

**A Scoping Report: Supporting Sustainability-Policy Uptake
across Council Activities**

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Summary

Project and Client

Landcare Research looked at how Christchurch City Council (Council) can support the uptake and implementation of whole-of-council policies (policy frameworks) across all council activities, in July 2007.

Objectives

- Outline a process for developing an evaluation programme with indicators that could track and refine the uptake of policy frameworks across Council activities.
- Pull together information on the elements that comprise a community of practice, and how those elements could be developed within Council.

Methods

- To undertake this project we brought together a number of models for planning and evaluating complex policy making frameworks, and highlighted how communities of practice can build bridges across traditional work areas to support cross-theme approaches.
- We had discussions around these topics with the following Council staff: Alan Bywater, Adair Bruorton, Tony Moore, Carolyn Ingles, Jane Cartwright, Karen Rickerby, Mathew Pratt and Mike Theelen.

Main Findings

Evaluating policy framework uptake

Because governance organisations are highly dynamic and often contain many people and a rich diversity of competing human activities, any cross-theme policy framework that adds to the complexity must be capable of supporting institutional learning and adaptation in response to new challenges and opportunities. Evaluation programmes that help improve implementation of these policy frameworks need to take account of the following:

- Importance of measuring progress of task *and* process in collaborative initiatives
- Requirement of participatory approaches to gain the buy-in and relationship-building needed for such collaborative initiatives
- Need for indicators to reflect the different reasons that groups participating in a collaborative initiative have for being there
- Need for frameworks to help us see and evaluate over time (because we are seeking to evaluate changing institutional cultures and practices, which takes time). Useful frameworks include the policy cycle model, the logic model and the orders of outcomes model.

The policy cycle model acknowledges that successful programmes advance and change through successive cycles of planning, implementation and reassessment. Successive policy cycles will address an expanding agenda of issues and/or a larger geographic area. The key is to start small, and learn the way to expand the programme over time.

A logic model can assist managers and stakeholders to plan for results by envisioning a ‘big picture’ view of a project's scope of work and potential significance to varied target systems.

An Orders of Outcomes model groups together the sequences of institutional, behavioural and social/environmental changes that can lead to more sustainable forms of urban development.

Collectively use of the evaluation models contributes towards a holistic cross-theme view of policy framework development and design and as a tool for identifying indicators to help assess and improve ongoing initiatives.

Communities of practice

Communities of practice could support policy framework implementation through each of three specific areas Council sees as important for adoption: creating awareness, advocating and collaboration with external stakeholders, and delivering appropriate activities to support policy goals. The following points highlight benefits, and how communities of practice could be supported. Communities of practice:

- Are already present in Council, supporting many existing mainstream areas of practice. It is important that these are fostered to support practitioners in newly emerging policy areas, i.e. sustainability, disability, ageing
- Support policy framework areas by building the required social capital, collaboration, job satisfaction and motivation among staff working in the area
- Require internal leadership covering the following roles:
 - Inspiration and motivation
 - Interpersonal and external networking
 - Knowledge capture and institutional linkages

Council management can support these communities of practice in several ways, dependent on the particular community in question. Supporting activities include:

- Legitimising staff participation, and incentives to encourage wide participation
- Managing workloads for staff participating
- Allowing for flexibility by acknowledging the self-organising nature of communities of practice
- Focusing on the value gained by members through their participation in the community of practice (bearing in mind that outcomes are delivered through improved practice 'back' in their individual work areas)
- Providing for a core group of engaged people to fulfil the main leadership roles outlined, while encouraging other levels of participation in the wider community
- Providing appropriate technologies and environments for easy participation

Recommendations

Evaluating policy framework uptake

- Use a participatory approach to develop an implementation and evaluation framework, including indicator development, for each policy framework area. A mix of methods should be used including one-on-one working sessions, interviews and workshops. The use of evaluation models such as those described here can be used to structure this process.

Communities of practice

- Identify communities of practice that exist in policy framework areas, and assess what stage they are at.
- Implement a pilot programme to support and build at least two of these communities of practice in the first year. Thought should be given to which communities are likely to be most tractable to build in the first instance.

1. Introduction

Landcare Research looked at how Christchurch City Council can support the uptake and implementation of whole-of-council policies (policy frameworks) across all council activities, in July 2007.

The Christchurch City Council wants to ensure that its whole-of-council policies (referred to as ‘policy frameworks’) are picked up and implemented effectively throughout its decision-making processes, operational activities and service delivery. These policy frameworks cover issues such as sustainability, ageing, disability, youth, and Māori contribution to decision making. This report looks first at how Council can assess its progress in introducing these policy frameworks, and second at how ‘communities of practice’ in these areas can be supported as a bottom-up approach, to add to more traditional top-down activities (e.g. policy statements, training) designed to increase the uptake and integration of policy frameworks.

2. Background

Part of the current work programme of the Council’s Strategy and Planning Group is to develop policy frameworks. The need for these was identified in 2005 as part of the Council’s strategy map that steers strategic and policy development and supports the Long Term Council Community Plan (LTCCP). These policy frameworks are intended as statements of the Council’s position on strategic areas, noting matters for attention that need to be enacted across all Council strategies and day-to-day service delivery.

These policy frameworks will cover issues such as sustainability, ageing together, resiliency, people with disability, young people, and children and families. The first of these policy frameworks, Ageing Together, has just been developed. Its release highlights the need for effective processes to ensure that this and similar overarching policies are able to be effectively integrated across all units of Council operation.

Council thinking around the implementation of policy in the cross-cutting areas that the policy frameworks embrace has highlighted three outcomes that need to occur:

- Raised awareness within the organisation and across different Council units so the intent of policy frameworks is integrated into their day-to-day work.
- Commitment of Council and staff to advocate and collaborate with relevant stakeholders and external agencies.
- Identification of specific actions to be taken by appropriate units that aligns with and delivers on a policy’s goals.

However, Council are also aware that getting policy work to apply across the breadth of their multi-faceted activities is challenging. These framework areas are important strategic areas for attention, but staff note that the harder task is to integrate them across their policy and operational lines, i.e. water, waste, transport, urban form, community development. Council

staff have identified the challenges to achieving this sort of integration. Their work matches that of other reviewers in this field internationally who point to problems such as:

- ‘Siloed’ structure and culture
- Challenges of gaining ownership and buy-in
- Difficulties in sustaining momentum in these new areas
- Sustaining the cross-theme area even in times of high staff turnover, and in the face of restructuring, etc.

Council staff have identified a number of traditional areas to help progress the implementation of cross-theme policies. These include activities to raise staff awareness, and training programmes to support the development of new skills for relevant Council staff. Further it has been noted that there are opportunities through the PESA (Performance Excellence Study Award) programme, which supports Council organisational processes. There are clear opportunities to integrate cross-theme activities in work streams such as improved performance measures, recognition and rewards, and clear line of site. At the introductory meeting that led to this report, it was also identified that communities of practice provided an additional bottom-up approach with which to strengthen the implementation of cross-theme policies.

3. Objectives

- Outline a process for developing an evaluation programme with indicators that could track and refine the uptake of policy frameworks across Council activities.
- Pull together information on the elements that comprise a community of practice, and how they could be developed within Council.

4. Methods

- To undertake this project we brought together a number of models for planning and evaluating complex policy-making frameworks and highlighted how communities of practice can build bridges across traditional work areas to support cross-theme approaches. We had discussions around these topics with the following Council staff: Alan Bywater, Adair Bruorton, Tony Moore, Carolyn Ingles, Jane Cartwright, Karen Rickerby, Mathew Pratt and Mike Theelen.

5. Evaluating Policy Framework Uptake

The essence of contemporary urban governance is that it involves integration of traditional areas (e.g. water, transport, economic development, infrastructure) as well as consideration of cross-theme areas (sustainability, disability, youth, etc.), providing a holistic view of the city as an interconnected system. This sort of integrated management needs to be carried out in a

strategic manner that tailors the generally applicable principles of good practice to the culture and needs of a specific place. Because governance organisations are highly dynamic any cross-theme policy framework that adds to the complexity must be capable of supporting institutional learning and adaptation in response to new challenges and new opportunities.

5.1 Benefits of participation in planning and evaluation

Much of the challenge of implementing integrated management within local government lies in promoting change in the behaviour of the different user-groups and departments. One of the defining characteristics of effective integrated approaches is their emphasis on participation. This is based on the reality that few of the changes in behaviour required to implement cross-cutting practices can be imposed by order or regulation. Both individuals and individual work areas are more likely to comply with a management programme when they feel that it responds to their needs and worldview, and is consistent with their values. The emphasis upon participation recognises that those people whose collaboration and support is needed for successful implementation of a collaborative programme should be involved in the processes of defining the issues being addressed and selecting the means by which those objectives will be achieved. It is therefore assumed that the Council is open to a style of governance that involves the people of the place in the planning and decision-making process.

Effective collaborative initiatives are the ones that pay attention to both the *task* and the *process*, and are able to meet the needs that the different participants have in both areas. In this regard, the task can be defined as what those involved have to do (e.g. reduce pest numbers). The process is concerned with how people and groups work together and maintain relationships. Experience shows that people often neglect process issues, in order to concentrate on their task. Task and process are therefore linked and mutually dependent; when split they will both suffer. It is thus considered important to measure the progress of both within collaborative frameworks.

To do this we need to look to evaluation frameworks that help us be aware of and learn from processes that are as much social as technical. Because they need to be responsive to changing institutional cultures and practices, these frameworks need to help us see and evaluate over an appropriate timescale.

5.2 Using evaluation models

This report offers three related and robust models for planning and assessing progress over the extended time periods involved.

- The Policy Cycle model, which acknowledges that successful programmes advance and change through successive policy cycles of planning, implementation and reassessment
- The Logic model, which can assist management and stakeholders to plan for results by envisioning a ‘big picture’ view of a project's scope of work and potential significance to varied target systems
- The Orders of Outcomes model, which groups together the sequences of institutional, behavioural and social/environmental changes that can lead to more sustainable forms of urban development

Taken together, the three models allow managers to visualise both the cyclical nature of adaptive management of a collaborative initiative, and the stepwise nature of progressive outcomes of the initiative over time. They provide a means for arranging practice and culture change initiatives into groupings that highlight the pre-existing governance experience and capacity, the scale and scope of efforts, and the outcomes that are desired. In this way they combine to guide programme and project design, and to act as a tool for identifying indicators to help assess and improve ongoing initiatives.

5.3 Policy cycle model

The policy or management cycle places the many actions of policy making, implementation, and evaluation into a sequence and stresses the interconnections and interdependencies between different groups of activities (Fig. 1). It reminds us that policy making is a learning process; that it is carried on and adapted over time. The emphasis on sequence does not imply a blueprint that can be imposed on any situation, but, rather, outlines good practice that encourages thinking through the realities of practice and culture change. The concept of the policy cycle highlights that sustained advances will be achieved through a sequence of connected efforts, not by the construction of a silver-bullet operation that once in place will transform unsustainable practices into sustainable development.

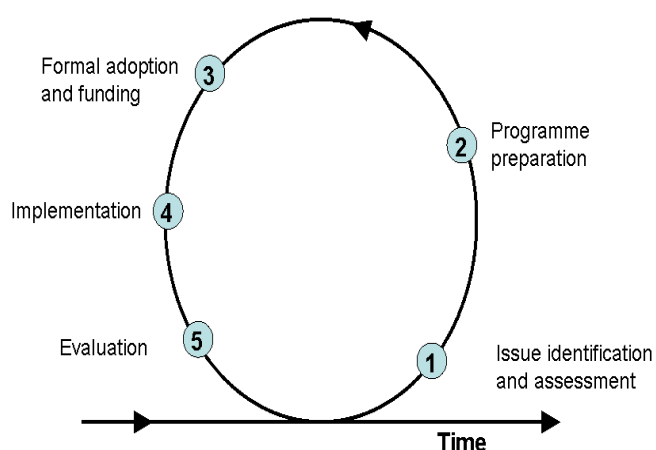


Fig. 1 A policy or management cycle.

There are many variations in how the policy cycle model can be adapted to the introduction of an integrated policy framework, but the central idea of a multiple-step cycle of planning–commitment–implementation–evaluation remains constant. It visualises a sequence of interconnected completions of a stepwise cycle, where each cycle can be thought of as a ‘generation’ of a programme. Successive generations of such a programme address an expanding agenda of issues and/or a larger geographic or institutional, area. The key is to start small and learn the way to expand the programme over time.

5.4 Logic model for developing and evaluating complex programmes

The starting point for introducing challenging programmes that cut across many work groups and departments is to find ways to articulate and guide planned project activities, especially those intended to produce dissemination and utilisation outcomes. Many managers do not have the tools to easily set out, document, and communicate complex programme goals, activity strategies, and intended outcomes. Logic models can assist these goals by encouraging project staff to plan for results by envisioning a ‘big picture’ view of a project's scope of work and potential significance to various target systems.

Logic models are narrative or graphical depictions of processes in real life that communicate the underlying assumptions upon which an activity is expected to lead to a specific result. They illustrate a sequence of cause-and-effect relationships, i.e. a systems approach to communicate the path toward a desired result. The model describes logical linkages among programme resources, activities, outputs, and audiences, and highlights different orders of outcomes related to a specific problem or situation. Importantly, once a programme has been described in terms of the logic model, critical measures of performance can be identified. In this way logic models can be seen to support both planning and evaluation (Fig. 2).

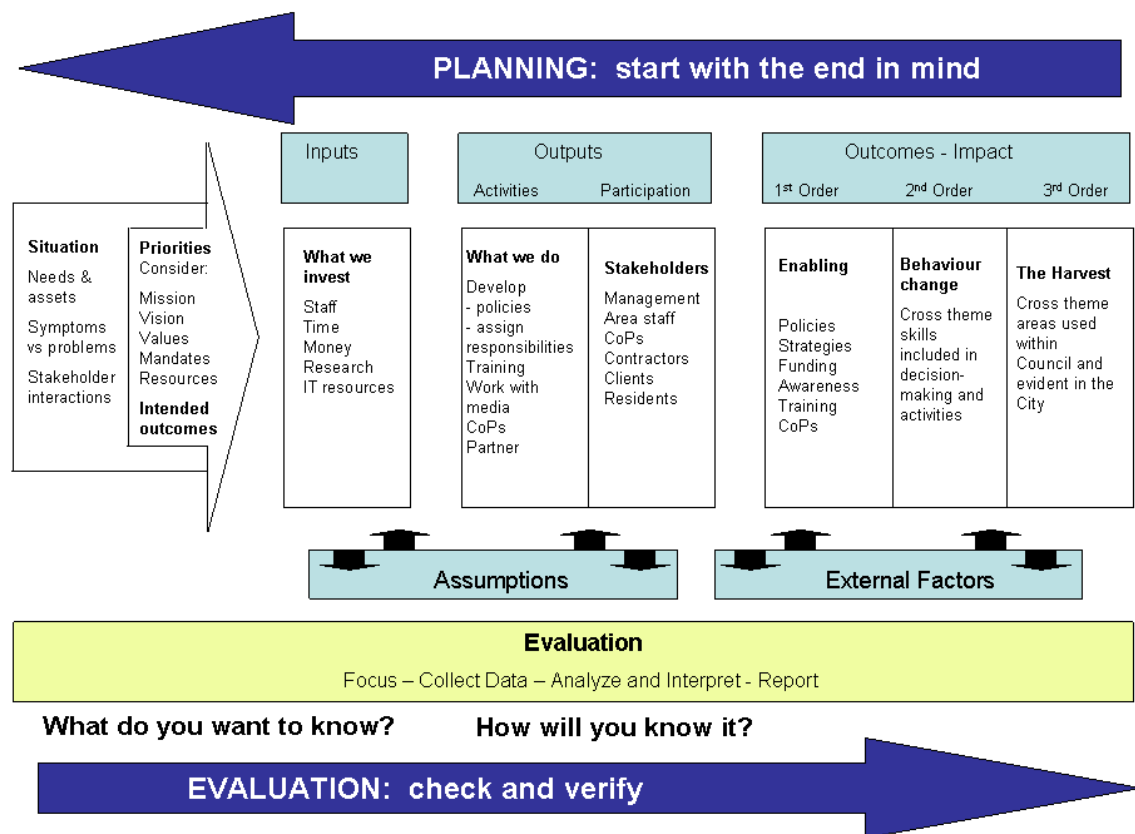


Fig. 2 A logic model for programme planning and evaluation. (Adapted from University of Wisconsin – Extension 2002–2005). CoPs = communities of practice.

Logic models are most useful when developed at the beginning of project activities. Such planning at the initiation of a project or within a proposal development context facilitates coordination of resources and can inspire consideration of project strategies and realistic expectations for outcomes resulting from the project's work. However, the desired end-state outcomes can often take some years to emerge, and so it is important to plan these so contributions over time can be recognised. One way to expand and fill in the outcomes section of the logic model is outlined in the next section.

5.5 Orders of outcomes model

Developing the range of outcomes that support evidence of good policy and practice in complex social and environmental situations is challenging, not least because results in these sorts of areas can easily take some years to materialise. Accordingly it is good to visualise

outcomes that can be seen to form a logical sequencing over such time periods. One such approach for grouping the outcomes of an integrated governance initiative is known as the Orders of Outcomes model. It highlights the importance of changes in state (such as better environmental or social outcomes), but recognises that for each change in state, there are correlated changes in the behaviour of key human actors. Importantly, the model helps us plan our activities in sequence so they build on each other over time (Fig. 3).

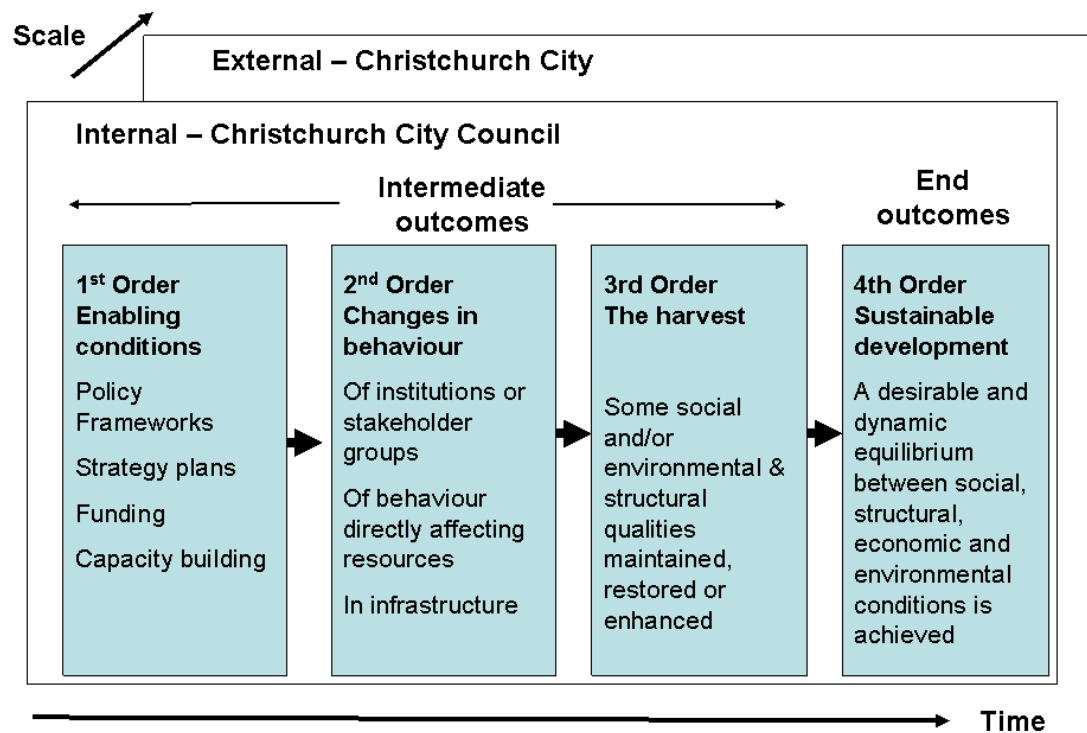


Fig. 3 Orders of Outcome Model approach to monitoring and evaluation (adapted from Olsen 2003).

Enabling conditions

First-order outcomes are the organisational conditions that must be present when we begin any programme to bring about a change such as those proposed by cross-theme policy frameworks. Together these form the ‘enabling conditions’ that are required if these policy frameworks are to be successfully implemented. First-order outcomes require building the constituencies and the institutional capacity to undertake this more integrated approach to policy development and implementation. First-order outcomes also require securing the authority, funding and other resources that make it feasible to implement policies and actions at the scale of the Council. The setting of clear goals is a key ingredient at this stage.

Changes in behaviour

Second-order outcomes are evidence of the successful implementation of a behaviour-change programme. They mark changes in the behaviour of individuals and individual organisational groups. These include evidence of new forms of collaborative action among stakeholder groups, investments in infrastructure, and the behavioural changes of actors in response to policy, regulations, and by voluntary actions.

The harvest

Third-order outcomes are the socio-economic, structural, and environmental results that define the ultimate success or failure of the programme. These must be defined in unambiguous terms early on in any management process. This could be, for example with reference to the People with Disabilities policy framework, in the form of goals that specify the number of buildings that are friendly to people with disabilities. Vague or conflicting goals produce inefficiency and ineffectiveness.

Sustainable development

In the end all of our different activities and policies collectively contribute towards an enhanced future. This ultimate goal of sustainable urban development is recognised in the model as *fourth-order* outcomes. Rather than being seen as an externally designed goal to be achieved, sustainability is better viewed as a desirable and dynamic relationship between environmental, social, and economic aspects. In this sense, then, we come full circle and acknowledge policy development as an ongoing iterative process, with continuous policy cycles.

6. Developing a ‘Community of Practice’

In this section we look more closely at communities of practice as one mechanism to support cross-theme policy implementation. Council staff have identified a number of traditional management activities to help progress the implementation of cross-theme policies, the first being development of the policy itself, which sets out the guiding intent. Key staff and teams will likely be developed with targeted resources and goals to support the different policy areas involved. There will also be different communication and training activities that seek to raise staff awareness and build new skills.

At the introductory meeting that led to this report, it was also identified that communities of practice provided an additional bottom-up approach with which to strengthen the implementation of cross-theme policies. The concept of communities of practice is used generally to refer to groups of people who share a concern for a practice (or a work skill), and who, through building relationships, learn from each other to improve their practice. These groups are sometimes called communities of interest, among other terms. As Allen and Apgar (2007) explain, in these groups learning is facilitated by interactions between people that build trust, binding its members together into a social entity that shares a repertoire of communal resources. Communities of practice tend to be self-organising social structures, as they emerge by people with a common interest coming together to share.

The trust embodied in communities of practice provides a safe environment in which people can learn by interacting. Thus they are useful for sharing tacit knowledge about practice. It is this characteristic of communities of practice that makes them good tools for building capacity across and between organisations.

They are used by organisations for fostering learning laterally, across programme areas, and to help improve collaborative relationships through building social capital and trust. The benefits received from them are manifold, and accrue to the organisation, the community of practice, and the individual.

- The organisation as a whole benefits from a social structure for fostering learning, developing competencies and managing its tacit knowledge.
- For the community as a collective, the benefits received are the development of a common pool of resources to help improve practice and solve problems, as well as increase trust between members.
- The individuals participating in the community improve their job performance and through becoming aware of their growth in knowledge gain increased job satisfaction.

There are, however, different types of collaborative groups. For instance there are different types of collaborative groups functioning within the Council. It is important to distinguish between them, in order to manage each adequately.

Multidisciplinary collaborative teams are often brought together to work on specific projects with set goals, and are employed by Council widely, due to the project-based nature of some of its functions. (For example, a team including a landscape planner, engineer, youth development advisor, etc. might be brought together to develop a new recreation centre.)

Communities of practice, on the other hand, are not focused around delivering concrete goals or results such as specific project completion, but rather are networks that support skill development of those working across different departments or teams (e.g. people across different projects with interests in youth development). They support collaboration across project teams by increasing social capital within the organisation and improving the ability of staff to work in specific practice areas that are considered important.

6.1 Identifying existing communities of practice

This report is not suggesting that communities of practice are new. Rather it is noting that they are an established way of working across themes, and that they are an organisational grouping that is already familiar to Council. This report seeks to make the processes by which they work more visible, so they can be strengthened across the cross-theme areas (e.g. sustainability, disability, working with iwi) set out in the policy frameworks.

For example, existing communities of practice within the Council can be clearly seen through the support networks for specialised technical staff, i.e. landscape architects. Due to the project-based nature of Council work, these technical specialists spend most of their time working within multidisciplinary teams for specific projects, and can become isolated in their technical practice. Therefore networks have emerged for them to interact with other specialists in their field. The networks develop due to recognition that such staff can improve their skills through interacting with others working in the same technical area of expertise. The point to note here is that the need for these technical specialists is legitimised throughout Council in a number of ways, and that implicitly their existence is supported.

The discussions held with Council staff during this scoping exercise brought to light several processes that are occurring within the Council that illuminate the communities of practice that are developing around the new policy framework areas. These include informal cross-departmental networks of people interested and working in specific practice areas promoted by Community Development Advisors, such as working with youth and disabled persons. These networks are valued for their important role in improving the uptake of advice

provided by the Advisors and in building strong relationships within different departments for improving future practice in these specific areas of interest.

Although some obstacles to the current processes were highlighted, such as the low awareness of some staff members of policy frameworks for specific areas of interest, and the slow nature of natural network-building in an organisation the size and complexity of Council, it was recognised that these obstacles could be reduced significantly if the communities of practice were formally recognised and supported by management.

6.2 Growing communities of practice

Enhancing learning between departments and teams within Council requires a comprehensive strategy, and that communities of practice are employed as one of many tools to support such learning. As communities of practice develop, they move through stages. Awareness of these stages provides management the opportunity to offer differentiated support mechanisms at each stage. Four general stages of development can be identified.

Potential: At the first stage, there is potential for community development through the tightening of already existent loose networks. Support is required in defining such networks as an appropriate area of shared interest so as to ensure genuine participation; in choosing the right people for leadership roles to support behind the scenes; and in fostering initial contact between potential members.

Coalescing: In the second stage, the networks tighten to form a community. There is a need for establishing the community's value and a clear purpose to encourage participation, sharing, and building of trust.

Stewardship: In the third stage, the community matures and concentrates on managing knowledge. During this stage the emphasis is likely to shift from sharing to development of new knowledge products and will be interspersed by periods of low activity, requiring support to maintain energy.

Transformation: The final stage is one of transformation when the community has been seen to resolve the initial problem that brought it together. In some cases there is still a need for the practice, but perhaps under another name. In other cases sometimes practices become obsolete and people will move on.

These four stages of development that characterise communities of practice are illustrated in Fig. 4.

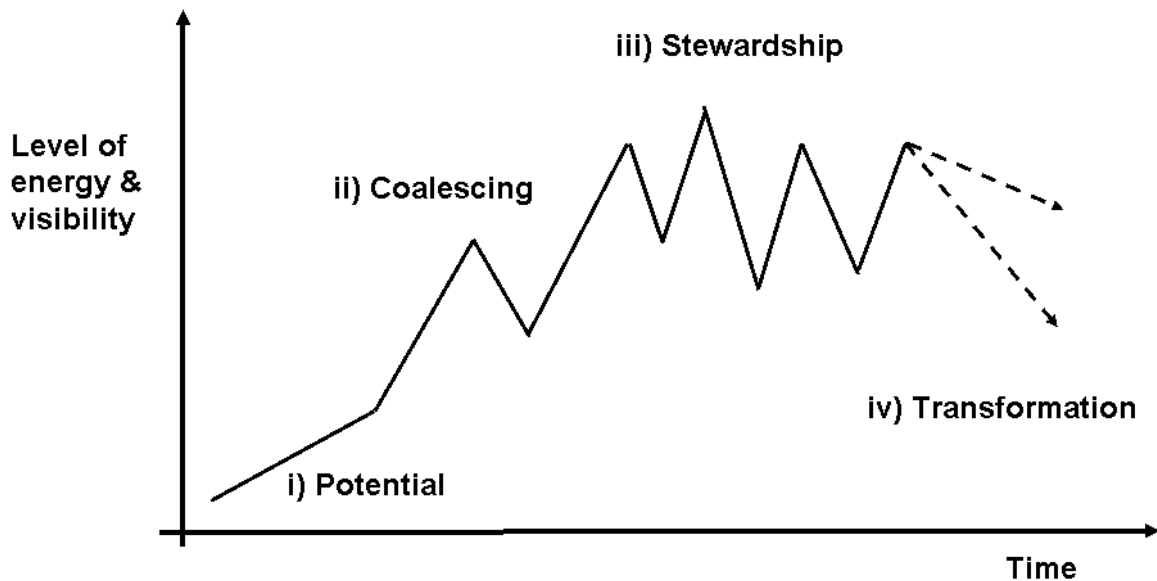


Fig. 4 Four-stage view of communities of practice development (Adapted from van Winkelen 2003).

Whether the communities of practice Council supports have emerged spontaneously or are areas of special interest for which seeding and nurturing will be used to grow a community of practice, there are a number of key leadership roles that are necessary for their continued growth.

- Inspirational leadership – provided by leaders or champions who are recognised experts in the field of interest. These champions should be easily identifiable within the organisation due to their proven interest and efforts in their field
- Day-to-day leadership – provided by those who organise activities. This role might be fulfilled by the champions themselves or by someone who is appointed as an organiser
- Interpersonal leadership – provided by those who weave the community’s social fabric, tending to be people with good social skills who are prepared to walk the halls and provide the background support for building the network
- Boundary leadership – provided by those members who have contacts outside of the community and thus can connect to outside networks. This often is already occurring in an informal manner, as Council staff hold tight links with the wider community
- Institutional leadership – provided by those who maintain links with the hierarchical nature of the organisation and are potentially assigned the role of providing feedback to and monitoring the process for the organisation
- Classificatory leadership – necessary for the collection and organisation of information to build the collective resources of best practice

The total effect of these is to provide enough regular interactions to create a rhythm that can help the community of practice maintain its energy while also encouraging a diversity of activities, especially activities that provide opportunity for personal contact with open dialogue to build trust

The specific architecture and role assignment to be used by Council will depend on the nature of the community of practice being nurtured and its current state, but it is pivotal to the success of the community that leadership has intrinsic legitimacy. This was reflected by one

Community Development Advisor contacted, who when referring to the success of an emerging network of staff interested in the practice of working with youth, said, ‘It needs to be real.’ Sharing of knowledge and best practice must be based on fostering open and honest discussions to build trust. Thus those working in nurturing these communities need to work from within them rather than manipulating them from the outside.

The self-organising, spontaneous nature of successful communities of practice requires that they not be over-managed, but there are guidelines that management can follow to create an enabling environment in which the community can flourish. In starting to foster a community of practice, management should be aware of the spontaneous, informal networks of people that are naturally emerging within the Council, as these are the building blocks of future communities. In order to facilitate the growth of the community, management can do the following:

- Legitimise participation of staff members, and if possible create incentives to encourage wide participation, without overloading staff
- Allow for flexibility by acknowledging the self-organising nature of the community of practice
- Focus on the values delivered, not the outcomes (a community of practice supports individuals to achieve better outcomes through improved practice in their individual work areas)
- Provide for a core group of engaged people to fulfil the main leadership roles outlined yet at the same time encourage other levels of participation in the wider community
- Provide appropriate technologies and environments for easy participation
- The exact form that these recommendations should take will be contingent on each individual situation, and should be developed in conjunction with the people who make up the community of practice.

7. Conclusions

This report covers two aspects. First it outlines key considerations in developing an evaluation process for evaluating the effectiveness of policy frameworks. Second it identifies how communities of practice could contribute to the successful implementation of policy frameworks.

7.1 Evaluating policy framework uptake

Because governance organisations are highly dynamic and often contain many people and a rich diversity of competing human activities, any cross-theme policy framework that adds to the complexity must be capable of supporting institutional learning and adaptation in response to new challenges and opportunities. Evaluation programmes that help improve implementation of these policy frameworks need to take account of the following:

- Importance of measuring progress of task *and* process in collaborative initiatives
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- Need for models to help us see and evaluate over time (because we are seeking to evaluate changing institutional cultures and practices, which takes time). Useful frameworks include the policy cycle model, the logic model and the orders of outcomes model.

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Communities of practice could support policy framework implementation through each of three specific areas Council sees as important for adoption: creating awareness, advocating and collaboration with external stakeholders, and delivering appropriate activities to support policy goals. The following points highlight benefits, and how communities of practice could be supported. Communities of practice:

- Are already present in Council, supporting many existing mainstream areas of practice. It is important that these are fostered to support practitioners in newly emerging policy areas, i.e. sustainability, disability, ageing
- Support policy framework areas by building the required social capital, collaboration, job satisfaction and motivation among staff working in the area
- Require internal leadership covering the following roles:
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 - Knowledge capture and institutional linkages

Management can support these communities of practice in several ways, dependent on the particular community in question. Supporting activities include:

- Legitimising staff participation, and incentives to encourage wide participation
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8. Recommendations

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8.2 Communities of practice

- Identify communities of practice that exist in policy framework areas, and assess what stage they are at.
- Implement a pilot programme to support and build at least two of these communities of practice in the first year. Thought should be given to which communities are likely to be most tractable to build in the first instance.

9. Acknowledgements

We thank the following Council staff who provided their time for discussions around the subjects discussed in this report: Alan Bywater, Adair Bruorton, Tony Moore, Carolyn Ingles, Jane Cartwright, Karen Rickerby, Mathew Pratt and Mike Theelen. We would also like to acknowledge the valuable insights provided by Carol Maxwell to an earlier draft of this report.

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