interview, 15.04.09). Many different informants were asked how often they visit forbrug.dk, what they are looking for there, which of the site's contents are of special interest to them, and other, similar questions. Then "mental models of the users' different actions and where they find the things they look

for, etc." (ibid.) were made. These mental models "describe all the different and complex [user] needs the website is to fulfil (CONSUME, Anna and Laura, Heat #3, documentation of preliminary modes of ordering, Spring 2009).
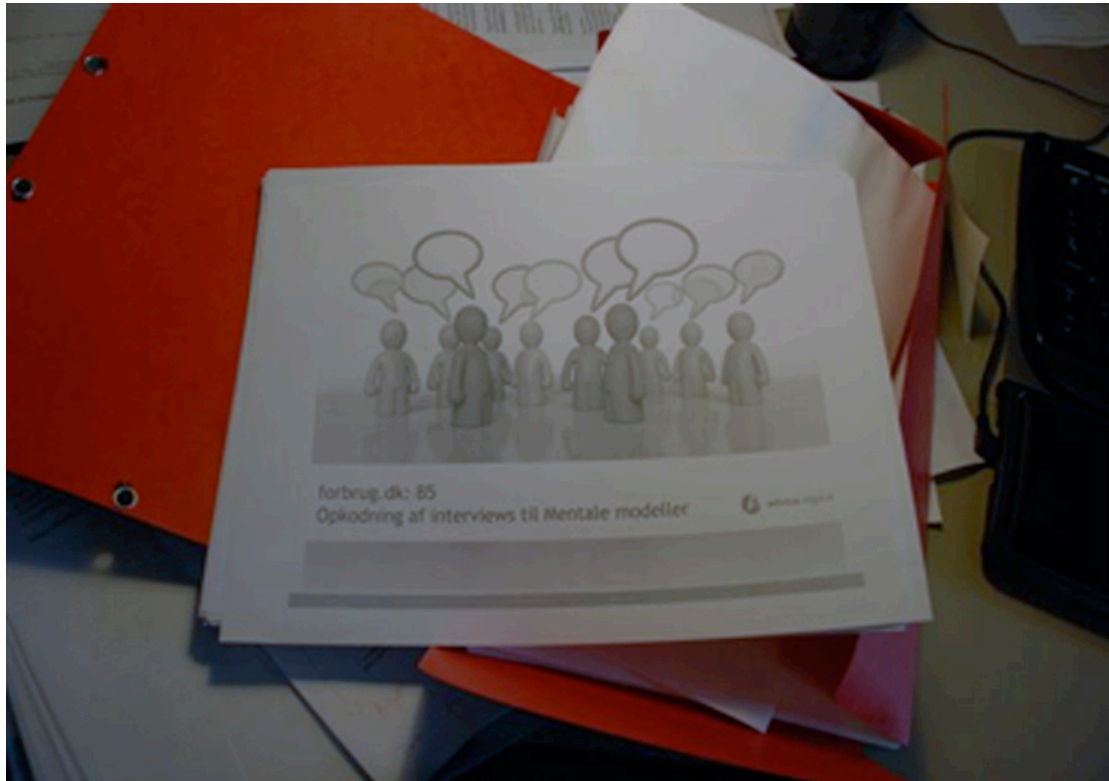
Figure 11: Document describing how the many interviews undertaken have been translated into mental models (CONSUME, Laura and Anna, Heat #3, communicators' documentation of preliminary modes of ordering, Spring 2009).
Laura and Anna attached this photograph to their documentation of the preliminary modes of ordering. Laura writes that the mental models illustrate a mode of ordering concerned with plurality.

On the grounds of these mental models six user types were identified. I will mention them briefly by quoting Laura:[131]

- "There is a user type who needs these hardcore law things."
- "Then there is the consumer who once experiences that, for instance, a bag breaks. This user type seeks an answer to the question: 'what do I do now?'"
- "[Another user type] finds our site interesting because it's about consumer information. This user type wants news from this field."
- "Then there is the 'good advice' part, which we have within a wide range of topics."
- "[A fifth user type] is the shop employee. Shop employees visit the site when a customer [confronts them with a specific problem]."

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[131] The following six quotes are all from CONSUME, interview, 15.04.09.

– "Finally, businesses [is a sixth user type]. [...] Businesses can visit the site and apply for prior approval of their marketing activities."

Laura concludes, with some understatement, that this "is a fairly broad audience" (ibid.).

How to satisfy all six user types with only one website? That is the challenge, and the new forbrug.dk counters this challenge by introducing what Laura terms a "more fluid structure" (ibid.). The idea of this new and more fluid structure is to enable customization of the contents of the website in connection with the specific user's needs. This customization is achieved by tagging the website's contents. If you, for instance, enter 'computer' in the site's search field and press 'Search', you are presented with a number of results, which are categorized on the grounds of the user types outlined above. Laura explains:

> **Laura**: If you want to find out what the law says within a given area, then you can find the law by searching for case decisions, or for the consumer ombudsman's latest decisions, or for stuff like that... If you're a lawyer, then you find it there. And if you're the more common consumer, then you can, of course, find the law, but within the same [results on a given search] you can also find 10 tips on how to exchange a given product, or whatever it might be (ibid.).

Another part of this more fluid structure is a module on the website's homepage. This module consists of four buttons marked 'Consumer', 'Shop Employee', 'Lawyer', and 'Business' (www.forbrug.dk, accessed 16.08.10). This means that as a user of the new forbrug.dk you can "be directed [straight from the homepage] to an area which suits you better," Laura explains (CONSUME, interview, 15.04.09).

The second challenge to CONSUME's dissemination of consumer information by way of its website is that developments happen very fast within some areas of consumer information. These developments imply that CONSUME cannot constitute itself as an expert within these areas, Laura says. It is the fast developments that make it attractive for CONSUME to work with web 2.0 solutions on the agency's website, Laura explains:

> **Laura**: Maybe I should start by saying that one of the fundamental ideas behind all the things I've told you about web 2.0 solutions is that we'd like to open up some more and facilitate some user involvement. Not only because it sounds slick and so on, but also because there are some areas where, by now, we can't be the experts, necessarily. Where developments happen so fast... [...] Actually, it's the common amateurs who are the experts [in these fast-moving areas]. One example is Online Children. [It's a web 2.0 project] which concerns how to make parents [more capable]... How can you [as a parent] handle your children's activities on the

> Internet? [...] The basic idea [behind the Online Children project] has been that within this area it's actually other parents who are the very best experts (ibid.).

Laura mentions consumer electronics as another example of an area of consumer information where developments happen so fast that it is difficult – if not impossible – for CONSUME to establish itself as an expert. The resources at hand do not allow this. Laura talks about this as a general concern of CONSUME's:

> **Laura**: We think about these issues a lot... There're some topics [or areas of consumer information] where we simply have to say: "Others can do this better!" Then we can cut back on these topics. Or we can begin to bring forward the users' expert knowledge on these topics (ibid.).

However, Laura mentions that it can be problematic for CONSUME to bring forward the users' expert knowledge within consumer information areas, where CONSUME cannot constitute themselves as experts. At the time of the interview the new forbrug.dk is still in the making, but Laura says that it would be a great problem if the website:

> **Laura**: [...] became too user-involving. Then people would not experience it as authoritative enough (ibid.).

I will end the description of the new forbrug.dk's production here. Before moving on to the assessment of the new forbrug.dk I will argue that in these practices of producing it, CONSUME is enacted as a multiple agency.

Three versions of CONSUME as sources of legitimacy and criticism

In the part above on the production of the NFC newsletter, I argued that CONSUME is enacted as a multiple agency in these practices of producing it. This implies that CONSUME can be said to be enacted in different versions in different practices. A similar argument can be made concerning the production of the new forbrug.dk. This production, entailing qualitative interviews with different users of the site, a mental model, and user types, enacts CONSUME as a multiple agency. The production of the new forbrug.dk seems to rest on the assumption that in practices involving a lawyer seeking a law, for instance, CONSUME is different from practices involving a user of the website who finds the field of consumer information interesting. CONSUME seems to be enacted as an agency that exists in different versions. But how does this happen and what are these different versions of CONSUME?

CONSUME seems to be enacted in three versions in the production of the new forbrug.dk. The first two versions were also at stake in the production of the NFC newsletter, whereas the third is new:

1. *CONSUME as a traditional agency*: Laura stresses that the new forbrug.dk must be able to handle a broad audience in order to fulfil CONSUME's obligation to disseminate consumer information broadly. And she stresses that it is important that the users of the new forbrug.dk experience the information offered by the new website as authoritative. I view these concerns as performances of the ordering pattern of Administration: CONSUME is a state institution and as such it must disseminate consumer information broadly. This ordering pattern enacts CONSUME as a traditional agency;

2. *CONSUME as competing with a range of organizations and institutions offering consumer information*: in this second version of CONSUME the focus is on an optimal utilization of CONSUME's resources. I view this focus as a performance of the ordering pattern of Enterprise. The limited resources at hand do not allow CONSUME to establish itself as an expert within all areas of consumer information. One solution is to prioritize and say: "Others can do this better!" In this version CONSUME is enacted as comparable with and in competition with a range of organizations and institutions offering consumer information;

3. *CONSUME as a facilitator of user-to-user dialogue*: in this third version of CONSUME the focus is, again, on an optimal utilization of CONSUME's resources. Again, I view this focus as a performance of the ordering pattern of Enterprise. And again, the point of departure is that the limited resources at hand do not allow CONSUME to establish itself as an expert within all areas of consumer information. The solution to these limited resources is, however, different from the one employed in the second version. The solution in this third version of CONSUME is to facilitate user-to-user dialogue by way of web 2.0 solutions. This turns the user – and not CONSUME – into the expert on given areas of consumer information.

A great diversity in user types and a lack of resources for covering all areas of consumer information have been taken into consideration in the production of the new forbrug.dk. As a consequence, CONSUME is enacted in three different versions in these practices of producing the new forbrug.dk. It is important to note that all three versions of CONSUME are potential sources of legitimacy and criticism for CONSUME: CONSUME has an

obligation to cover the areas of consumer information broadly, but at the same time it can be a problem if CONSUME spends resources on covering consumer areas that other organizations and institutions also cover and might even cover better. One way of utilizing CONSUME's resources in the best possible way is to turn the users of the new forbrug.dk into experts by way of web 2.0 solutions, but at the same time the information offered on the website needs to be experienced as trustworthy and authoritaritative by the users. There is tension between these different versions of CONSUME and their specific ways of producing legitimacy. Hence, the question is: how to assess the new forbrug.dk? What would constitute the new forbrug.dk as a success? The sentence in Anna and Laura's documentation saying the various parts of the new forbrug.dk need to be measured by various parameters prompts me to discuss these issues with Laura. I will report on this discussion in the following section. I aim to show that what sets the success criteria mentioned by Laura, apart from the ones that were at stake in the case of the NFC newsletter, is that Laura describes none of them as univocal or dominant. All of the success criteria mentioned by Laura can be and are questioned by her: is a given success criterion really the most telling indicator of the new forbrug.dk's success?

Assessing the new forbrug.dk: how many, how long, how satisfied and how informative?

Laura mentions the number of users as an indicator of the new website's success. She says that on a quite general level it would be a great problem for the new forbrug.dk if it was launched and it only attracted, say, half as many users as the current site. On this quite general level the assessment of the new forbrug.dk is similar to the assessment of the NFC newsletter. The assessment is based on one common denominator, namely that the users pay the website a visit. The assessment leaves out what happens during or after the visit and the users are turned into comparable entities. This success criterion, the number of users, is performing the ordering pattern of Commensuration. This type of assessment fits a traditional agency with an obligation to disseminate consumer information broadly: if many have visited the website, then this obligation has been fulfilled.

However, there are parts of the new website where the number of users does not really say much about the website's success, Laura stresses:

> **Laura:** It's true that numbers are very important. Measurable results are very common in our performance contract. Sometimes this can be a disadvantage – in connection to a project like Online Children, for instance. It's difficult to say whether it's a success that many people are in there [i.e. have created a profile in the Online Children forum], or whether it is a success that the people who're in there get something out of it. And the people who visit the forum [without creating a profile] – that they get something out of reading other users' answers.

> Maybe people don't have to create a profile [to get something out of the forum]. Those kinds of nuances...
> **Morten**: Grey areas...?
> **Laura:** Yes, it's quite difficult to assess whether something [like the Online Children forum] has been a success based on this [i.e. based on the number of users], actually (ibid.).

Here Laura goes from talking about the new forbrug.dk as a whole that needs to be assessed to talking about the new forbrug.dk as consisting of different parts that need to be assessed differently. This shift – from whole to different parts – requires a shift in the type of success criteria. If the number of visitors cannot be used to assess whether a product like Online Children has been a success then what can? How to assess if the users who have visited the forums like Online Children "get something out of it"? What is an indicator of such a product's success? Laura answers this question by using the Online Children project as an example. She says that the activity in the Online Children forum has been lower than expected. However, this does not necessarily imply that the Online Children project is a failure, Laura underscores. She elaborates that the experiences from this new type of CONSUME product, which as mentioned seeks to turn the children's parents into experts, might lead to a change in how CONSUME, more broadly, assesses its Internet-based products. In Laura's account, CONSUME normally formulates success criteria that have to do with a desired number of users, and a desired amount of time these users are to stay on the website. None of these success criteria work when it comes to products resembling the Online Children forum. Laura says that for such products a "rate-the-contents button" (ibid.) might be a better way to set up a success criterion. At this time of writing, approximately one and a half years after I undertook the interview with Laura and approximately nine months after the launch of the new forbrug.dk, such rate-the-contents buttons can be found on each of the new forbrug.dk's pages. The rate-the-contents buttons mark a type of assessment that is concerned with the relevance of the consumer information disseminated by way of the new forbrug.dk. It is a type of assessment that fits CONSUME's enactment as an agency that facilitates user-to-user dialogue, because it makes sure that the dialogue, which may be rather limited, is relevant to the users of forums like Online Children. Further, this type of assessment fits the enactment of CONSUME as competing with a range of organizations and institutions offering consumer information, because it makes sure that the information offered by CONSUME is experienced as relevant by the users.
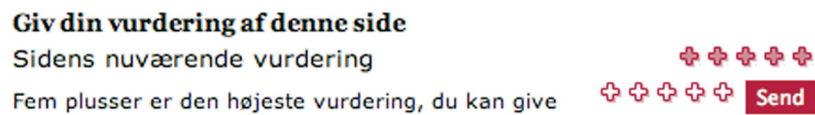
Figure 12: Example of the rate-the-contents button on the new forbrug.dk (www.forbrug.dk, accessed 19.08.10)
This rate-the-contents button can be found at the bottom of each of the new forbrug.dk's articles. The first line, in bold, says: "Give your rating of this page". The second line says: "The page's current assessment". And the third line reads: "Five plus signs is the highest rating you can give". The red button in the right bottom corner says "Send".

Laura gives another reason why the number of visitors cannot be used to assess whether a product like Online Children has been a success or not. This reason has to do with the quality of the users' comments and of the debates between users facilitated by CONSUME products akin to the Online Children forum. Laura talks about the quality of the user comments and of the debates between users when I ask her to elaborate upon her documentation of the preliminary modes of ordering: what does she mean when she writes that the new forbrug.dk is to be measured by parameters that are not necessarily comparable? She says:

> **Laura**: What I mean by that is that if [the communication is] user-to-user, then you can say that it's a goal that we have a lot of people who comment. But, actually, there's also some quality in the debate [which needs to be considered], because if it's the right three to four people who are in there and who… Hmmm – what to say? If they tell what needs to be told – what people want to go to the website to read – then it can be enough that [these three to four] people are there… It can be enough that that debate is going on. And when people read what other people have written and answered, then they are enlightened and then… Then they leave without necessarily creating a profile… (CONSUME, interview, 15.04.09).

But what is it that "needs to be told?" What is it that the users can tell each other in order to become "enlightened"? Laura says that what CONSUME wishes to avoid is facilitating forums for user-to-user communication that become complaint departments:

> **Laura**: [If the forums are complaint departments] then it is not a success criterion that 100,000 people have signed up – and [use these forums] to slander others and each other. Then it could be… Then it would be a success if the right debates were going on [in these forums], but maybe with a little less [users signed up]. So, in that way… (ibid.).

This type of assessment is, as Laura says, focused on the quality of the dialogues and debates fostered by CONSUME. This type of assessment fits CONSUME's enactment as a traditional agency to which it is crucial that the information it disseminates is experienced as

authoritative. Here Laura is talking about the assessment of the same specific part of the new forbrug.dk – forums akin to the Online Children forum – and she sequences different success criteria – the users' rating of the contents and the quality of the comments and debates – which fit the three different versions of CONSUME.

Still, more traditional success criteria do inform CONSUME's ambitions for the new forbrug.dk. One of these more traditional success criteria is the time users spend on the website. Laura says that a problem with the current forbrug.dk is that a number of users stay on the website for a very short time only. She elaborates:

> **Laura**: We would like to increase the amount of time spent [on the website] a little. The reason is that [the time spent] is also an indicator of whether they read the pages they have visited. And whether they arrive at the right pages (ibid.).

But, again, the time spent on the websites is not a univocal indicator of whether the new forbrug.dk is a success or not. The reason for this is that the users are different:

> **Laura**: For some users it can almost be a success criterion that they can come in and out quickly, because what they need is just a form. In that case it would be a failure if they had to use 10 minutes and click around to find the right form. While other user types… "We would like you to stay a little longer…"[132] Maybe you just visited the website in order to check a train schedule, but, actually, it would be relevant for you to read the whole section on transport (ibid.).

Here Laura keeps talking about the website in general, but still she shifts between different success criteria. She argues that the users can and cannot be delineated, measured and compared by way of one common denominator: the time spent on the website. She is performing and sequencing the ordering pattern of Commensuration and the ordering pattern of Incommensuration. She enacts CONSUME as a traditional agency with a website where you can quickly find what you need. But CONSUME and its website could be so much more and this is why there does not seem to be any univocal criteria for the website's success.

In sum: in Laura's account a range of different success criteria are needed in order to assess the success or otherwise of the new forbrug.dk and its specific and different parts. I have sought to show that in the production of the new forbrug.dk CONSUME is enacted in three

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[132] Laura is paraphrasing the slogan of a Danish supermarket chain, Fakta. The whole slogan says: "It only take five minutes [to do your shopping at Fakta] – but we would like you to stay a little longer" (www.fakta.dk, accessed 20.08.10). In Danish: Det ta'r kun fem minutter – men vi vil så gerne ha', du blir' lidt længere.

different versions. CONSUME is three different things, and these three different things all contribute to CONSUME's legitimacy. It can be said that the end product, the new forbrug.dk, is constructed in such a way that when users visit the website it distributes the enactments of the different versions of CONSUME to different parts of the site. It is the "more fluid" structure of the website that enables this distribution, and this distribution is the reason why, as Laura writes in her documentation, CONSUME needs to "measure the various parts of the site [i.e. the new forbrug.dk] by various parameters." However, as I have argued, it is not only a question of distributing different success criteria to different parts of the site, but also to assess the website as a whole and its different parts by sequencing different success criteria. In the assessment of the NFC newsletter one of the versions of CONSUME was neglected. The multiplicity of CONSUME was singularized in the practices of assessing the newsletter. In the assessment of the new forbrug.dk the multiplicity of CONSUME is not singularized, but distributed and sequenced. In Laura's assessment of the new forbrug.dk she distributes and sequences the different types of success criteria, and because the different success criteria fit different versions of CONSUME it can be said that the different versions of CONSUME are distributed and sequenced. When one type of success criteria does not suffice, another type of success criteria takes over. It is not univocal what CONSUME is and therefore it is also difficult – and, as Laura seems to argue, maybe even counterproductive – to establish a univocal account of the new forbrug.dk's success or failure. This distributing and sequencing of success criteria can be understood as procedures for making the different versions of CONSUME hang together in the practices of assessing the new forbrug.dk.

Concluding remarks: producing-and-assessing-in-tension

In this chapter I have investigated what it means to handle the multiplicity of government communication by way of sequencing. I have done this by describing the production and assessment of two of CONSUME's products: an electronic newsletter, the NFC newsletter, by which CONSUME disseminates information about the consumers' concerns to Danish businesses; and a website, the new forbrug.dk, by which CONSUME disseminates consumer information to Danish citizens. Both products go beyond government communication as a "one-way flow of information" (Glenny 2008: 155) from a government organization to the citizens. For instance, as part of its government communication CONSUME collects information about the consumers' concerns and it facilitates user-to-user dialogue. I have argued that in the production of these two products CONSUME goes beyond a singular enactment as a traditional agency. CONSUME comes in different versions in the production of these products. However, there was a difference in the manner by which these two products were assessed. The newsletter was assessed by one dominating success criterion only: the number of subscribers. A range of success criteria were employed, distributed and sequenced

in the assessment of the new forbrug.dk and none of these success criteria were regarded as dominating. Through the chapter's descriptions of the production and assessment of these new kinds of products it has been explicated what the "space of translation", mentioned by political scientists Janet Newman and John Clarke at the outset of the chapter, are and how they unfold in the working practices of a Danish agency. It has been shown how communicators, managers, citizens, and – going beyond Newman and Clarke – technologies such as the electronic newsletter's automatic monitoring of the number of subscribers and the rate-the-contents buttons – all take part in interpreting and negotiating what this Danish agency, CONSUME, is and should be and what public services it can and should produce.

I have attended to the multiplicity of CONSUME, meaning that I have shown how various modes of ordering can be imputed to the working practices unfurling at CONSUME and that these various modes of ordering give rise to CONSUME's enactment in different versions. As stressed by John Law and Annemarie Mol "[a]ttending to multiplicity […] brings with it the need for a new conceptualization of what it might be to hold together" (Mol & Law 2002: 10). One of the conceptualizations suggested by Mol is "living-in-tension" (Mol 1999: 83). With her notion of tension Mol leaves behind a focus on conflict, contradiction (Mol 2002a: 113), or irreconcilability. Instead she describes the hospital as "a place of tensions" (ibid.: 113):

> A place where clashes may occur – or different ways of working may get spread out over different sites and situations, different buildings, rooms, times, people, questions (ibid.: 113-114).

In the current chapter and in the two preceding chapters I have been inspired by this idea of tensions and, simultaneously, my empirical material has prompted me to question this idea. In some cases I have described the government organizations involved as places of tensions. The clearest example of this from the current chapter is the assessment of the new forbrug.dk. Different success criteria for the new forbrug.dk are distributed to different parts of the website, and different success criteria are sequenced in the assessment of the website as a whole and in the assessment of specific parts of the site. This allows for a sequencing of the different versions of CONSUME to happen. In other cases I have described the government organizations involved as places that seek to get rid of tensions between modes of ordering and the different versions of the organizations, the employees, the communicators etc. these give rise to. In this chapter, for instance, I showed how the version of CONSUME as mediating consumers and Danish businesses was, to a great extent, 'enacted away' in the assessment of the electronic newsletter. The five government organizations involved in the current study can, at times, be described as places of multiplicity, and, at other times, as places

of attempted singularity. I think that this has to do with it being uncertain what these government organizations are. And I think it has to do with the fact that this uncertainty is not left untouched by human and non-human organizational actors alike. It is handled. What I am suggesting here is that in regards to the specific empirical field under scrutiny in the present study, the working practices of government communicators, the notion of living-in-tension only goes so far in capturing what is at stake in the negotiations about what the government organizations involved are and should be. I will discuss this issue further in the next and last chapter's concluding remarks on the notion of multiplicity and its utilization in the present thesis.

Construction usually implies that objects start without fixed identities but that these converge and so gradually become stabilized as singular in the course of practice, negotiation and/or controversy. Enactment does not necessarily imply convergence to singularity, but takes difference and multiplicity to be chronic conditions

(Law 2004: 158).

CHAPTER 08: a recap and some concluding remarks on multiplicity

In this, the last chapter of the present thesis, I will first offer a recapitulation of the study's main arguments and results. In the second and third part I will discuss what can be concluded on the grounds of the explorations of the multiplicity of government communication undertaken in the current thesis. I will do this by revisiting two questions that have been left open so far: first, the strength of the mode of ordering Enterprise, and second, whether government communication will ever turn into a case of singularity. The second question in particular will prompt me to discuss and conclude upon what it entails to term government communication a case of multiplicity as I have done in the preceding chapters.

A recap

In this part I will provide a recapitulation of the main arguments of the thesis. I will focus on the methodological and analytical challenges that I have sought to tackle in the current study and on the results of the analytical descriptions: attempts at singularizing multiplicity and the sequencing of modes of ordering.

A wish to manage government communication by its outcomes

Let me go back to the beginning. The ambition of the Industrial PhD project *Measurements you can learn from* was to develop, test, and implement new and better communication measurements. But what did 'better' mean here? The communicators that were involved in the study gave one answer to this question during the project's kick-off meeting: the communicators expressed a wish to use communication measurements to become better at managing their own work by its outcomes. This wish was also expressed numerous times during the subsequent fieldwork, and in their working practices some of the communicators involved attempted to manage their own work by its outcomes. Think of Carina at FOREIGN, who in CHAPTER 05 said – with some regret – that at FOREIGN they were still not "so good at doing outcomes," and think of Julie at TAX, who in CHAPTER 06 explained that in undertaking the group communication project they focused on ensuring

"that what we put into this world has an outcome. Otherwise it's just a waste of everybody's time."

In order to understand this wish to manage their own work by its outcomes I set off to investigate the current working practices of the communicators. The question that guided me in these investigations was: how are communicative solutions produced and assessed in the working practices of the communicators involved in the current study? In my attempts to follow and describe how communicative solutions are produced and assessed I met methodological and analytical challenges.

Methodological challenge: the outcome of government communication as manifestly absent
The main methodological challenge was that during fieldwork it soon turned out that there was something elusive about the practices of producing and assessing communicative solutions. To measure or otherwise assess the outcome of given communicative solutions was discussed as a new task, as a peripheral task, as a task that the communicators involved had not yet fulfilled the ambition to undertake, and as a task that figured primarily in strategic documents such as communication policies. This led me, in CHAPTER 03, to describe the object of study, the outcome of government communication, as manifestly absent (Law 2004, 2002b). The techniques and methods employed during fieldwork and the activities these resulted in (photography, logbooks, observations, interviews, a design game etc.) and, more generally, the Industrial PhD project with its meetings between Bjerg Kommunikation and the five government organizations, the website kommunikationsmaaling.dk, presentations in various forums, e-mails, telephone calls etc. sought to turn this manifest absence into a more durable presence. In some cases all of these entities and actors succeeded in this. The most prominent example is the TAX Group's communication balance sheet. During my fieldwork the TAX Group's first communication balance sheet was in the pipeline and now, in December 2010, the communicators at the TAX Group are completing their second, yearly communication balance sheet. By way of the yearly routine of creating a communication balance sheet, the outcome of the TAX Group's communicative work has been made into a presence. In other cases, all of these entities and actors did not succeed in this. In some of the government organizations, the outcome of government communication popped up and gained presence every now and then, but withered away again as other concerns such as organizational restructuring or politically decided reforms of the services provided took centre stage. During such organizational restructuring and reforms, communication – the communicators' work, and, hence, the resource demanding assessment of the outcomes of the communicative solutions produced – was pushed aside and rendered less important in the working practices that unfurled at the five government organizations. In addition, and as seen

in TAX and in the other four government organizations, it was uncertain what a 'good' outcome of government communication was. Remember, for instance, how Anna and Laura from CONSUME mentioned a form of self-censorship that unfurled in the working practices at CONSUME in CHAPTER 05. What in some practices was viewed as self-censorship by Anna and Laura might have been that which secured a 'good' outcome of CONSUME's communicative endeavours in other practices. This uncertainty formed another reason why the outcome of government communication was left as a manifest absence in some cases, and it formed the study's main analytical challenge: how to account analytically for this uncertainty?

Analytical challenge: both-and organizations

During my first fieldwork encounters with the five government organizations I soon came to the view that they were not singular organizations. Further, I hypothesized that this non-singularity might be the reason why it was uncertain what a 'good' outcome of government communication was in the working practices of the communicators. The communicators talked about the government organizations in terms of both-and, rather than either-or. For instance, I began CHAPTER 02 by quoting Marie from GOVERN who described GOVERN as both "crazily fast" and subjected to certain, slower procedures. I went on to develop an analytical approach that could account for the government organizations as both-and rather than either-or organizations. By combining theoretical and analytical insights from the research fields of public administration and management, organizations studies, and multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses (Vikkelsø 2007) I developed what I termed a multiplying approach to the practices of public administration and management, in this case the working practices of government communicators.

I began by discerning three approaches to public administration and management within research on same: an epochalizing approach, a defending approach, and a diversifying approach. The *epochalizing* approach, which is dominant within research on public administration and management, is preoccupied with diagnosing what is 'old' and what is 'new' within public administration and management. As a consequence, it focuses on questions of what the managerial and organizational elements are that make up contemporary public administration and management, rather than questions of how these various elements unfold and interfere in practice. By way of empirical examples I argued that in regards to my specific, empirical field it was crucial to be able to explore not only questions of 'what', but also questions of 'how'. The *defending* approach, which can be discerned in works by Paul du Gay (see for instance du Gay 2003, du Gay 2004a), and which stands in clear opposition to the epochalizing approach, seeks to escape what it sees as the tyranny of the

epochal by employing forms of analysis that enable a focus on the specifics of specific cases, rather than taking a given schematics of overarching changes for granted. The approach entails a notion of 'enterprise', with which du Gay attempts to describe the ongoing marketization and contractualization of public sector organizations, and, as part of this, the installment of a "certain 'ethic of personhood'" (du Gay 2004b: 41), which sets individuals free and, simultaneously, obligates them to make their own choices. Du Gay argues that this ordering principle of enterprise is distinct, pervasive, and obdurate, and he portrays this ordering principle as damaging to the functioning of public sector organizations. Hence, the approach is a normative defense of bureaucracy as a principle for ordering the work of public sector organizations. In developing the multiplying approach of the current study I was inspired by the forms of analysis suggested by the defending approach. However, I argued that because of its normative traits and because of the specific empirical fields and material du Gay has been analyzing, the defending approach has a tendency to depict the organizing principle of 'enterprise' as stronger than any other ordering principle that might also be at stake in current public administration and management. By contrast, I viewed the relative strength between principles for ordering public sector organizations as a matter of empirical investigations. Again, the argument for doing so was based on initial fieldwork encounters: I had encountered many 'pastpresents' (King 2004) and too strong a notion of enterprise might efface these. The *diversifying* approach takes as its point of departure that different, changing, and non-coherent success criteria are at stake in and applied to public sector organizations. Hence, it suggests that research on contemporary public administration and management should be less preoccupied with determining what public sector organizations are, and more interested in scrutinizing how public sector organizations satisfy these different, changing, and non-coherent success criteria. I argued that this focus implies an understanding of public sector organizations as processes, but that this implication is not fully drawn by the diversifying approach as it has been developed in the work of Johan P. Olsen (Olsen 2006, 2004). I concurred with the suggestions of the diversifying approach and looked for notions that could help me develop an approach to public administration and management that understands public sector organizations as characterized by a coexistence of not strongly consistent sets of principles, goals or interests. John Law's notion of 'modes of ordering' is such a notion, and it became the central component of the multiplying approach developed.

With the notion of modes of ordering it is possible to describe patterns that run through and perform the materially and discursively heterogeneous networks of the social. The communicators' both-and descriptions of the government organizations suggested that different such ordering patterns could be imputed to the materially and discursively heterogeneous networks in which the government organizations investigated are continually

enacted and re-enacted. The descriptions suggested that the government organizations involved in the current study could best be described as processes "of holding things together that are not strongly consistent" (Law 2004: 113). Thus, with the multiplying approach I investigated the uncertainty concerning what constitutes a 'good' outcome of government communication as an effect of coexisting modes of ordering. But what kind of ordering patterns could be imputed to the working practices of the communicators? On the grounds of empirical observations, theoretical inspiration, and political programmes for "enterprising up" (du Gay 2004b: 48) the Danish public sector, I suggested four specific modes of ordering in CHAPTER 04: Administration, Enterprise, Commensuration and Incommensuration.

In the thesis' analytical chapters, CHAPTERS 05, 06, and 07, I utilized these analytical resources, the four modes of ordering, in exploring how the uncertainty concerning what constitutes 'good' government communication came into being and how it was handled in the working practices of the communicators. In other words: the analytical chapters explored how the multiplicity of the production and assessment of government communication was handled in the working practices of the communicators. I investigated how the communicators' own work was managed today (CHAPTER 05), how the communicators' work took part in managing employees (CHAPTER 06), and how the communicators' work took part in governing citizens (CHAPTER 07). In the analyses I suggested two notions for describing how the multiplicity was handled: 'singularizing' and 'sequencing'.

Singularizing multiplicity

In the three analytical chapters I presented many attempts at singularizing the initial multiplicity of government communication. Most of these attempts at singularizing government communication were towards the ordering pattern of Enterprise. Across the analytical chapters I described how Enterprise was delegated into a range of heterogeneous materials and how Enterprise gained strength by these material delegations. These materials included words (for instance the two publications by the Danish Ministry of Finance on the ministerial departments' management of their institutions that were discussed in CHAPTER 05), architecture (for instance TAX's ministerial department's room for group work, Creativity, that was presented in CHAPTER 06), techniques for collaborative work (for instance the workshops employed in the TAX Group's group communication project that was discussed in CHAPTER 06), and existing public services (for instance CONSUME's hotline, which was enacted as a technology for disseminating consumer information and as a technology for collecting information about the consumers' concerns as shown in CHAPTER 07). Especially in the TAX Group's group communication project, which was explored at length in CHAPTER 06, the ordering pattern of Enterprise was delegated into a number of

materials and I described these as attempts at singularizing the multiplicity of the TAX Group in regards to group communication. In the group communication project these attempts at singularizing the initial multiplicity of the TAX Group went hand in hand with the ordering pattern of Commensuration: in order to achieve an ordering towards the pattern of Enterprise, the group communication project attempted to delineate, compare and measure the TAX Group's employees, divisions, and organizations by the same common denominator. I showed that, despite these many attempts at singularizing the multiplicity of the TAX Group towards the ordering pattern of Enterprise, the ordering patterns of Administration and Incommensuration were never eliminated. They were lurking throughout the group communication project, and in its latter stages they forcefully ran through and took part in performing the implementation and assessment of the group communication project.

I encountered a few attempts at singularizing government communication towards the ordering pattern of Administration. In CHAPTER 07 I described how an electronic newsletter that aimed at disseminating information about the concerns of Danish consumers to Danish businesses was produced and assessed in working practices unfolding at CONSUME. This information about the consumers' concerns was to kick-start innovation processes in the Danish businesses. Whereas the ordering patterns of Enterprise and Administration were imputable to the practices of producing the newsletter and were giving rise to two different versions of CONSUME – CONSUME as a traditional agency, and CONSUME as a mediator of the consumers' concerns and Danish businesses – the assessment of the newsletter was performing and performed by one ordering pattern only: the ordering pattern of Commensuration. The limited number of subscribers, and not, for instance, different Danish businesses' different utilizations of the newsletter's information, was enacted as the dominating indicator of the newsletter's failure. This singularity had the consequence that in the practices of assessing the newsletter, the second version of CONSUME – CONSUME as a mediator – was enacted very weakly. Whereas Enterprise and Administration were sequenced in the production of the newsletter, the performance of the ordering pattern of Commensuration in the practices of assessing the newsletter weakened Enterprise considerably and strengthened Administration. Subsequently, the electronic newsletter was shut down.

Sequencing modes of ordering

To sequence multiplicity is the second way of handling multiplicity that was described in the present thesis. This sequencing occurred in two versions. It occurred as a solution (regrettable, to some of the communicators and other organizational actors) to failed attempts at singularizing multiplicity. One example is the two publications from the Danish Ministry of

Finance on the ministerial departments' management of their institutions discussed in CHAPTER 04. The two publications contained solemn and pompous parts, for instance the minister's foreword, which very strongly performed the ordering pattern of Enterprise, but they also contained more mundane wordings in which a sequencing of the four modes of ordering was performed. A second example is, again, Carina at FOREIGN, who throughout the year sought to perform the ordering pattern of Enterprise in undertaking goal and performance management, but who shifted to the ordering pattern of Administration at the end of the year in order to complete the final assessments.

In the second version, this sequencing of modes of ordering occurred as something that was build into the communicators' production and assessment of communicative solutions. In these occurrences the sequencing of modes of ordering seemed to be regarded as a condition for the work of the communicators involved. I gave one example of this kind of sequencing: the production and assessment of CONSUME's new website. This example was explored in CHAPTER 07, in which I argued that all four modes of ordering could be imputed to the practices of producing and assessing this new website and that these four ordering patterns gave rise to three versions of CONSUME: CONSUME as a traditional agency, as competing with a range of organizations and institutions offering consumer information, and as a facilitator of user-to-user dialogue. CONSUME was enacted in three different versions, and the assessment of the website fitted this enactment of CONSUME as multiple.

How strong is Enterprise now and how strong will it be in the future?

This was a recap of the main arguments and results of the thesis. The question is: what conclusions can be drawn on the grounds of these arguments and results? In order to answer this question I will revisit two central questions concerning the mode of ordering Enterprise that were, to some extent, left open in the above. First, I argued that in attempting to describe and understand the current study's specific empirical field it was pivotal not to grant the ordering mode of Enterprise a too hegemonic status beforehand. I argued that the strength of Enterprise had to be investigated empirically. At this time of writing the empirical investigations have been completed, so what was the strength of Enterprise in the working practices of the communicators? I will discuss this question in the following, second part of this chapter. Second, in the concluding remarks of CHAPTER 06 I discussed whether singularizing is or will ever become a viable strategy for handling the multiplicity of government communication. I referred to my empirical material and argued that it seems unlikely that the attempts at singularizing government communication will succeed and turn government communication into a singular case of Enterprise. Does this mean that the conclusion is that government communication – in spite of the strong attempts at

singularizing it – is a relatively stabilized case of multiplicity? No, there is more to it, I will suggest. When it seems unlikely that the attempts at singularizing government communication will succeed, this has something to do with the specific way in which the notion of multiplicity has been utilized in generating and analyzing empirical material. Hence, I will discuss the status that multiplicity has been granted in the current thesis in the third part of this chapter.

How strong was Enterprise?

I stated earlier that I viewed the relative strength between various principles for ordering public sector organizations, or what I have conceptualized and treated as 'modes of ordering', as a matter of empirical investigations. In particular, I sought not to grant Enterprise too much strength beforehand. Now the fieldwork has been undertaken and the analytical descriptions have been written, so what can be said about the relative strength between the four modes of ordering developed in the current study?

Before answering this question I wish to pinpoint that the question about the strength of Enterprise marks that it has not been my ambition to diversify public administration and management as it is practiced in the working practices of the communicators. For instance, it has not been my ambition to describe how different stakeholders view the outcome of government communication differently, because this would leave the outcome of government communication as a relatively stabilized entity seen differently from the different stakeholders' perspectives. Olsen's argument that different, changing, and non-coherent success criteria are at stake in and applied to public sector organizations functioned as my point of departure – not as the result of my analyses. With Law's notion of 'modes of ordering', which was utilized throughout the analytical chapters, and with Mol's related notion of 'versions', which I utilized in CHAPTER 07, I have sought to explicate what it means that different, changing, and non-coherent success criteria are at stake in and applied to the government organizations involved. And I have sought to explicate how these different, changing, and non-coherent success criteria are handled and with what effects. The analyses show that the government organizations and their communicative work are not simply cases of diversity or fragmentation. The different modes of ordering give rise to different versions of the government organizations and these different version can be described as partially connected (Strathern 2004): the government organizations are "more than one, and less than many" (Mol 2002a: 82).

So, what was the strength of Enterprise in the working practices of the communicators? Perhaps unsurprisingly, Enterprise turned out to be a very strong ordering pattern in these practices. As argued in the above, Enterprise was delegated into a wide range of materials and

gained strength thereby. Another mode of ordering that came out strong was Commensuration. Some of the materials that this mode of ordering was delegated into were ICTs (for instance the electronic newsletters' automatic counting of its number of subscribers at CONSUME), ideas of management (for instance TAX's group communication project was based on the managerial idea that if the TAX Group is to work better, then group communication must be defined as something that applies to all TAX employees irrespective of their differences), and performance contracts (for instance, Laura at CONSUME said that numbers are an important part of CONSUME's performance contract, and argued that this might be problematic in assessing certain products such as the Online Children forum). In some cases Commensuration added to the strength of Enterprise. In the first stage of TAX's group communication project Enterprise fed off Commensuration, for instance. But, importantly, there are also examples where the two did not get along: CONSUME's attempt at disseminating information about the consumers' concerns to Danish businesses can be described as enterprising, because it aimed to optimize CONSUME's utilization of its resources. In assessing the newsletter the ordering pattern of Commensuration reigned. As a consequence, details about the Danish businesses' usage of the newsletter were silenced. If the ordering pattern of Incommensuration had been at stake in the assessment of the newsletter it may not have been shut down. In comparison to Enterprise and Commensuration, Administration and Incommensuration seemed weaker. However, I did not meet any communicators who dismissed the importance of due process. In the projects that I was able to follow over longer stretches of time, for instance the production of the NFC newsletter at CONSUME, Enterprise seemed very strong for some time, but suddenly Administration kicked in. Incommensuration seemed to pop up every now and then, if not to stop then at least to annoy the ordering attempts of Enterprise. However, the possibility that Enterprise can feed off Incommensuration in some practices cannot be excluded, as the case of the assessment of the NFC newsletter suggested.

In the great majority of studies on contemporary public administration and management mentioned in CHAPTER 02, Enterprise is portrayed as a self-assured and self-reliant mode of ordering. This goes for the studies by proponents of the current reforms of public sector organizations and for the studies by more critically minded researchers alike. The reason for this may be that these studies attend to policy documents, official statements, and, by way of quantitative surveys, public sector managers' assessments of which organizing and managerial principles are at stake in their respective public sector organizations. In such documents and managers' assessments, one example from the current study is TAX's Strategy Paper discussed in CHAPTER 06, Enterprise does come out as self-assured and self-reliant. By attending to practice and to the effects such documents have in these practices (Jensen &

Lauritsen 2005b, Gad 2009a), the current thesis has provided a different understanding of Enterprise. As a mode of ordering Enterprise seems less self-assured and less self-reliant when one attends to how it unfurls in practice. Enterprise seems to be, at least currently, dependent upon other modes of ordering. It runs its head against the wall every now and then and other, less celebrated, modes of ordering such as Administration take over. Thus, the thesis' analyses deliver an argument for not taking for granted the strength of Enterprise in future research on public administration and management. There might be a difference between how Enterprise unfolds in the wordings of various documents and how Enterprise unfolds in the practices wherein these documents are enacted and have effects. In sum: one should not become obsessed by the self-assured and self-reliant traits of the mode of ordering Enterprise when investigating practices of current public administration and management.

How strong will Enterprise become?

Still, one might ask: will Enterprise, also in practice, become more self-assured and self-reliant? Throughout this thesis I have described government communication as a case of multiplicity. In order to discuss the question of whether Enterprise will become more self-assured and self-reliant it needs to be clarified what I mean when I describe government communication as a case of multiplicity. In order to reach such a clarification I will reintroduce the three different subject-object configurations described and discussed in CHAPTER 03 and argue that they have sought to enact the multiplicity of government communication differently in the course of the present study.

Different configurations – different enactments of the multiplicity of government communication

In recent years a wide range of societal actors have discussed the usefulness of research. Research fields such as Science and Technology Studies (STS) have been urged to demonstrate usefulness not only in academic terms, but also in what is often regarded as more practical fields such as policy or business (Zuiderent-Jerak & Jensen 2007). The Danish Industrial PhD Programme can be seen as a political response to this discussion of the usefulness of research.[133] The programme connects researchers, universities, businesses, and public sector organizations economically – the hosting company, in this case Bjerg Kommunikation, pays approximately half of the PhD students' salary – and in a day-to-day manner – the PhD student is required to divide her/his working time equally between the hosting company and the hosting university. In this way, the programme seeks to ensure the usefulness of the research carried out within the programme. However, the programme also

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[133] For details on this programme, see www.industrialphd.dk (accessed 02.12.10).

disconnects researchers, universities, businesses, and public sector organizations, because in assessing the outcomes of an Industrial PhD study, the programme says that the universities must carry out this assessment on the exact same grounds as any other PhD study. Hence, a PhD study carried out within the Industrial PhD Programme is both different from and exactly the same as any other PhD study. In the current thesis I sought to grapple with this simultaneous difference and sameness (Dugdale 1999) by seeing and discussing the research practices I was involved in as multiple. I did this in an attempt not to write the 'industrialness' of the study out of the present thesis. It was important to me not to write the industrialness out of the present thesis, because it took part in enacting the object under study: the outcome of government communication. I showed this in CHAPTER 03, where I described the knowing subject as a place of multiplicity, and where I identified three subject-object configurations in order to describe wherein this multiplicity lies in the current study. I argued that in the research practices of the current study I was enacted as a traditional researcher, as a commercializing researcher, and as an interventionist researcher. And I argued that in carrying out the fieldwork of the current study these configurations were made to coexist rather peacefully. I stressed that this could have been otherwise: the three configurations were made to coexist rather peacefully by way of specific methodological and analytical choices. I discussed these choices as successful attempts at making the configurations coexist and I showed how these attempts took part in enacting the object of study. The point that I wish to make in the following is that these three different configurations took part in enacting the object of study and, importantly, the multiplicity of the object of study differently.

I described the *traditional* subject-object configuration as being all about research. Within this configuration the aim of the research carried out in the current study was to offer an understanding of how communicative solutions were produced and assessed in the five government organizations. Government communication is a case of public administration and management in practice and thus the study will tell us, researchers, more about how Danish public administration and management works. Within this traditional configuration the multiplicity of government communication was enacted as an ontological condition. Multiplicity was a point of departure for my analysis, and I explored how the multiplicity of government communication unfurled in the working practices of the communicators. One of the main conclusions, as discussed above, is that the ordering mode of Enterprise is less self-assured and less self-reliant in day-to-day working practices than much contemporary research on public administration and management seems to suggest or take for granted. Here multiplicity was my point of departure and the thesis' main contribution lies in qualifying how this multiplicity unfurls within the empirical field of government communication and, in a wider sense, public administration and management. However,

from this position I could not help but notice that this point of departure in multiplicity as an ontological condition had its limits when it came to my specific empirical field: government communication. The multiplicity of government communication did not come across as self-sustaining or balanced. Some practices were about eliminating multiplicity and in order to capture these I suggested the notion of 'singularizing'.

The subject-object configuration of the *commercializing* researcher was preoccupied with the money the company, in this case Bjerg Kommunikation, invested in the current piece of research. The research carried out needed to be of help in reaching the Industrial PhD project's aim, which was to develop, test, and implement new and better communication measurements, where 'new and better' meant communication measurements that could be commercialized. Within this configuration the multiplicity of government communication and, even more so, the unresolved nature of this multiplicity, was enacted as empirically annoying. By 'unresolved' I mean that it is uncertain whether the new and better communication measurements should be developed in such a way that they take part in attempting to singularize government communication, or whether they should take part in sequencing the multiplicity of government communication. As a consequence of this unresolved multiplicity the research undertaken, understood from the commercializing configuration, aimed at tackling another problem, namely that the outcome of government communication was enacted as manifestly absent in the working practices of the communicators. The commercializing researcher's main contribution was the various activities that the research entailed, and that attempted to turn government communication into a more durable presence. From the configuration of the commercializing researcher the conclusion is that government communication is a case of unresolved multiplicity. In this configuration, new and better communication measurements might mean communication measurements that highlight the two ways of handling multiplicity – sequencing and singularizing – or that suggest and implement new and better ways of handling multiplicity.

As was the case for the commercializing configuration, the *interventionist* configuration was also about developing new and better communication measurements, but there was a difference in what 'new and better' meant. In this interventionist configuration, 'new and better' meant communication measurements, which were able to account for the multiplicity of government communication, and, on a more general level, the multiplicity of public administration and management. Further, the interventionist configuration hypothesized that the current communication measurements were unable to account for this multiplicity, and that this inability was problematic to the functioning of government communication. Hence, and this is where the interventionist configuration differs from the other two, the interventionist

configuration seeks to enact the multiplicity of government communication as a state of affairs that is preferable to singularity. Let me explain what I mean by this in the following section.

Ontological politics: from choice to living-in-tension

A number of times I have described the multiplicity of government communication as a condition that presented itself to me, the student of government communication (Gad & Jensen 2010). Examples include CHAPTER 02's dismissal of an epochalizing approach to public administration and management due to its inability to account for the multiplicity of government communication. And they include my discussions of Paul du Gay's approach to public administration and management, which seeks to defend bureaucracy. The discussions took place in CHAPTER 02 and CHAPTER 04 and I argued that whereas multiplicity is an ontological condition in the writings of Law, du Gay writes about the multiplicity of public administration and management as something that is threatened from the many, recent, and enterprising attempts at reforming public sector organizations. In these instances I have, in accordance with the configuration of the traditional researcher, treated the multiplicity of government communication as an ontological condition. However, this treatment of the multiplicity of government communication as an ontological condition is not innocent. It must also be seen as a choice. About this issue Annemarie Mol says:

> This book [*The Body Multiple*] tells that no object, no body, no disease, is singular. If it is not removed from the practices that sustain it, reality is multiple. This may be read as a description that beautifully fits the facts. But attending to the multiplicity of reality is also an *act*. It is something that may be done – or left undone. It is an intervention. It intervenes in the various available styles for describing practices " (Mol 2002a: 6, emphasis in original).

This means that to attend to multiplicity is a specific style of describing practices that also helps to enact these practices as multiple.

To attend to multiplicity is, in other words, to intervene. Further, it is a specific type of intervention. Mol has coined the notion of 'ontological politics' in order to take hold of the specific type of intervention that attending to multiplicity implies. She does so in her book chapter 'Ontological Politics. A Word and Some Questions' (1999). In this book chapter, Mol discusses some of the consequences of ANT's tearing down of the traditional divisions between 'the real' and 'the political'. In philosophical parlance 'ontology' designates what belongs to the real, and Mol argues that if this term is combined with the word 'politics' then:

> […] this suggests that the conditions of possibility are not given. That reality does not precede the mundane practices in which we interact with it, but is rather shaped within these practices. So the term *politics* works to underline this active mode, this process of shaping, and the fact that its character is both open and contested (ibid.: 75, emphasis in original).

Thus, reality is understood as "historically, culturally and materially located" (ibid.: 75), and if this is the case, if reality is materially located, then it is also multiple. "Realities have become multiple," Mol states (ibid.: 75). Mol discusses what this understanding of the relationship between reality and politics "might imply for going about life in various sites and situations" (ibid.: 74), and she suggests the rather general notion of "living-in-tension" (ibid.: 83) as a means for grasping these implications. To engage in ontological politics should not, Mol argues, be about choosing between different enactments of reality. There are complex relations between these realities, which make the idea of strategically choosing one at the expense of another problematic. Mol suggests that to engage in ontological politics is to attend to and to offer notions for describing the materially and discursively heterogeneous practices in which these partially related entities and actors are enacted. Hence, to engage in ontological politics is about living-in-tension. Mol's argument, that the notion of choice is problematic if reality is enacted in different, but related versions, inspired me to develop and utilize three different subject-object configurations in describing how the fieldwork of the current study was undertaken. Further, it led me to analyze and present my empirical material in a specific way. Here are two concrete examples of the latter.

A colleague of mine, who works within and contributes to the field of multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses, commented on a draft version of CHAPTER 06, in which I described the TAX Group's group communication project and drew attention to the many attempts at singularizing the TAX Group when it comes to government communication. I also described how these attempts at singularizing the TAX Group are rendered undesirable by the communicator Caroline, who worked on the project in its second stage. My colleague's comment to the section in which I describe Caroline's work was: "Caroline-the-hero! ☺" The comment was spot on: in the current study's act of attending to multiplicity, 'multipliers' such as Caroline have been presented and enacted as heroes. A second example is that I chose to end the analytical chapters with some of the strongest multipliers that I encountered during fieldwork: Laura from CONSUME and the success criteria for CONSUME's website. These multipliers were placed right at the end of the analytical chapters and Laura and the website were described as organizational entities and actors that worked very well. What these multipliers do is to insist that a 'good' outcome of government communication is situated in

different sociomaterial practices and, hence, that a 'good' outcome of government communication is multiple. They insist that in practice government communication is not a matter of choosing between different versions of the 'good', but a matter of finding ways to describe these different versions and to make them coexist.

The 'good' as situated

I will now return to this part's initial question: will Enterprise, also in practice, become more self-assured and self-reliant? From the configuration of the traditional researcher I am unable and quite unwilling to answer this question: multiplicity was this configuration's point of departure, and, as mentioned, it was interested in exploring how multiplicity unfurled in government communication. Nothing more. From the configuration of the commercializing researcher I am also unable to answer this question, but it can be said that in this configuration I hoped for the multiplicity of government communication to be singularized towards Enterprise. Singularization would have made it easier for the commercializing configuration to realize its notion of 'good and better' communication measurements, namely communication measurements that could be commercialized. Whereas the traditional and the commercializing researcher both avoided the question of whether Enterprise as a mode of ordering will become more self-assured and self-reliant, although for different reasons, the interventionist configuration had to handle it somehow. In the interventionist configuration I had to handle the lack of self-sustainability and balance in the multiplicity of government communication. I chose to handle it by emphasizing a description of the working practices of the communicators that builds on metaphors such as Mol's living-in-tension rather than, for instance, an epochalist understanding of organizational change. As a consequence of this intervention, the sequencing of multiplicity was rendered a stronger way of handling the multiplicity than the attempts at singularizing multiplicity.

From the interventionist configuration the conclusion is that if the multiplicity of government communication is to be upheld then this implies ongoing attention to how the outcome of government communication is "defined, measured, observed, listened to, or otherwise *enacted* […] (ibid.: 87, emphasis in original). The conclusion is that government communication is a case of multiplicity if it is enacted as one. Government communication is in a precarious state where attempts at singularizing the multiplicity of government communication coexist with processes of sequencing multiplicity. In light of these insights, the interventionist configuration urges the reader to view the thesis' ethnographic descriptions of the working practices of the communicators and the 'ordering devices' it suggests in providing these descriptions – most prominently the four modes of ordering described in CHAPTER 04, but also CHAPTER

07's discussion of CONSUME as existing in different versions in different practices – as an interventionist attempt to enact government communication as a case of multiplicity.

In CHAPTER 01 I argued that in the practices of managing their own work by its outcomes the government communicators involved in the current study discuss and negotiate what government communication does and how, but also how well, how much and for how much. In a wider sense they discuss and negotiate what the state does and how, but also how well, how much and for how much. In the article 'How to Think Like a State' (2007) Latour discusses how the state should think in its attempts to produce what he terms 'the common good'. Latour argues that in producing the common good that state cannot rely on a clear and stable division between public and private. His argument is that "the State has no predictable limits known in advance since the public is always a *new problem*" (ibid.: 5, emphasis in original). This, Latour argues, has always been the case, but due to the current climate changes this is even more so the case today. Nor can the state rely on "mere calculation" (ibid.: 5), because "no calculative device is a substitute for political decisions" (ibid.: 5). Latour says that the state needs calculating devices, because these deliver representations of the current state of affairs, but they do not tell the state how to proceed; they do not tell the state what decisions to make. What Latour seems to suggest in this article is that the common good is always situated. In a similar fashion, the interventionist position has aimed to show and argue that a 'good' outcome of government communication is always situated and that the communication measurements employed should treat it as such.

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TABLE OF FIGURES

APPENDIX 01: fieldwork activities and material

In this appendix I give an overview of the fieldwork activities carried out in the present study.

In the course of the study I have had close contact with 14 communicators: Michael, Anna, and Laura at CONSUME, Søren and Jette at FOOD, Carina and Flemming at FOREIGN, Pia, Amalie, Marie, and Geske at GOVERN, and Julie, Rikke, and Caroline at TAX. In addition to these, I have met, observed, or interviewed approximately 20 communicators employed at the five government organizations involved. By the request of the communicators involved all names mentioned are pseudonyms.

Apart from the empirical material generated in the fieldwork activities listed below, I draw upon communication policies, performance contracts, strategies, internal documents, presentations, websites etc. from each of the five government organizations involved.

Heat #1: locating and describing the practices under scrutiny

In the first heat of fieldwork I asked communicators at each of the five government organizations involved to photograph working practice in which communication measurements or other ways of assessing the outcome of given communicative solutions played a part. I received 12 photographs from one communicator at CONSUME, 9 photographs from one communicator at FOREIGN, 29 photographs from one communicator at GOVERN, and 45 photographs from four communicators at TAX. I did not receive photographs from communicators at FOOD.

Further, I asked communicators at each of the five government organizations involved to fill out logbooks stating when, where, and how they encountered communication measurements or related methods for assessing the outcome of their work in their working practices. I received a logbook from one communicator at TAX, and at GOVERN two communicators filled in logbooks. The communicators at CONSUME, FOOD, and FOREIGN did not fill in logbooks.

The other activities in the first heat of fieldwork are listed chronologically in the table below.

DATE / ORGANIZATION	METHOD	ACTIVITY
10.12.07/all five organizations	Joint meeting	Presentation and discussion of the project's collaborative ambitions
01.01.08-01.04.08/all five organizations	Kick-off meetings with each of the five government organizations involved	The objectives of these meetings were to define a case to be investigated and to introduce the fieldwork activities of the first heat
06.02.08/TAX	Observation	Group communication project, project work on knowledge sharing across the TAX Group's units
07.02.08/TAX	Observation	Group communication project, project work on group communication
13.02.08/GOVERN	Observation	Meeting between web coordinators
20.02.08/TAX	Observation	Group communication project, workshop on knowledge sharing across the TAX Group's units involving employees from various units
04.03.08/GOVERN	Observation	Meeting concerning the implementation of iFAQ
10.03.08/TAX	Observation	Group communication project, meeting between the project group and the reference group of the group communication project
31.03.08/GOVERN	Group interview with Amalie and Pia	Follow-up on observations at OES and Amalie and Pia's documentations
02.04.08/TAX	Group interview with four members of the project group	Follow-up on observations at TAX and the four members'

	working on TAX's group communication project, including the project manager, Julie	documentations
07.04.08/TAX	Interview with Julie	Follow-up on observations at TAX, the group interview and Christina's documentation
09.04.08/CONSUME	Interview with Michael	Follow-up on Michael's documentation
24.04.08 GOVERN	Interview with Pia	Follow-up on observations and group interview
05.05.08/FOOD	Observation	Meeting in a project group working on FOOD's new language policy
14.05.08/all five organizations	Joint meeting	Four groups play a game about measuring communication
22.05.08/FOOD	Interview with Søren	Follow-up on observations
29.05.08/GOVERN	Interview with Marie	Follow-up on specific theme, the communicators' connections to managers, developed in the group interview with Amalie and Pia and the interview with Pia
30.05.08/FOREIGN	Group interview with four communicators, including Carina and Flemming, who acted as my contact persons at FOREIGN consecutively	Follow-up on these communicators' documentation
13.06.08/FOOD	Group interview with Søren and five FOOD communicators working on FOOD's new language policy	Follow-up on observation at FVST and interview with Søren
26.09.08/FOREIGN	Observation	Meeting between Bjerg Kommunikation and communicators at FOREIGN concerning a revision of a

		template used in evaluating public diplomacy activities
01.10.08/FOOD	Observation	Food inspection and communication between the FOOD head office in Mørkhøj and the regional inspectors

Heat #2: ordering empirical material

The main activity in the second heat of fieldwork was the ordering of empirical material. Further, a joint meeting took place on December 11th 2008. Here I presented a guide on measuring communication and Bjerg Kommunikation and I asked the five government organizations involved to test the guide by way of a concrete assignment. Only one of the five government organizations involved, TAX, returned this assignment.

Heat #3: putting five preliminary modes of ordering at risk

In the third heat of fieldwork I asked communicators at each of the five government organizations involved to illustrate the five preliminary modes of ordering by way of a photograph, an object, or a colleague. At CONSUME two communicators provided one, shared illustration in writing and photography, at FOOD one communicator provided an illustration in writing, at TAX two communicators provided one illustration each in writing, and at GOVERN the illustration was given verbally during the 'work and talk'. FOREIGN did not illustrate the five preliminary modes of ordering.

The other activities in the third heat of fieldwork are listed chronologically in the table below.

DATE / ORGANIZATION	METHOD	ACTIVITY
23.01.09/FOOD	Meeting	Discussion of possible cases for myself and Bjerg Kommunikation to work on and introduction to the up-coming fieldwork activities
27.01.09/CONSUME	Work and talk with Anna	Working and talking with Anna for a day

05.02.09/FOOD	Work and talk with Søren	Working and talking with Søren for a day
17.02.09/TAX	Meeting	Discussion of possible cases for myself and Bjerg Kommunikation to work on and introduction to the up-coming fieldwork activities
19.02.09/FOREIGN	Meeting	The first out of two discussions of possible cases for myself and Bjerg Kommunikation to work on and introduction to the up-coming fieldwork activities
09.03.09/GOVERN	Meeting	Discussion of possible cases for myself and Bjerg Kommunikation to work on and introduction to the up-coming fieldwork activities
17.03.09/FOOD	Group interview with Søren and Jette	Follow-up on documentation of preliminary modes of ordering and on 'work and talk' with Søren
17.03.09/CONSUME	Interview with Anna	Follow-up on documentation of preliminary modes of ordering and on 'work and talk' with Anna
30.03.09/TAX	Group interview with Rikke and Caroline	Follow-up on documentation of preliminary modes of ordering
09.04.09/FOREIGN	Meeting	The second out of two discussions of possible cases for me and Bjerg Kommunikation to work on and introduction to the up-coming fieldwork activities
15.04.09/CONSUME	Interview with Laura	Follow-up on documentation

		of the preliminary modes of ordering
29.04.09/GOVERN	Work and talk with Geske	Working and talking with Geske for a day (including verbal documentation of the preliminary modes of ordering)
30.04.09/FOREIGN	Observation	Meeting with Bjerg Kommunikation concerning scheme for evaluating public diplomacy activities
18.06.09/GOVERN	Interview with Geske	Follow-up on 'work and talk'
30.06.09/FOREIGN	Observation	Meeting with Bjerg Kommunikation concerning a concept for the overall evaluation of public diplomacy activities
02.09.09/TAX	Observation	Meeting with Bjerg Kommunikation concerning the communication balance sheet

ABSTRACT

'Good' Outcomes – Handling Multiplicity in Government Communication

This thesis examines how five Danish government organizations produce and assess communicative solutions in practice, and argues that government communication may be understood as a case of multiplicity. In the practices of producing and assessing communicative solutions it is uncertain what constitutes a 'good' outcome of government communication. This uncertainty is grasped by drawing upon analytical resources from the field of multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses. Empirically, the thesis is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted at the five government organizations. Combining empirical observations, theoretical insights, and political programmes, four 'modes of ordering' are developed and these are utilized in exploring how the multiplicity of government communication unfurls and how it is handled in practice. The thesis shows how the ordering attempts described by the four modes of ordering coexist and interfere, and it suggests the notions of 'sequencing' and 'singularizing' for understanding how the multiplicity of government communication is handled in the production and assessment of communicative solutions. The study upon which the thesis reports has been carried out in connection with a larger Industrial PhD project, entitled *Measurements you can learn from*, that aimed at developing, testing, and implementing new and better communication measurements.

The first three chapters of the thesis set the scene. They introduce the empirical field under investigation, the field of research from which the thesis draws its analytical resources, and present and discuss the ethnographic fieldwork conducted.

CHAPTER 01 familiarizes the reader with the government organizations' communicative work and with their ambitions for taking part in the project *Measurements you can learn from*. It establishes the thesis' main analytical challenge and introduces how this challenge will be countered with analytical resources drawn from the field of multiplicity-oriented ANT analyses. CHAPTER 02 views government communication as a case of public administration and management and positions the present piece of research within contemporary research on same. It develops a multiplying approach whose central analytical component is the material-semiotic tool of 'modes of ordering' (Law 1994), developed by sociologist John Law. CHAPTER 03 presents the ethnographic fieldwork carried out. It focuses on showing and developing notions for understanding how the 'industrialness' of the current study takes part in enacting the object of study, the outcome of government communication, during fieldwork.

CHAPTER 04 bridges together the preceding chapters' attempts at setting the scene with the three following analytical chapters. The chapter develops and describes four modes of ordering. The four situated modes of ordering can be described as heterogeneous assemblages in the sense that they combine empirical observations, theoretical insights, political programmes and interferences between these entities. The four modes of ordering are Enterprise, Administration, Commensuration, and Incommensuration.

The next three chapters comprise the analytical contribution of the thesis.

CHAPTER 05 investigates how the work of the communicators involved is managed today. The analyses show that the four modes of ordering can be imputed to the practices of managing the communicators' work and that the four modes of ordering are sequenced in these practices. But something else is going on too: the sequencing, at times, happens in a rather non-smooth manner and the analyses suggest that attempts at singularizing multiplicity are also at stake. Attempts at singularizing multiplicity are explored in CHAPTER 06 by way of a large, communicative project carried out in one of the involved government organizations, the ministerial group of the Danish Ministry of Taxation Group (TAX). The communicative project concerns group communication and the analyses of the chapter show how the work carried out in the project attempts to order TAX towards the ordering pattern of Enterprise. These attempts are strong and many, but they do not succeed in eliminating the three remaining modes of ordering. Rather, these remaining modes of ordering are lurking in the first stage of the project, where a policy for group communication is produced, and are performed forcefully in the second stage of the project, where the policy is implemented. CHAPTER 07 examines the second way of handling multiplicity – the sequencing of modes of ordering – through the production and assessment of two communicative products at another of the government organizations involved, the Danish Consumer Agency (CONSUME). The first product is an electronic newsletter, which is intended to convey information about the consumers' concerns to Danish businesses. In turn, this information is to kick-start innovative processes in the businesses. The second product is the Danish government's consumer portal, which is run by CONSUME. In an attempt to counter recent challenges within the area of consumer information, the portal – the website forbrug.dk – is redesigned and reorganized. In the production of these two products, or public services, the communicators at CONSUME work with – rather than against – the multiplicity of government communication. This, however, only goes for the website in the practices of assessing these two products.

CHAPTER 08 provides a recap and some concluding remarks on multiplicity. Two questions, concerning the strength of the mode of ordering Enterprise and the potential success of the attempts at singularizing government communication towards the ordering pattern of Enterprise, have been left somewhat open in the preceding chapters. In addressing these two questions it is discussed how the notion of 'multiplicity' has been utilized in the current study. The chapter argues that because the research practices in which government communication has been studied are also multiple, the multiplicity of the object under study has been enacted differently in the different research practices. In one version multiplicity is an ontological condition, in another it is empirically annoying, and in a third it is a state of affairs that is preferable to singularity. Focusing on the third version of multiplicity, the thesis concludes that a 'good' outcome of government communication should be understood and handled as situated.

RESUMÉ

'Gode' resultater – håndtering af multiplicitet i offentlig kommunikation

Denne afhandling undersøger, hvordan fem organisationer i den danske central administration, fem ministerier og styrelser, producerer og vurderer kommunikationsløsninger i praksis. Der argumenteres for, at offentlig kommunikation kan forstås som et tilfælde af multiplicitet. I de praksisser, hvori kommunikationsløsninger produceres og vurderes, er det usikkert, hvad der konstituerer et 'godt' resultat af den offentlige kommunikation. Denne usikkerhed undersøges ved hjælp af analytiske ressourcer hentet fra feltet af multiplicitetsorienterede ANT analyser. Empirisk er afhandlingen baseret på et etnografisk feltarbejde udført i de fem ministerier og styrelser. Gennem en kombination af empiriske observationer, teoretiske indsigter og politiske programmer udvikler og beskriver afhandlingen fire ordningsmåder. Disse ordningsmåder anvendes i undersøgelsen af, hvordan den multiplicitet, der kendetegner offentlig kommunikation, udfolder sig og håndteres i praksis. Afhandlingen beskriver, hvordan de fire ordningsmåder sameksisterer og interfererer. Den forslår 'sekventering' og 'singularisering' som to begreber til at analysere, hvordan offentlig kommunikations multiplicitet hånderes i de praksisser, hvori den produceres og vurderes. Afhandlingen er baseret på et studie, som er gennemført i forbindelse med et større ErhvervsPhD-projekt med titlen *Målinger man kan lære af*. ErhvervsPhD-projektets overordnede formål var at udvikle, teste og implementere nye og bedre kommunikationsmålinger.

Afhandlingens første tre kapitler sætter scenen. De introducerer det empiriske felt, forskningsfeltet fra hvilket afhandlingen henter sine analytiske ressourcer og præsenterer samt diskuterer det etnografiske feltarbejde.

KAPITEL 01 giver læseren et første indblik i ministerierne og styrelsernes arbejde med kommunikation og i deres ambitioner for at deltage i *Målinger man kan lære af*. Kapitlet etablerer afhandlingens væsentligste analytiske udfordring og introducerer, hvordan denne udfordring mødes med analytiske ressourcer hentet fra feltet af multiplicitetsorienterede ANT analyser. KAPITEL 02 ser offentlig kommunikation som et tilfælde af offentlige administration og ledelse og positioner afhandlingen indenfor for forskningen på feltet. Der udvikles en multiplicerende tilgang, hvis centrale, analytiske komponent er det materielt-semiotiske redskab 'ordningsmåder' ('modes of ordering' (Law 1994)), som er udviklet af sociologen John Law. KAPITEL 03 præsenterer studiets etnografiske feltarbejde. Der fokuseres på at vise og udvikle begreber til at forstå, hvordan studiets 'erhvervsrettethed'

('industrialness') spiller en rolle i forhold til, hvordan studiets analytiske objekt, resultatet af offentlig kommunikation, udspiller sig ('enactment' (Mol 2002a)) under feltarbejdet.

KAPITEL 04 bygger bro mellem den scene, der er blevet sat i de forudgående kapitler, og de efterfølgende tre kapitlers analytiske bidrag. Det gør det ved at udvikle og beskrive fire ordningsmåder. De fire situerede ordningsmåder kan beskrives som heterogene begreber i den forstand, at de er inspirerede af empiriske observationer, teoretiske indsigter, politiske programmer og forbindelser og forstyrrelser mellem disse. De fire ordningsmåder er Foretagsomhed ('Enterprise'), Administration ('Administration'), Kommensuration ('Commensuration') og Inkommensuration ('Incommensuration').

De følgende tre kapitler rummer afhandlingens analytiske bidrag.

KAPITEL 05 undersøger, hvordan de involverede kommunikatørers arbejde ledes i dag. Analyserne viser, at de fire ordningsmåder kan bruges til at forstå de praksisser, hvori kommunikatørernes arbejde ledes, og analyserne viser, at de fire ordningsmåder afløser hinanden ('sequencing') i disse praksisser. Men noget andet gør sig også gældende: til tider sker denne afløsning ikke gnidningsfrit, og analyserne tyder på, at forsøg på at singularisere ('singularizing') multipliciteten også er på spil. Disse forsøg på at singularisere multiplicitet undersøges nærmere i KAPITEL 06 gennem et stort kommunikations projekt, som gennemføres i en af de involverede ministerier og styrelser: Skatteministeriets koncern (TAX). Kommunikationsprojektet omhandler koncernkommunikation, og kapitlets analyser viser, hvordan det arbejde, der udføres i forbindelse med projektet, forsøger at ordne TAX hen imod det ordningsmønster, som ordningsmåden Foretagsomhed beskriver. Forsøgene er mange og stærke, men det lykkes dem ikke at eliminere de resterende tre ordningsmåder. Snarere ligger disse tre ordningsmåder på lur i projektets første del, hvor en politik for koncernkommunikation produceres, og de performes kraftfuldt i projektets anden del, hvor politikken implementeres. KAPITEL 07 undersøger den anden måde, hvorpå multiplicitet håndteres, som er, at ordningsmåderne afløser hinanden. Det gør det gennem to produkter, som produceres af Forbrugerstyrelsen (CONSUME) – en anden af de fem involverede ministerier og styrelser. Det første produkt er et elektronisk nyhedsbrev, som formilder information om det, der optager forbrugerne, til danske virksomheder. Det er tanken, at denne information skal kickstarte innovationsprocesser i virksomhederne. Det andet produkt er den danske regerings forbrugerportal, som CONSUME er ansvarlig for. Portalen, hjemmesiden forbrug.dk, redesignes og reorganiseres i et forsøg på at imødekomme udfordringer indenfor forbrugerinformationens område. I produktionen af disse to produkter – eller offentlige services – arbejder CONSUMEs kommunikatører med, snarere end imod,

offentlig kommunikations multiplicitet. I vurdering af disse to produkter gælder dette dog kun for hjemmesiden.

KAPITEL 08 opsummerer afhandlingens pointer og giver nogle konkluderende bemærkninger omkring multiplicitet. To spørgsmål – det ene omhandler styrken af ordningsmåden Foretagsomhed, mens det andet omhandler, hvorvidt forsøgene på at singularisere offentlige kommunikation hen imod ordningsmåden Foretagsomhed vil lykkes – har været diskuteret, men ikke endegyldigt besvaret i de forudgående kapitler. Spørgsmålene tages op igen i dette kapitel, og det leder til en diskussion af, hvordan begrebet 'multiplicitet' er blevet anvendt gennem studiet. Kapitlet argumenterer for, at fordi de forskningspraksisser, hvorigennem offentlige kommunikation er blevet studeret, også er multiple, så har det analytiske objekts multiplicitet udspillet sig forskelligt i studiets forskellige forskningspraksisser. I én version er multiplicitet en ontologisk betingelse, i en anden version er multiplicitet empirisk irriterende, og i en tredje version beskriver multiplicitet en tilstand, som er at foretrække frem for singularitet. Der fokusere på den tredje version af multiplicitet, og afhandlingen konkluderer, at et 'godt' resultat af offentlig kommunikation bør forstås og behandles som situeret.

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