14. Using collaborative performance summits to help both researchers and governance actors make sense of governance measures

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INTRODUCTION: HOW CAN RESEARCHERS AND ACTORS MAKE SENSE OF GOVERNANCE MEASURES?

Government actors have long been keen to formulate concrete measures to assess how they are doing (Van Dooren and Hoffmann, 2018). However, empirical studies have shown that these same actors struggled to understand all the data generated and often failed to use it when actually assessing their governance efforts (James et al., 2020). Similarly, researchers have enthusiastically collected large measurement sets, but then struggled to comprehensively assess the multiple dimensions of government work and connect the often conflicting perspectives of the multiple actors involved (Moore, 1995; Moynihan, 2010).

The difficulty of measuring government becomes especially pronounced when assessing complex governance arrangements (Emerson et al., 2012), such as collaborations between public agencies and community groups addressing thorny societal issues such as radicalization, domestic violence, or climate change (Head and Alford, 2015). For example, how should researchers and practitioners interpret a rise in reports of domestic violence after the formation of a taskforce to reduce domestic violence: Is the community facing an increase in violence or have people become more aware of the issue? And how should researchers and actors weigh the dissatisfaction of a community group about the fight against climate change against the progress reported by a panel of experts?

This chapter does not attempt to cut through this complexity by finding a new and perfect measure, but rather outlines how actors can use dialogue routines to bring together the information each participant has to jointly make sense of these multiple measures (Moynihan et al., 2011). The chapter also examines how researchers can use these same dialogue routines to collect data on diverse governance measures and at the same time observe how the participants make sense of these measures (Douglas and Ansell, 2023).

This chapter specifically explores the multiple purposes, technical characteristics, and current research use of collaborative performance summits. These summits are defined as "dialogue routines where partners in a collaborative governance arrangement gather to explicate their goals, exchange information about their activities, examine the progress towards their goals, and explore potential actions for improvement" (Douglas and Ansell, 2021). Other scholars have described similar dialogue routines using terms such as interorganizational learning forums (Moynihan et al., 2011), forums, arenas, and courts (Bryson and Crosby, 1993), and PerformanceStat sessions (Behn, 2014).

Collaborative performance summits are here framed as part of an action-oriented approach to research (Dekker et al., 2020). Researchers can actively propose, support, or even host a col-

laborative performance summit within the governance arrangements they study. Being closely involved in the preparation, conduct, and follow-up of a summit generates valuable data. This data has the shape of access to the information participants have about the functioning of their governance arrangement (e.g. data from the police about general trends in domestic violence reports, and from welfare agencies about trends in mental health problems). And observations of how actors interpret and discuss these measures are also relevant research data. Moreover, as the participants derive practical value from the summit, they may be actively willing to participate in the exercise, sparing the researchers much work in trying to convince actors to share their data.

However, an active role of the researcher in the collaborative performance summit is also likely to influence the nature, substance, and outcomes of the discussion. Even if a researcher was to merely observe a summit as a fly-on-the-wall, actors may still feel compelled to change their tone and messaging (Dekker et al., 2020). This chapter therefore also frames collaborative performance summits as social, even political, interactions between the actors involved in a governance arrangement, where the participation of researchers in this process will alter the social dynamics. Using collaborative performance summits as part of the research process requires careful planning and active consultation with all the participants to still generate valid insights and comply with ethical standards. However, this hard work will generate a bounty of insights into different governance measures and how these measures are perceived by the actors involved.

PURPOSES OF METHOD: FACILITATING LEARNING, ACCOUNTABILITY, AND RELATIONSHIP-BUILDING WHILE COLLECTING RESEARCH DATA

To the actors in a governance arrangement, a collaborative performance summit can serve multiple purposes, ranging from collective learning and mutual accountability to relationship-building (Douglas et al., 2021). To the researchers involved in collaborative performance summits, the meeting serves the purpose of gaining access to the data that partners bring to the table (after acquiring the appropriate consent) and observing the dynamics of the discussion (while accounting for their own influence on this discussion) (Douglas and Ansell, 2023). However, it is important for actors and researchers alike to appreciate that the multiple purposes of a summit often play out all at once, either implicitly or explicitly, and this presents participants and researchers with tensions in the conduct of the meeting (Douglas and Ansell, 2021).

Collaborative Performance Summits as Instruments for Learning

Collaborative performance summits can firstly serve the purpose of collaborative learning (Heikkila and Gerlak, 2013). An effective summit would enable the actors participating in a governance arrangement to better understand what they hope to achieve, to get an overview of what all the actors have been doing, assess how much progress all this work has delivered, and identify what steps to take next. Or, correspondingly, summits serve their learning purpose when researchers can collect data about what the actors hope to achieve, what they have been doing so far, how the group assesses its performance, and what steps they hope to take next.

This learning purpose can be defined in a rather narrow, static sense, or in a more expansive, dynamic sense. In a narrow, static sense, a summit would serve its purpose as a learning tool if the actors participating in a forum walk away with a shared and precise understanding of their goals, a shared, comprehensive, and factually correct understanding of what has been done so far, a shared and honest assessment of their progress, and shared and logical conclusions about who should take what actions next. Researchers could collate this data in neat lists and tables, creating an overview for themselves and the participants.

In a more dynamic sense, a routine would serve its purpose as a learning tool if the actors walk away with a greater understanding of the different ambitions of the different partners and the overlaps or contradictions between them (Bryson et al., 2016). It would also be served if the actors have jointly made greater sense of their current activities and progress, which includes an appreciation of how the different partners within the arrangement may view the current state of affairs differently (Weick, 1995). And finally, an effective learning routine in this perspective would conclude with a tentative agreement about what things to try next and when to reconvene to jointly interpret the impact of these next steps. Researchers would then seek to trace and capture the different opinions within the group and the evolution of the various perspectives over time.

Collaborative Performance Summits as Instruments for Accountability

Collaborative performance summits can, whether by design or in practice, serve the purpose of organizing the accountability between actors for their work in a governance arrangement (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2014). From a narrow, static perspective, dialogue routines can be seen as a forum in which the principal holds its agent to account, asking them to explain what they have been doing and what this has achieved. Researchers could then trace the patterns of these conversations (who is holding to whom to account), the information that is provided, and the judgements that are passed.

A more dynamic view on accountability would argue that the nature of the relationships between the many public organizations, private actors, and community groups involved in a summit can rarely be boiled down to a simple principal-agent relationship. Governance actors rarely have full formal power over each other, even if they rely on each for doing their own work (Moynihan et al., 2011). Summits would then be about organizing mutual accountability between partners and collective accountability of the governance arrangement as a whole towards the external environment (Sørensen and Torfing, 2009). In this perspective, actors can challenge each other on the extent to which each has fulfilled their role and get their story to the outside world straight. Researchers can then learn from the discussion how responsibility (and blame) is shared across the group and what story the collective projects to the outside world.

Collaborative Performance Summits as Instruments for Relationship-building

Finally, summits can serve the purpose of relationship-building between actors (Ansell and Gash, 2008). In a narrow, static sense, this purpose is mainly about coordination, making sure that actors know who is involved in the arrangement, what each actor is capable of, and who is doing what. Researchers can glean from these discussions how actors are (or are not) connected and how tasks are distributed amongst the actors, complementing the information

they may have already collected through a Social Network Analysis or reading the work plans of the governance arrangements.

In a more dynamic perspective, summits have the purpose of relationship-building. They provide actors with an opportunity to come to know, and hopefully trust, each other. And with an opportunity to reflect on the structure and culture that characterizes the governance arrangement (see Ostrom as discussed in McGinnis, 2011). From such discussions, researchers can aim to learn the nature and depth of the relationships between the actors, although these are often not fully revealed in a collective meeting, and how actors view the overall structure and culture of the arrangement.

COMPETING PURPOSES?

In theory, a summit can serve multiple purposes at the same time, bolstering learning, accountability, and relationship-building. In practice, all of these purposes may be in play, but there are tensions between them. Learning and accountability, for example, have been shown to crowd each other out (Van Dooren and Hoffmann, 2018). For a successful learning process, organizations need to show their doubts and vulnerability, while an accountability process may cause participants to clam up and defend their achievements. Similarly, it may be difficult to build trust between actors at the same time as holding each other accountable. The tensions between these purposes will determine what actors reveal or obscure, and subsequently what researchers can or cannot learn from observing summits.

One strategy for dealing with the competing nature of learning, accountability, and relationship-building is to strictly design summits for one purpose only (Behn, 2014). The organizers would then clearly communicate what the specific purpose of a summit is supposed to be and strictly police anyone who tries to change the nature of the conversation. However, preventing the purposes from crossing into other areas may not be achievable in practice (Douglas and Ansell, 2021). Organizers of a summit may say that the goal is purely to have a learning process, but at the same time the participants are likely to include actors who are in a direct principal-agent relationship with each other (think governments and the community organizations they subsidize). Furthermore, even if learning is the purpose of the discussion at the beginning, seasoned operators will know that accountability will inevitably come later anyway, and may anticipate this by emphasizing or withholding information during the summit.

A more pragmatic approach for actors and researchers involved in summits may be to acknowledge the enmeshed nature of collaborative governance where learning, accountability, and relationship-building are fundamentally intertwined (Douglas et al., 2021). A more dynamic approach would be to create dialogue routines not in isolation, but in connection to other routines and recurring meetings, where different meetings can have a slightly different purpose, and actors can reconvene to reflect on different aspects. Similarly, researchers would accompany their data collection at the summit itself with pre- and post-summit interviews with the individual participants (e.g. Douglas and Ansell, 2023).

THE TECHNICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COLLABORATIVE PERFORMANCE SUMMITS AS A METHOD

This method is depicted in summary form in Figure 14.1 and each component is described in the following paragraphs.

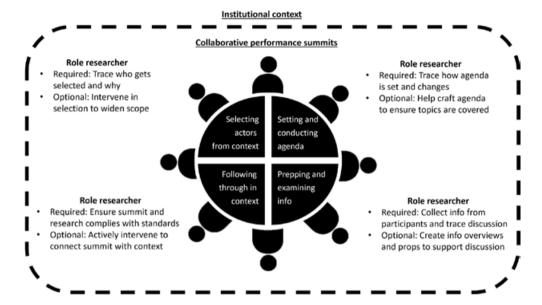


Figure 14.1 The roles of researchers during the various stages of a summit

STARTING FROM THE CONTEXT

To fully understand the technical characteristics of collaborative performance summits, it is necessary for both actors and researchers to first consider the context in which these dialogues take place. The wider institutional context or regime sets certain boundaries and expectations on what is imaginable and appropriate during a summit discussion (Douglas and Ansell, 2023; Emerson et al., 2012). Actors are not free, or without prejudice, when it comes to deciding who gets to participate in the dialogue or what goals and measures should be discussed. The wider institutional context of the governance arrangements shapes who is recognized as relevant participants for a summit, what information is considered relevant or valid, and even who gets to initiate the organization of a summit. Actors and researchers looking to learn from summits should appreciate what barriers there are.

Moreover, a collaborative performance summit is rarely the only opportunity actors have to coordinate their actions and process information (Douglas and Ansell, 2023). Other routines such as joint budget reviews, operational troubleshooting sessions, or annual reporting cycles also serve as opportunities for the actors to explicate the goals, exchange information, examine progress, and explore future actions. These routines shape what mechanisms will feed into the dialogue routine and which other routines the dialogue could feed into in turn. Again,

researchers observing summits would do well to seek data about what is happening within these other routines.

DIVING IN: CREATING AND RESEARCHING THE DIFFERENT STEPS OF A COLLABORATIVE PERFORMANCE SUMMIT

Selecting Actors

The first step to conduct a collaborative performance summit is the selection of participants; a crucial step for both the practitioners and the researchers involved. The process of selecting actors to participate in the summit is neither technocratic nor innocent. In typical governance arrangements there is an essential ambiguity in the demarcation of who is or is not involved (Moynihan et al., 2011). This means that deciding who sits at the table requires a judgement call. Moreover, it matters for the nature of the discussion and potential outcomes who sits at the table. Different partners will bring different measures to the table, have different interpretations of these measures, and have different types of relationships with each other (Douglas and Ansell, 2021).

In essence, selecting the participants of a dialogue is a political act. It entails reading the authorizing environment of a governance arrangement, both the formal and informal actors in play, and then calling them forward to reflect on the activities of the governance arrangement (Moore, 1995). Given the political nature of this act, it is important for actors to ensure proper democratic oversight for the invitation process.

For researchers, it is at the minimum of scholarly interest to trace which actors get invited, which actors get excluded, and which actors get forgotten (Douglas and Ansell, 2023). Researchers taking a more action-oriented approach may even opt to actively suggest actors to include, to ensure the summit includes all perspectives on their research interests (Douglas et al., 2021). For example, researchers interested in the functioning of collaborations seeking to promote literacy may promote the inclusion of citizens who struggled with literacy themselves in the summit to ensure their perspective is included. However, as noted, this would be a very consequential intervention requiring explicit approval from the other participants.

Setting the Agenda

Next to determining which actors will participate in the dialogue is the question of what is to be discussed. Picking the participants and setting the agenda are processes that influence each other, as what you want to discuss informs who you want there, and who is there will influence what will be discussed. Collaborative performance summits are typically designed to cover four topics: explication of the goals, exchange of information, examination of the progress, and exploration of the next steps (Douglas and Ansell, 2023). In a narrow, static view on governance, some of these agenda items seem to require only limited attention from both the participants and the researchers. Why would it be necessary for a long-running governance arrangement to revisit its goals? This is especially true if these are clearly and formally laid down in a charter or covenant underpinning the governance arrangement, alongside clear indicators for these goals. And what need is there to have a lengthy discussion about what progress has been made if such an assessment would flow logically from the gap between the

goals set and the data about what has been done? In this perspective, the focus of both actors and researchers would be to quickly collect the information, affirm that people agree with the assessment generated by the data, and then quickly move on to exploring next steps.

In a more dynamic view on summits, all of the items are on the menu, whether the organizers or researchers want to discuss them or not. When handling complex issues where much is unknown, the goals of the governance arrangement are always up for discussion (Head and Alford, 2015). And creating an overview of what is happening on the ground may actually lead to a reconsideration of what should be achieved on the whole. For example, if a literacy drive finds that the highest uptake of the programme is through mothers, the conclusion may be that the goals and resources of the programme should be redirected towards reaching more women. And the preferences and priorities of actors may also shift over time, autonomous of what is being achieved (Vangen and Huxham, 2013. An effective but flexible agenda helps actors to explore and home in on the issues that matter most, while researchers gain fascinating insights on what gets attention and what does not.

Preparing Information

The next aspect of the summit to consider is what information should be on the table and how it is presented. In a narrow sense, it may seem obvious to merely present the quantitative updates on the goals agreed upfront, but more effective information preparation would consist of a mix of 'objective' data and statistics, 'subjective' experiences of the various actors involved, and 'expert' opinions from researchers relevant to the challenge at hand (James et al., 2020). Moreover, effective information preparation would also invest considerable time in finding the best form to present the information in, using visual aids, vignettes, and in-person accounts to help the participants get an overview of the complex processes at play.

Governance actors but also researchers can take an active role in collecting and presenting the information for the summit. For researchers, this creates an excellent opportunity to collect data from the participants, as they have a clear understanding of how their data will be used in the upcoming summit. Douglas and Ansell (2023) describe, for example, how they supported multiple summits between actors working together on reducing illiteracy, sending out surveys to the participants to collect their view on the state of the collaboration before the summit, asking participants to rate the quality of the discussion at the end of the summit, and then returning to the participants a few months after the summit to check back on whether the collaboration improved. Each of these three waves of data gathering contained information immediately relevant to the actors and was presented to them, helping them to steer their collaboration. And at the same time, the data provided the researchers with a rich and longitudinal account of how the performance of each collaboration was viewed by the different participants and evolved over time.

BACK TO THE CONTEXT

Zooming out from the content of the summits itself, it is important for both actors and researchers to again consider the wider context after the summit and actively trace what happens to the governance arrangement after the meeting. Firstly, the characteristic of an impactful dialogue is that the findings, insights, and potential action points from the meeting are transmitted to

the relevant other routines and forums in the wider governance arrangements. For example, if specific operational bottlenecks were identified in the course of the discussion, these need to be communicated to the line-managers of the various organizations involved so the problems can be resolved.

Moreover, impactful dialogues are often not one-off, standalone events but part of a recurring and continuing cycle of learning (Heikkila and Gerlak, 2013). In a narrow, static perspective, this recurrence would have to be regular, with a uniform set of participants, and returning to the same set of measures in order to come to a reliable pattern of planning, doing, checking, and acting (see the Deming approach to quality management). In a more expansive, dynamic perspective, the recurrence would not have to be as regimented, as the precise timing, composition, and subject matter of the next dialogue meeting is shaped by the unfolding insights and developments (Dekker et al., 2020; Head and Alford, 2015). Actors, and action-oriented researchers, can actively seek to maintain the momentum for learning and relationship-building by initiating recurring summits.

Finally, just as the institutional context previously shaped a summit, a summit can help to shape the context in turn. The institutional context of the summit shaped who was involved in the discussion and what was discussed. In turn, an effective dialogue can serve to impact the wider structure or regime (see discussion of Bryson et al., 2020 on structuration). For example, a joint meeting might conclude that specific key organizations should be involved in the collaboration, such as citizens groups or partners from the private sector, which can lead to these actors formally joining the wider governance arrangement. Researchers taking a sociological institutionalist perspective could trace how wider structure and specific summit practice influence each other over time.

USES OF COLLABORATIVE PERFORMANCE SUMMITS IN EMPIRICAL STUDIES FOR MEASURING GOVERNANCE

Use of Collaborative Performance Summits in Different Studies

Collaborative performance summits have existed in practice for a long time, and have similarly been used within research in various guises. Within public administration research, dialogue routines have been described and used under different labels, such as forums, arenas, and courts (Bryson and Crosby, 1993), PerformanceStat meetings (Behn, 2014), performance dialogues (Laihonen and Mäntylä, 2017), public value tables (Douglas et al., 2021), and collaborative performance summits (Douglas and Ansell, 2021). More substantively, they have been used by scholars to examine the creation of public value (Douglas et al., 2020) or the productivity of interagency action (Behn, 2014).

Collaborative performance summits also have deep roots in other disciplines, where they feature as both objects of study and instruments for studying objects. For example, in the literature on urban planning, multiple authors describe how planning agencies use interactive dialogues with partners and citizens to assess their plans and realizations, but scholars also organize dialogue routine sessions themselves to collect assessment of urban projects (Innes and Booher, 2010). Similarly, dual uses of collaborative performance summits can be observed in the literature on crisis management, environmental management, evaluation studies, and healthcare initiatives (see Douglas and Ansell, 2023).

PATTERNS EMERGING FROM APPLICATION OF COLLABORATIVE PERFORMANCE SUMMITS

Complex But Not Random Processes

When Moynihan (2006) described learning forums within organizations, he concluded that they were highly unpredictable. In his view, the links that the actors in the room make between the measures they get and the decisions they make is difficult to reconstruct, hard to follow, and impossible to predict. Empirical studies seem to confirm that this random coupling between data and conclusions also occurs, if not to a larger extent, in interorganizational learning forums.

For example, Douglas and Ansell (2023) report in their observation of 18 summits that the issues which participants indicated before a summit that they wanted to discuss bear little relationship to what issues actors ended up discussing in the end. Similarly, the pre-stated purpose of the summit, be it learning, accountability, or relationship-building, is often observed to morph as the summit date draws closer or even alters during the course of the summit itself (Douglas and Schiffelers, 2021).

These patterns can be seen as evidence for the utter randomness of summit processes, limiting their usefulness to both actors and researchers. However, another perspective would be that especially in governance arrangements – which are about complex interdependencies both in the nature of the societal problems they address and the constellations of actors they involve – considering and reconsidering things may be a necessary and even beneficial part of effective governing (Douglas and Ansell, 2023).

A shift in goals necessitates thinking about what actors are needed or not needed to achieve these new ambitions. And vice versa, bringing new actors onboard will mean that these newcomers will bring their particular priorities to the table. Problems arising at the very operational level – that is, the inability of two partners to share basic case data – may require action or sanction at very strategic levels of governance (Douglas and Ansell, 2023). Effective routines may therefore not distinguish themselves by their ability to slice and dice the data, or arrive at decisions through neat and regimented processes. This would be expected from summits in a very rationalistic, static view on governance, but in a more dynamic view on governance, the ability to simultaneously embrace complexity and still take action might be more appropriate (see Noordegraaf et al., 2019). Similarly, the value to summits of researchers lies not in the absolute clarity they provide about the performance of governance arrangements, but the insight they offer into the strategies for sense-making that actors employ.

COMPETENCES VERSUS CONFIDENCE

It is important for both researchers and actors to understand who speaks up at summits and what motivates their judgements. Based on experiments with individuals, psychologists Dunning and Kruger exposed a remarkable relationship between levels of competence and confidence. Individuals with a very low level of competence (e.g. in their ability to read budgets) were generally more confident of their abilities than people with a more advanced level of training and competence (e.g. people with basic accounting training) (Kruger and Dunning, 1999). Confidence in skills tends to go down as people find out more about the subject matter, and only starts to rise again as people approach expert levels of competence.

The Dunning-Kruger effect means that two types of people are likely to express their views with great confidence during summits: Those with expert-level skills and those with very little skills at all. The ones in the middle, that are becoming aware of how much they do not know yet as their knowledge expands, might be more be hesitant to speak up. Governance arrangements — as opposed to be more straightforward principal-agent constructions — typically emerge around complex societal problems where much is unknown. This would mean that in a typical summit, most people would know little and their confidence actually goes down as they learn more about the topic through a rich discussion.

Douglas and Schiffelers (2021) observed this pattern in action as they noted that low-performing literacy networks tended to take more rash and bold actions than high-performing networks which had meetings with a lot of insights points. This means that many summits might end with the actors leaving more confused and the researcher leaving with little clear insights. However, both actors and researchers should consider whether such despondency is down to the actors actually growing in competence, and vice versa, whether perceived clarity might actually be the product of a lack of real understanding.

A Clash between Representative and Participative Democracy?

The experiences with summits brought to the fore a mismatch, if not open conflict, between participatory, networked democracy and the more traditional, representative democracy routines (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2014; Sørensen and Torfing, 2009). This mismatch is firstly structural in nature. The different actors that would have to come together to review the measures of a governance arrangement do not neatly fit under the purview of any one representative, democratic body. Moreover, there is an ethical nature to this mismatch, as who is invited to the summit does matter, but organizing actors and researchers have little standing when it comes to doing such political work.

However, both the actors and researchers organizing summits can take action to maximize the democratic and ethical nature of the summit process. Firstly, democratic representatives can be actively involved in the routine, merging the participative and representative democratic elements. For example, Douglas et al. (2021) describe how local legislators participated in dialogue routines with doctors, teachers, and parents about healthcare. Secondly, the legislators can take a more active role in setting the parameters for the participative process, actively conducting metagovernance (Sørensen and Torfing, 2009) to make sure the dialogues are inclusive, transparent, well run, and potential decisions made reflect the mandate of the governance arrangement. Thirdly, researchers should actively apply the standards of ethical research (seeking informed consent, ensuring data is not privacy sensitive, etc.), especially when actively participating in the preparation and conduct of the summit.

CONCLUSION: STATUS TODAY AND THE PROSPECTS OF USING SUMMITS IN MEASURING GOVERNANCE

Public, private, and community organizations are increasingly required to work together in complex governance arrangements to address complex societal issues. The actors working

in these arrangements need tools to measure their progress and, above all, routines for jointly making sense of these measures. Similarly, researchers studying complex governance arrangements need tools to make sense of the often contradictory, incomplete data that is available about the functioning of governance arrangements. These tools should not ignore or stifle the dynamic nature of governance arrangements, which emerged in response to the dynamic nature of the societal problems these arrangements have to address. This means that governance arrangements need tools to help actors and researchers make sense of measures and act on them, but that these tools need to be just as dynamic as the governance arrangements they are meant to support.

Considering the state-of-the-art in the development of dialogue routines in the shape of collaborative performance summits, progress has been made in taking lessons from performance measurement and management in organizations. The literature on performance measurement and management found that performance data is frequently not used by decision-makers. This chapter argues that dialogue routines can overcome this deficiency, ensuring that actors jointly understand and use governance measures, and researchers can use these summits to observe governance arrangements while helping them at the same time.

However, this review also signals multiple challenges in the application of collaborative performance summits. A first problem is that different purposes can be at play in the same summit. Effective actors and researchers do not ignore this complexity, but carefully study the institutional context of a meeting and trace the dynamics between learning, accountability, and relationship-building during the summit itself. They do not seek to fully tame all the aspects of the meeting and pin everything down, as the dynamic nature of the discussion is an integral part of the process of sense-making and important to study in itself.

A second problem is that crafting the meeting itself is a highly political activity. Effective actors and researchers recognize that the selection of participants is highly consequential and consciously seek broader democratic support and ethical compliance when approaching actors. Moreover, such actors and researchers recognize that the actual agenda of a summit may change during the summit itself, and that what gets attention and what does not is instructive in itself. Similarly, collating and shaping the information is considered a highly important task, just as reconnecting the summit to its context after the meeting is concluded cannot be a mere afterthought.

On the whole, collaborative performance summits provide actors and researchers with a unique opportunity to work together. Both actors and researchers seek to better understand the quality of governance arrangements; summits provide them both with an instrument for sense-making and for observing that sense-making in action.

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