CONNECTING VALUES TO ACTION

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CONNECTING VALUES TO ACTION: NON-CORPOREAL ACTANTS AND CHOICE

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As I worked on this project over the past couple of years I realised that the impetus for the line of thought may come from something my boss from 1986 to 1996 at The Victoria General Hospital who would say, 'Logic is not a useful tool'. Since logic was my primary tool, this frustrated me *but* over time I began to realise that decisions are rarely made solely on logos. Ethos (character) and pathos (emotions) play a significant and frequently larger role, so thank you to all of the illogical decision makers in our health care system.

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List of Abbreviations

A4	Paper size (210 × 297 millimeters or 8.27 × 11.69 inches)
ADHD	Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder
AH	ANTi-History
ANT	Actor-Network Theory
BCE	Before Common Era
CNBC	Consumer News and Business Channel
CNN	Cable News Network
COO	Chief Operating Officer
CS	Critical Sensemaking Theory
EC	European Council
EU	European Union
$F = ma$	Force equals mass times acceleration (Newton's second law)
FLW	Frank Lloyd Wright
GAAP	Generally Accepted Accounting Principles
GHB	Gamma-hydroxybutyrate
HLM	Hierarchical Linear Modelling
IFAW	International Fund for Animal Welfare
IIM	Indian Institutes of Management
IPO	Initial Public Offering
Ipsos Mori	Formed by Merger of IPSOS and Market & Opinion Research International (IPSOS was formed in Paris from the French Institute of Public Opinion and ISOS (acronym undefined)
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MOH	Management and Organisational History
NCA	Non-Corporeal Actant (sometimes actor)
NIPP	nacionalnih izvora prostornih podataka – Croation Government Research Institute
Orb(sic) for respect to animals	respectforanimals.org an Anti-Fur NGO
PAA or Pan Am	Pan American World Airways
PBS	Public Broadcast System
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
RC	Regional Council

SCADTA	Sociedad Colombo Alemana de Transporte Aereo (an airline)
TNO	Toegepast Natuurwetenschappelijk Onderzoek – Dutch Consulting Research Company
TNS	Taylor Nelson Sofres was the founder of this German market research company
US or U.S.A.	United States of America
VC	Venture Capital (ist)
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Chapter 1

Introduction

Christopher M. Hartt

Often, we are confronted by choices or decisions, which we do not understand. Sometimes we even find ourselves wondering why we made a specific choice. The non-corporeal actant (NCA) theory came from an effort to make sense or meaning of such situations. What ideas, values, concepts and beliefs are acting upon the decision maker to choose their actions?

The first work that produced this theory was a presentation at the Atlantic Schools of Business Conference in 2009, where I attempted to understand why a small regional business academic conference continued to exist despite lack of a formal organisational structure (Hartt, 2009, 2013). The work came from a meta-analysis of other studies on the history of the conference. The conclusion was that while new academics participated in the conference to achieve some legitimacy, experienced academics did not participate because they sought more important publication outlets. But, the concept of legitimacy manifests itself in different forms depending on the person who was considering submitting to the conference.

From an actor-network theory (ANT) perspective, the conference was an actant, but it's perceived legitimacy could not be described as an actant because it had no concrete essence. It is ephemeral. The concept of a new type of actant was needed, an actant without a physical exactitude, a bodiless (or non-corporeal) actant. As the work continued, I realised that such an actant could link the ideas of ANT to those of critical sensemaking (CS) theory (Helms Mills, Thurlow, & Mills, 2010) to understand how networks influenced decisions (Hartt, 2013; Hartt, Mills, Helms Mills, & Corrigan, 2014).

In several publications, this concept was applied to an event in the history of Air Canada; namely, the seemingly odd choice of a lawyer with no business (or airline) experience to be the leader of the company and how that decision is portrayed in histories of the time (late 1960s). The idea of the NCA was explored to understand how narratives are formed. It is argued that an NCA (idea, value, concept or belief) could impact just about any choice made in a social world. Factors, other than the actions of people or things, appear to impact the choices

writers make when they craft their history. (History with a capital 'H' is used to denote published history – see Chapter 12 for more clarity and discussions of the idea of history.) Certain ideas make their way into the writing while others are left out or written out (Cooke, 1999).

Some critics explain these choices as presentism or political agendas. But what if we foreclose this idea of purposeful agendas when writing and attempt to view the history as the product of an actor–network? In Chapter 3, a group of authors from the Halifax School discuss ideas of ANTi-history and challenge its construction. What if we accept the idea that the writer is trying to write an accurate history based on facts and with the sole purpose of reporting the truth? How do we account for alternate versions of the narratives? By locating NCAs of the network in which the author works, we surface the sub-conscious influences leading the author to choose specific narratives over the alternates.

But first, a brief introduction to the NCA so the reader can see where this work is taking them. The NCA is a heuristic for explaining the way that actor-networks persist regardless of the human actors involved. The term 'non-corporeal actant' (NCA) is produced from theoretical developments within ANT (Latour, 2005b, 2010; Law, 2005). This includes recent attempts to historicise ANT through an approach called ANTi-History (Durepos & Mills, 2012b; A. J. Mills & Durepos, 2012). The proposition of the NCA has drawn criticism and complaint, which are discussed in Chapter 13, along with other controversies raised by the presentation of NCA Theory at numerous forums. Generally, the idea is accepted as useful but there are some interesting and challenging discourses provoked by NCAs. Chapter 9 contains a provocative discussion of the conflict among business history practitioners about what is history. Some Business Historians do not like postmodernism and the introduction of social constructionist theories to history: Novicevic and Mills discuss understanding of History as NCAs in the conflict among modern and postmodern historians.

In drawing on ANT we need to be mindful of the advice of leading ANT theorists (Czarniawska & Hernes, 2005; Latour, 2005a; Law, 1992a, 2004a), which is to resist the tendency to construct ANT as a new orthodoxy and to build on the tensions between ANT and other theoretical approaches (Latour, 2005b; Law, 2004b). To quote Law:

> the most creative texts are often those that change and rework its preoccupations and its tools – or which combine them in one way or another with those of other approaches. (Law, 2004a, web page)

With that in mind, this book seeks to situate ideas, values, concepts, and beliefs by exploring the tensions between and among two theoretical perspectives via the NCA. These approaches are:

(1) ANT, which accounts of the development of knowledge by following (human and non-human) actors in networks, but ignores issues of the past and history; and

(2) CS (Helms Mills et al., 2010; A. J. Mills, 2008; A. J. Mills & Helms Mills, 2010), which explores the socio-psychological processes through which organisational knowledge comes into being and the under-exploration of the potential for heterogeneous networks to influence how socio-psychological processes are engaged and enrolled.

The bringing together of these two kinds of literature through the linkage of the NCA is an attempt to make the analysis applying to either more complete. In ANT, the process by which an actor-network produces an action appears to be implied rather than described. In CS, there is a discussion of social influences playing an important role in decision making, but once again the process is concealed. This review reveals how a fusion of insights can provide a new problem-solving technique for explaining a key aspect of knowledge production. That key is the persistence of networked knowledge beyond the presence of many or all the original (human and non-human) actors. As shown, the contribution of this approach will be an explanation of the power of network traces to influence knowledge regardless of the intent and motivation of the extant actor.

It is argued that the insight of the NCA phenomena provides actors with the ability to question seemingly immutable knowledge of given situations, people and events. Chapters 10 and 11 include interrogations of the individual, their existential relationships with themselves. The authors draw upon some unique life experiences, which surface the very micro-aspects of choice that can be applied to the role of individual sensemakers in key positions of large organisations. (As you will see throughout this book, a key position is not necessarily one with high status – it could be the person who decided where to put an icon on a map, as described in Chapter 4).

Enactors, Enactments and Sites of Production

As the first part of the process of interrogating the perspectives, one must examine ANT network research as descriptive or enactive (Law, 2009). ANT research as constituted tends to produce descriptions of networks, which are enactive of processes and which are examined at the point of constitution. This ANT focus leads to a sense of inevitability of the outcomes because of the constitution of the network. In other words, the logic of the process suggests that (a) the network exists, so, (b) the actions of the followed actors are what ultimately constitute the given network. We do not get insights into the multitude of points whereby different actions come to be fused into an enacted network. By its nature, ANT research does not enter the site of decision making, but instead describes the network that enacts. This leaves a gap in the process, namely, an understanding of how an action takes place.

In Chapters 2 and 6, Shelley Price interrogates these questions by integrating her understanding of her Indigenous Heritage with ANT, thereby fusing holism with NCA Theory. Price and her co-authors look at the social as understood from a Labrador Inuit perspective, the decision as practiced by a settler society, and the neo-liberalism of the European Union (EU) as influenced by activist groups.

She shows the irony of those (in this case the EU) who claim to want to support a traditional culture while simultaneously harming that culture.

Relating to Price's work and that of Lawrence Corrigan in Chapter 4, NCA Theory attempts to investigate that step, namely, understanding of the link between enactor and enacted. This relationship was examined early in the development of ANT and is still debated (Latour, 1990; Law, 1992a; Singleton & Michael, 1993); thus, it continues to be asked whether enrolment is a function of individual interest and whether the products of the network are a function of an understanding of those interests (Callon & Law, 1982). These questions are not clearly defined and are open for further enquiry. It is to follow this trail (of the relationship between enactor and enactment) that brings us to CS (Helms Mills et al., 2010).

Networks in the Past and Present

A second layer of problem within ANT is treatment of time and history as either relatively unproblematic or outside the realm of ANT concerns (Latour, 1999). Some ANT scholars appear to view the past as a dimension to be collapsed (Mol, 1998, 2002a). The past is controversial because, arguably, the production of knowledge occurs as a process in the present and not in the past, and is political in nature. The event may be situated in the past, but the manufacturing of the History is influenced by a present political interaction of persons and ideas. The confusion produces its own controversy. Through case study of past events, the shortcomings of ignoring the theoretical problem of the past can be revealed, and it is possible to expose how interpretations of the past serve as powerful NCAs. The reach of these NCAs is much beyond the initial series of enactments that brought certain knowledge into being in the first place.

If a reader is interested in the various controversies of history, many chapters in this book will provoke thought. In Chapter 4, Corrigan describes budget activities where the NCAs of historical romance and historical irony act to create stories through reporting crime on social media, as well as budget documents that re-live (and re-write) the past. This chapter demonstrates that accountants produce not only business analysis and instruments for decisions but also engage in social and political technique. In Chapter 3, Nicholous Deal and his team study the history writing project at Pan American Airways (a favourite topic of the Halifax School). In doing so, they expose issues of socio-politics in the constructing of history from the traces of the past. Milorad Novicevic and Albert Mills in Chapter 9 take on the war between *old* and *new* history and describe the controversies between realism and postmodernism as NCA enrolling and de-enrolling actors from the various actor-networks of management history. History and ANTi-History references will be found in other chapters as well and in the final chapter as controversies are taken on. NCA work is an attempt to locate the ephemeral in action. Luc Peters interrogates the subconscious in Chapter 11 through the idea of the dream as an NCA and how dreams can become clichés, and how these clichés can be revealed through the use of film as art. Dreams may well be a place where values do battle in our sub-conscious.

Among the more esoteric chapters is number twelve where I consider the question of the corporeality of history; this is possibly best read in the context of

Chapter 9 (although the initial drafts were prepared simultaneously). Chapter 11 also speaks to Chapter 12 as I explore the need to entertain as a key NCA in the construction of history. Each of these three chapters attempts to work in the spaces of tension – where understandings compete for leadership. If the reader wants to get a more down to earth discussion of NCAs in action read Chapter 10 and think about how absent friends impact your own choices.

Theoretical Perspectives

As discussed above, the NCA Theory draws on ANT and CS. Each brings different tensions and resolves to the study of the influence of the persistence of networks and their related knowledge production.

Sensemaking and CS

A logical choice to fill the gap between theoretical developments in the understanding of choices and decisions of actors appears to come from the ideas of CS. CS focusses not only on the socio-psychological properties of enactment but also the influence of power through discursive activities and the structural contexts in which choices and decisions are made (Helms Mills, 2003). In Chapter 6, Price examines structures of meaning making, building on CS ideas, as does Anthony R. Yue in Chapter 10 where we can read about the sensemaking of rock climbers and others who challenge their own limits. In Chapter 7, Keshav Krishnamurty interrogates institutional theory with NCA informed ANT. Krishnamurty contends that institutional theory has been stretched beyond its original meaning and falls short of offering a full explanation for the process of institutionalisation. He takes both a historical and critical approach to illuminate the role of meritocracy in the Indian Management Education system and the role of individual human actors and power. Krishnamurty's work also evokes post-colonialism and links us to the chapters by Price and others. Remnants (ghosts and other non-corporeal spectres) persist in most of the actor-networks discussed throughout the book. This link from societal through network to individual is the source of much controversy and confusion. The power of the social in the sensemaking of individuals is an ongoing project to which this book contributes.

CS provides insight into the understanding of decisions and choices by actors. This particularly aids in an understanding of how to reconcile past events with current realities through a focus on seven socio-psychological properties (Weick, 1995). Drawing on Weick's (1995) original work on organisational sensemaking, Helms Mills and colleagues outline the certain properties (viewed as a heuristic rather than *actual properties*) that need to be read against a background of formative contexts (Unger, 2004), organisational rules (A. J. Mills & Murgatroyd, 1991) and dominant discourses (Foucault, 1979). At the socio-psychological level sensemaking can be viewed as:

(1) grounded in identity construction;
(2) retrospective;
(3) enactive of sensible environments;

(4) social;
(5) ongoing;
(6) focussed on and by extracted cues; and
(7) driven by plausibility rather than accuracy.

Through this focus, CS draws on Weick's (1995) socio-psychological approach to attempt to recover a sense of individual responsibility, action and reactivity to organisational events (Nord & Fox, 1996). At the same time, Helms Mills et al. (2010) remind us that individual (as well as collective) decisions are made in contexts that are rarely equal in their decision-making processes (Habermas, 1984). That leads us to the issue of power and context, which serve to provide the critical in CS.

CS is embodied in the argument that individual decision making is rarely made outside of the context of powerful influences that constrain the possibilities not simply of action but interpretation (and translation). The formative context (Unger, 2004) in which an organisation operates, for example, involves a series of interlocking practices and images that influence the thinking of the actors within that specific context. An example is Uber (see Chapter 8) which constructed itself as disruptive, outside mainstream business but over time, as it needed to grow and become legitimate, ideas related to the development of meritocracy that Krishnamurty explored in Chapter 7 came to play. Gretchen Pohlkamp and I explore these NCAs in the context of the #metoo movement and the spawning of the #deleteuber in response to the sexual misdeeds at all levels of Uber. As do Corrigan in Chapter 4 and Price's teams in Chapters 2 and 6, Pohlkamp and I explore current and ongoing decision-making in Chapter 8. As we are temporally proximate to the choices the focus begins with understanding the sensemaking properties of the situation. In keeping with the philosophy of research as dance (Chapter 5), the seven moves are modified in Chapter 8 to offer the possibility of prospection – sensemaking the future. Does ANT offer the ability to prospectively sensemake?

Situating Weick's socio-psychological properties in ANT, each finds an echo in the network processes described in ANT. Indeed, the ANT idea of a network serving as an actant adds a different layer of power and context to the engagement of socio-psychological properties, while simultaneously drawing attention to the sensemaking processes that people bring to bear in such things as becoming enrolled in and enacting networks.

If we return to some of the properties, sensemaking as both ongoing and retrospective (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005) throws some light on the potential of CS to historicise the idea of actor-networks. Thus, to say that sensemaking is retrospective is to argue that the temporal understanding of events is post-event, and as such, the understanding changes as actors look back at an event. This affects our understanding of sensemaking as ongoing because it means that a flow of sense is often maintained through a series of retrospective senses of a situation. This appears to be a relevant discussion in understanding the way events are portrayed and reproduced, and how this portrayal and reproduction change in an ongoing sense (a dance as described in Chapter 5). CS thereby produces a

way in which to examine the power relations and changes relevant to accounts. The remaining gap in the CS account is how chroniclers internalise specific influences. Quite simply, what is the relationship between the power source and the chronicler that generates that particular sensemaking?

According to ANT, the network itself is a source of power, influencing individual actors. Thus, if a sensemaker is viewed as an actor in a network and power exerted by the network, that power could be understood as both an actant (causing change in the action) and a discourse (among actors). The network serves as a powerful influence on the sensemaking of the actor and adds a new layer to the power dimensions inherent in sensemaking. The way the individual (sensemaker) is influenced is enforced by the ongoing power of the NCAs (ideas, values, concepts and beliefs) he/she accepts through enrolment in the network.

While the influence of the network appears to persist even when all original actors are dead, there is a gap between the understanding of how this influence happens and the persistence of ideas, values, concepts and beliefs, and even disputed accounts. In many cases, the network also persists beyond the participation of any of the original actors or actants. According to ANT these phenomena allow networks to grow and contract, and members to enrol and de-enrol; however, ANT does not provide for explanations of these actions over long periods of time or the persistence of accounts surrounding the network.

ANT and ANTi-History

ANTi-History is a conceptualisation that brings together concepts from ANT and historiography (Durepos & Mills, 2012b; A. J. Mills & Durepos, 2010), centring its focus on the production of history (or knowledge of the past) as situated in the interactions of a network of actors (human) and actants (objects) to produce a result (the chronicle of events). The story of supposed actual events in history, then, will be different according to, and acting through, the actors and actants (e.g., methods of communication) involved.

In Chapter 9, the reader can explore how ANTi-History stands in contrast to positivist and more critical realist approaches to history that often present a given past situation as ultimately rooted in ontologically real discoverable events (Durepos & Mills, 2012a; Durepos, Mills, & Weatherbee, 2012). Following White (1973), ANTi-History views history as invented rather than discovered. Thus, it does not assume that a single history exists (however complex) but rather the potential for multiple histories or alternate narratives. ANTi-History responds to the criticisms of ANT as an ahistoric form; in this book, a post-ANT approach, which assumes the acceptance of the ideas of ANTi-History, is followed. The ANT concepts included in the methodology incorporate ANTi-History perspectives as a means of surfacing possible narratives.

These alternate narratives provide insight into similar events from varying discourses, theoretical frameworks, marginal voices, etc. Each outcome, it is argued (Durepos & Mills, 2012b), is determined through a lens of perceptions of outcomes, and is the product of chroniclers, or varying groups of chroniclers, and the theoretical tools of each, which become aligned with one side or another through

the interaction of certain actors. Through this process or network activities, histories of an event can exist at the same time from the perspectives of multiple networks, allowing for a diversity of views of any event. These chronicles or histories can exert a powerful influence beyond the actors and actants that went into the making of a particular account.

Towards the Idea of the NCA: Fusions of ANT and CS

Through sensemaking, one event may result in many differing accounts. Yet why is it that the sensemaking of a single account is valid to one chronicler and not another? What sense factors cause these differing chronicles (or historical accounts of the past)?

To examine the idea of this relationship within the context of historiography, this book argues for an expansion of an understanding of ongoing sensemaking in CS to include prospective sensemaking (Helms Mills, 2003). Just as sense is made of the past by recasting events in terms of current understandings and priorities, the future is forecast based on current contexts. This is explored using social media analysis in Chapter 8, as well as through dreams for future generations in Chapters 2 and 6. Contingent in this forecast is the expected reaction of actors or groups and networks in which they are enrolled (Law, 1994, 2004a).

Through the combined discourses of ANT and CS gaps may be answered: CS provides an understanding of choices made by individuals, but not the sources of power as internalised by individuals, whereas ANT describes a network as controlling action without plausible explanation of how group ideas are internalised by individual actors who seem to make meaning retrospectively from the performance via storytelling. I postulated that this internalisation is generated through an individual's relationship with discourse surrounding an NCA: idea, concept, value or belief (and their interactions). Actors interact with NCAs as if they were other actors in a dyadic relationship.

The NCA and Its Discursive Role

When evoking ANT, the scholar seeks to identify the actors and actants that produce effects. Groups of actors may be punctualised into an actant in a further network. This process of expression of a group as a monolithic actant is simplistic and omits the pluralism within that network; however, it may be acceptable for the limited actions of the actant within a specific third space. Each member of the punctualised actant may conform to the shared consciousness (a collection of NCAs) within a narrow issue. The enrolment within the actant may enforce other conformity in other networks.

This group actant may become punctualised through many processes, but two are arguably most influential. The first is by agreement with the enrolled and disagreement with the others (network *we* oppose). Each member of the actant may agree with the position on the specific issue within the larger network. An adhocracy may become a punctualised actant when those participants individually and jointly express the same opinion on an issue. This actant may break down when

confronted with other issues. Such is the nature of ad hoc networks: actors enrol and de-enrol as an ongoing process of the network.

The second, and more durable process by which such actants are punctualised, is through legitimacy, as Krishnamurty implicitly explores in Chapter 7. Punctualised actants may begin as adhocracies and stabilise as legitimacies. Once an actant has achieved the status of legitimacy, the process of enrolment becomes selective. Selection is controlled by the members; however, the span of influence extends to those who aspire to membership. By evoking aspiration, the legitimacy acquires power. It is this power that influences sensemaking. By becoming a network to which non-members wish to join, an actant enjoins an attraction to isomorph towards its membership. This could be likened to high school students who dress like the cool kids in hopes of being asked to their events. Non-members morph towards the beliefs and values of the members.

This power of the network is a strong influence in the internal processes of sensemaking. Both prospective and retrospective sensemaking rely on the concept of the legitimate choice. The legitimate choice is influenced by the choices made by others; others whom we respect. Earlier in the discussion of CS, we discovered how the power aspect of the process expands sensemaking to discover the relationships among contextual factors of structure and discourse. Making sense in networks explores the process of power and how the power of a network punctualises and influences sensemaking.

Individuals make sense in a contemporaneous proximate level; the concept of organisational power places the local level in a societal and organisational milieu of rules and privilege. The network creates legitimacy of ideas, concepts and constructs. Those ephemeral players become actants in the network (Hartt, 2009). It is through the legitimacy of these NCAs that the sensemaker experiences the power of the network.

An actor enrolled in a network accepts the ideas of that network in order to maintain enrolment. The most evident form of this observation would be in political organisations. The choice to join a political movement is somewhat voluntary. For many it is completely voluntary; however, in the plurality of experience, there are those whose enrolment is prompted by historical or familial connections to the network. Regardless, once enrolled, those actors in a political network are unlikely to de-enrol. The durability of the network gives life to concepts and ideas seen as core to the network. In a conservative network, the ideas of tax cuts and small government are given life as actants within the network with as much (or more) power than individual actors or punctualised group actants. In a social democratic network, the ideas of union density and workers' rights fulfil a similar role.

Enrolled actors in these networks accept these NCAs as powerful drivers of the actions of the network. In the sensemaking of the individual, these ephemeral concepts have as much power as their own thought processes. The NCA of tax reform (cuts) can be seen to influence the political processes of the United States in the 2000s even in the face of rising deficits and economic growth. A clearer view of the situation might well have resulted in tax increases to reduce the deficits and improve the long-term fiscal position of the government. However, the

power of this NCA influenced the sensemaking of most members of the network to continue the tax-cutting trend of the 1990s and eventually produce a structural deficit of significant proportion.

The nature of these actants in the network is like the role of leadership in organisations. The power of transformational leaders comes from their ability to enrol (engage) members of their organisation in their vision. As such, these leaders become the face of the punctualised network. Their speech becomes the legitimate view of the network and thus is reproduced in the actions of the individual members of the network.

In a more local sense, individuals make decisions, choices and act unconsciously as a result of the influence of those networks in which they are enrolled and those which they would like to join. In Weick's study of the Mann Gulch incident, the firefighters acted as a result of their training (Weick, 1993). In Chapter 2, the way in which the Inuit of Labrador, Canada, make meaning of their choices is discussed from the perspective of the holistic social (Labrador and, in particular, an Inuit way of life in Labrador). Nothing exists without all other things. This is contrasted with the extractive industries, which see the mining of rock or harvesting of hydro power as separate from the existence of the people. The attraction of financial riches has power over the governmental actors; however, wealth is much less important to the Great-Grandmother than is the land, flora, fauna, water and sky. The people might rather live in subsistence than harm the place. The holistic social is plausibly more important than the individual.

These extreme examples of the power of ideas – ideas legitimised by the network – provide ample support for the ability of ideas punctualised by a network to exert power in a sensemaking situation. These ideas must be considered as actants in a network because of their role in the persistence of the network. Members of the network die, retire, move away or otherwise de-enrol, yet the network persists.

It is these persistent NCAs, which provide the glue that concretises the durable network. New members enrol in response to leadership, affiliation ideals or attraction to the ideas and philosophy of the network. New members adopt the mantras of the network and reinforce the punctulisation of the ideas. In some cases, these NCAs are inscribed and become actants as inscriptions in the ANT model but many remain unwritten, sometimes unspoken but always understood by those in the network. The embodiment as inscription is unnecessary in the persistence of the network and the role of these actants.

Perhaps one would argue that these NCAs are important in the sensemaking of monumental decisions but are lost in the day-to-day actions of prospective or retrospective sensemaking. Retrospective sensemaking is making sense of the past; prospective sensemaking is an attempt to make sense for the future (Gioia & Mehra, 1996). The prospective sense is the imagination of a desired future state. We conceptualise the future; within a network, the construction usually enjoins a future where the sensemaker is playing an equal or more significant role in the network. Alignment with the NCAs is essential to this future.

Actions taken, decisions or choices made within this framework will by their very nature be consistent with the past values of the network. The power of the

NCA in the sensemaking process is supreme. In the 'ready, fire, aim' model of decision making, the initial firing will be governed by the socially constructed priorities of the network. Subsequent aiming will be guided by retrospective sense of earlier failure in the context of a reframing of the interpretation of the NCAs.

The vision of retrospective sensemaking described by Weick involves the bracketing and labelling partitioned experiences. These brackets can then be reordered into a sense of the experience. Meanings are imposed on the equivocal data by overlaying past interpretations as templates to the current experience (Choo, 2002). In the networked model of sensemaking, the meanings are constructed by the shared past experiences and beliefs of the network. In this way, individuals need not apply their own experience or belief but may apply the NCA from their network which provides guidance. Unlike a child who may need to touch the stove to know it is hot, a member of the network shares the memory of some long-gone member who touched the stove.

In the prospection, the actor employs the knowledge of the network, the values and beliefs to which she has enrolled in her choices or inactions. In the process of memory, the actor is influenced by the prospective view she held going into the decision. This interaction between the prospection and retrospection is expressed in the memory of the event. A common saying is that there is my story, your story and the truth, and that the truth lies somewhere in between the first two. The expression of a 'truth' in a history of an organisation reflects this process. The truth, which becomes inscribed is a mobilisation of a network – the network that enabled the inscription as described in Chapter 3.

To influence in absence of physical participation in the inscription, the network must persist beyond its connection in some form within the inscriber. In this manner, the network extends inside the individual via NCAs. A person becomes hybridised to the network in the cyborg of the history (Haraway, 1991). The network extends into them as they extend into the inscription. As authors, we recognise our work as a piece of ourselves and, in doing so, we must be sufficiently reflexive as to see our beliefs, values, concepts and ideas in the work.

There have been many discussions of the persistence of networks and ideas within networks. As popularised by The Police, there is a 'Ghost in the Machine' (Police & Padgham, 1981), the concept of a de-enrolled person and the stories about them become a form of actant in the network (MacAulay, Yue, & Thurlow, 2010). The choice of the Ghost in the Machine as a metaphor for these actants is an interesting interrogation of the relationship between the individual and her surroundings. Ryle originally proposed the 'Ghost' as a relationship between the mind and body of an individual (Ryle, 1949/2002). As such, the extension of this ghost beyond the machine of the individual and into the machine of the network echoes the notion of cyborg (Haraway, 1991). MacAulay et al. use a more literal notion of ghost as the spectre of members past and the persistence of their ideas. Their ghost plays a role in stories to support the discourses enrolled by the leadership to fully integrate the discourses they represent into the network.

There are many ways by which individuals are socialised into a workplace and re-socialised to the revised network. As discussed, the identity of the individual is crucial to the engagement of sensemaking. To influence the individual

and change the outcomes of their sensemaking activity, the powerful in a network must change the identity of the individual sensemakers. Identity is formed through acceptance of discourse, as well as group membership and affiliation. It has been shown that affiliation contributes to acceptance of discourse by virtue of that discourse being accepted as an actant in the network. Stories are a means by which organisations enact identity change. These stories support enrolment of the new idea (NCA) as a powerful player in the network and aid in the understanding of the NCA by virtue of the intra-network interaction of stories, impressions and inscriptions, which produce the discourse in the specific form that is an actant in the specific network.

These actants are the product of discourses and are both NCAs and discourses in the interessement of the network. They differ from contextual discourses in two important ways. A discourse may exist in the context of the network without playing a significant role in the network. Once that discourse becomes enrolled in the network it becomes an NCA. Within the network, the discourse is refined by its interaction with other actants and actors of the network and the resultant NCA is specific to the network while resembling a contextual discourse.

For example, a workplace may evolve in a context of employee empowerment. That workplace makes a choice to accept or reject the discourse of employee empowerment. If the discourse is accepted, inscriptions (e.g. policy statements and codes of conduct) are likely prepared to explain the form of empowerment to be applied. The discourse is enrolled both as an NCA (a value influencing sensemaking) and through inscriptions, stories, praxis and myths, the tools of socialisation. The interaction between (among) this new actant and the previously enrolled actors and actants in the network (workplace) will modify the discourse in such a way that employee empowerment has a unique meaning in the network and that meaning is accepted by each individual employee in the sensemaking of everyday choices in manner divergent from any other workplace. We could relate this idea to that of the third man as described by Yue in Chapter 10 – the ideas enrolled speak to the sensemaker through the disembodied presence of an idealised other. In this way, the NCA is distinct from the formative discourse and through its enrolment in the network influences (has power over) sensemaking at the individual level.

Actors sensemake. This sets them apart from actants in a network. An actant can change, enable, inhibit or otherwise influence the enactment of sensemaking by a sentient actor, but cannot consider and choose; therefore, the roles of actors and actants are distinct. In the language of organisations, actants are personalised and given authority; they are described as if they had animate qualities. In this personalisation, actors concretise these actants and reify the power of the non-human. By observing this behaviour, we surface the phenomena of NCAs.

In the interessement of understanding of these NCAs, the actors negotiate their form of the discourse – the form accepted in the network. Once enrolled, NCAs are persistent. These actants influence all future activities of the network. As they become reified through inscription, actors may attempt to de-enrol the actant by excising the inscription from the records of the organisation. In the manner of repeal of laws or policies, previously accepted discourses are removed

from the formal network. These actants do not leave easily and may never be completely de-enrolled.

To describe these phenomena by example appears to be the most transparent means by which to surface the concept. In Chapter 6, the Inuit seal hunt is discussed and relates those who oppose it to the traditions of the Inuit. Various groups, such as the International Fund for Animal Welfare, claim that their goal is to eliminate inhumane harvesting of seals. They write position papers and other lobbying documents claiming the position that a humane hunt is acceptable, but that the ongoing practice is inhumane. Those inscriptions became actants in the network. Stories, myths, unwritten rules and praxis spring up around the inscriptions to give fuller meaning to the locally produced discourse (Garfinkel, 1988). The Canadian government regulates the industry to what appears to meet the demands of the actor-network that opposes inhumane sealing practices. Yet groups, such as Greenpeace, continue to use 40+-year-old images to enrol Hollywood actors to oppose the regulated hunt. New regulations are passed; traditional practices that have been shown to be more humane are replaced by the less humane use of guns. New documents are created permitting traditional hunts by the Inuit regardless of the economic reality of the past 400 years during which Northerners survived on the sale of seal pelts to the fur industry. But there is no market for the pelts. The NCAs produced by the discourses of cruelty in the context of the strength of leadership, past and present, continue well beyond the de-enrolment of any physical (corporeal) actants (inscriptions). In Ryle's idea of the ghost as a connection between mind and body, these ghosts persist as connections between identity as the controller of action and discourse as a source of identity. The tendrils of these discourses extend from the individual's identity into the network of actors and actants (corporeal or otherwise).

In the manner of a cyborg, individuals interact with actants in a network. The NCAs become a part of the human actors. The location of this connection is in the development of identity. The NCA becomes a part of the identity of the actor. As part of the identity, the NCA exerts control over sensemaking activities.

The process of change could be described in the terms of this form of ANT as a process of enrolling new NCAs and/or de-enrolling extant NCAs. The individual identity of actors in the network includes the influence of these past actants. As sensemakers, the individuals may attempt to reconcile the new actant with the old. In that attempt, they may resolve in favour of the old and become a resistor or enrol with the new in the reformed network. The ability for leadership to influence this process may dictate the success of change. In the common vernacular, this choice is called 'buy in'. If actors 'buy in', they resolve the interessement in favour of the enrolment of the new actant; however, the discourse as actant is negotiated.

The source of power in human relations is those same human relations. Most modern understandings of power are built upon the work of Niccolo Machiavelli. Perhaps ironically, Machiavelli has become an NCA; his words of advice intended to demonstrate his worth to a potential employer have created an NCA named for him connoting mostly negative aspects of power from what he seems to have proposed as practical advice for the rulers of his time. In *The Prince*,

Machiavelli locates several sources of power for the ruler, but each leads back to the ruler's subjects; the Prince is the figurehead of a network. Even a weak ruler can maintain power if he or she protects and provides for the common folk (Machiavelli, 2004). Continued enrolment in the network supporting the Prince is contingent upon the leader's fulfilment of the needs of the actors; otherwise the common folk will revolt and support a new ruler. Some of these needs are expressed in the network as actants but many are through discourse and therefore become non-corporeal. For example, in Machiavelli's time, safety could not be described as an absolute but relational. The relational definition would therefore have been an idea desired by actors; this idea became an actant in the network.

Machiavelli further describes the need to accept the persistence of these actants. His analysis is not direct but conclusive. A Prince who conquers a new territory needs to enact change. The NCAs of the past, which do not fit with the new ruler's programme, must be eliminated and replaced with those that work in other areas ruled by the Prince. Resistance is a likely result of the effort to purge actants (and actors), which held important positions in the previous network. Machiavelli recommends the instalment of a proxy ruler who is charged with the responsibility to eliminate (kill) any actors who might later present problems for the Prince and establish the values, beliefs and principals (NCAs) of the Prince as superior to the culture of past ruler. Machiavelli then recommends that the Prince orders the beheading of the proxy ruler in order to distance himself from the cruelty of the past (Machiavelli, 2004, pp. 32–33). Those who maintained the old actants have been removed, the new actants have been established and the stigma of the change process has been laid at the grave of another.

The importance of these actants as a source of power and as a barrier to power has long been established. The importance of power over the actants to control the network is a feature (although implicitly) in most works on organising and change. In the contemporary sociology of management, pseudo-democratic forms of organisation have surfaced the need to understand the relationships among actors and actants in the application of power and decision making. In some markets, there is an ability to behead (fire, de-hire) those who resist the implementation of new NCAs in the organisational network, but job mobility and the competition for competent workers have pushed the leadership model towards a support-building model. To be a leader, a person must represent the NCAs espoused by the network. To produce change, a leader must be able to enrol new NCAs and de-enrol the less desirable NCAs.

We have examined how NCAs are enrolled or de-enrolled in the network as a result of their development in the context, either formative or reformative (change). This extends the nature of context from formative (Unger, 1987, 2004) to also reflect the role of context in the ongoing sensemaking of a changing organisation. The organisation evolves, not in the sense of progress but in the sense of gradual change. In some contexts, these changes may be dialectic in a relationship of evolution and de-evolution; however, if we adopt an amodern perspective, these two constructs cannot be differentiated. From this we view Weick's seven social psychological properties of sensemaking as subject to change but not subject to progress (Weick, 1995).

In describing the unexpected, Weick and Sutcliffe (2007) discuss the process by which one retrospectively develops a narrative of events (Weick & Sutcliffe, 2007). This process begins almost immediately after the events when the individual begins to process the experience in terms of their expectations. Expectations are the basis upon which decisions become the prospective sensemaking of choice. Events rarely match precisely with expectations but in the retrospective processing of the information, the expectations are preserved as accurate in the sensemaking of the events and outcomes. Individuals introduce new complications, networks and fortune as actors/actants in the retrospection of events and the prospection of choice.

CS is grounded in identity construction. Networks play a significant role in our production of identity. When asked to describe themselves, most people will begin by describing some groups to which they belong. This belonging describes an enrolment in a network. We are enrolled in some networks prior to birth and others through norms or choices of our parents or ancestors. A race, gender or ethnic background pre-exists our birth and de-enrolment from that network is extremely difficult. However, commitment to that network is a function of allegiance with the NCAs espoused by the network and therefore may be strong or weak or any level along that continuum. Other birth-accident-related networks such as church, locale or even political party may be de-enrolled from in a simpler form. These networks are more likely to reflect our individual identity. The groups we chose to join – workplace, social groups, friends, action groups, etc.– reflect both the proximity of persons and opportunities and our beliefs and values.

When we find ourselves belonging to a network by proximity or other accidental designation, and the network includes NCAs, which we do not accept, we experience cognitive dissonance; we could relate the experience to the concept of 'bad faith' from existential philosophy (Sartre, 1938 (1959)). Our identity conflicts with our beliefs and therefore we are in bad faith with ourselves. Some chose to live within this nausea, others vacate the proximate network and many resolve the conflict by accepting the NCAs in the negotiation of continued interessement. The NCA is more easily understood in the retrospection of chosen enrolment.

Actors shape their networks. Every participant brings their values, beliefs, exposures and experiences to the network. Physical actants in the network limit the nature of interaction and facilitate the sharing of values. When discourses exist in the context of the network, those discourses become shared and evaluated in the terms of the productive choices of the network. When those discourses are valued by the networks, they become actants in the network and therefore can influence the actors in the network. When one is enrolled in a network, one's identity is invested in the ties of the network. In the same way that each member of an organisation that chooses a brand of computer or phone (corporeal actant) becomes invested in that brand, each individual in a network becomes invested in the ideas, values, concepts and beliefs of the network (NCAs). The discourse negotiated in the enrolment of the NCA becomes a feature of the identity of each individual and therefore informs their sensemaking, prospective in decision making and retrospective in the negotiation of the narrative, which will form the

history of the event. In the description of the exploitation of the individual constituent of CS, we can view the definition of identity through the processes of networking and enrolment with NCAs as central to way the dominant discourses of the network act to influence the sensemaking of each individual.

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