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Technology Support for Communication and Understanding

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ABSTRACT: As the Internet and related technologies for communication change, the role of communication in the conduct of business changes with it. Communication used to be viewed as a technical problem of separating signal from noise and managing bandwidth. Now it is a social matter in which negotiating differences in understanding among communicators is a primary business priority. Addressing this priority requires an understanding of how individuals interact in the course of their decision making activities. Using the work of Anthony Giddens as a point of departure, this paper views interaction in communication as consisting of three dimensions – meaning, authority, and trust. These three dimensions are used to identify new opportunities for advances in decision making technology that help deal with potential breakdowns in social interaction.

KEY WORDS: meaning, authority, trust, communication, decision making

1 Changes in the nature of communication

Communication has a long-standing history of being a paradoxical discipline. One of the most important contributions of the twentieth century was the development of a mathematical theory of communication (Shannon et al., 1964). This theory enabled us to deal with such issues as separating signal from noise and managing bandwidth as well-formed engineering problems, providing a wealth of devices that enable communication that would have been almost impossible to conceive one hundred years ago. However, the twentieth century also saw the development of a philosophical school of thought that viewed communication as more than a matter of exchanging messages in as reliable a manner as possible. From this point of view, such content exchange is only part of a story that must take into account deeper social priorities, such as why individuals want to exchange those messages in the first place (Habermas 84). In the middle of the twentieth century, the discipline of organizational communication (Redding 72) explicitly addressed such philosophical questions under the assumption that the members of an organization would exchange messages to benefit the operation of the organization. Organizational communication subsequently fell into a state of decline, most likely because too many of its results were couched in the rhetoric of experimental psychology and could not be readily applied to the workplace. Nevertheless, there were some valuable practical insights, such as Eric Eisenberg's view of "ambiguity as strategy" (Eisenberg 84), as well as researchers like Karl Weick (Weick et al., 1986), who anticipated the revival of fundamental issues of organizational communication in the name of knowledge management (Davenport et al., 1998).

One of the reasons the knowledge management movement was able to revive these issues was that the very conduct of business was changing. Organizational communication arose at a time when businesses were primarily concerned with offering products. Knowledge management tends to address the needs of businesses whose offerings are shifting (or have shifted) from products to services, either entirely or to supplement the product offerings. Knowledge management still benefits product-based businesses; but service-based businesses are more susceptible to the problems that it has been attempting to solve. The key distinction between service-based and product-based businesses is one of social context: While the information involved in a product-based business tends to be generally objective, a service-based business involves a highly social relationship between the service provider and the customer. Put another way, a product-based business is also based on processes, which are susceptible to engineering (and possibly "reengineering" (Hammer et al., 1993)) in the interest of increased productivity. A service-based business, on the other hand, depends primarily on those practices of the service providers that arise from actual experiences with customer engagement. An excellent analysis of the nature of practices, particularly as they apply to service providers, can be found in the work of Julian Orr (1996). One of Orr's key points is that the relationship between service provider and customer can only succeed if it rests upon a foundation of *mutual understanding*. The priority of conducting business is thus shifting from one that presumes the objectivity of the mathematical theory of communication (Shannon *et al.*, 1964) to one that must honor a highly social view of understanding what is communicated (Habermas 84).

While the focus of communication was shifting from an engineering to an organizational context and the focus of business was shifting from products to services, the technology to support communication was undergoing radical change. First the telephone became nearly ubiquitous; then computer-to-computer data transfer linked businesses world-wide. Now the Internet has the potential to link people anywhere instantly with rich media enabled by high bandwidth. This Internet-age technology supports the kind of communication and understanding that requires negotiation and frequent interaction.

However the shift from the engineering context also demands that we no longer think of communication in a strictly techno-centric framework. This is not to deny valuable contributions in technologies such as decision support systems and computer-supported collaborative work, both of which will be discussed in the sequel. Rather, it is to recognize that such technologies have been designed to support what Jürgen Habermas (1984) calls *teleological* actions, which are supposed to effect a transition from an existing state of affairs to some desired goal state. Service engagements, on the other hand, are based on *communicative* actions, which involve "the interaction of at least two subjects capable of speech and action who establish interpersonal relations (whether by verbal or by extra-verbal means). The actors seek to reach an understanding about the action situation and their plans of action in order to coordinate their actions by way of agreement" (Habermas 84).

2 Communication, understanding and decision making

Communication and understanding are crucial to decision making because the decision making process is increasingly interactive. Richard Hackathorn and Peter Keen (1981) identify three forms of decision making with respect to the nature of the interaction among the participants. *Independent* decision making occurs when an individual takes the full responsibility for gathering the necessary information and making the decision. Often called the "high noon" style, after the image of Gary Cooper standing alone in his commitment to face his enemy in a gunfight (at high noon), this form of decision making has always been rare and is now nearly extinct. Even so, gathering the necessary information and understanding it are key to the decision making process. *Sequential interdependent* decision making involves a process in which one individual makes a decision on part of the task or problem, then passes it on to another. Through a series of these steps, the separate decisions

form the aggregate solution. Here the importance of communication and understanding between the steps is obvious. Finally, Hackathorn and Keen define *pooled interdependent* decision making in which all the participants interact throughout the decision making process. Communication is less structured than in the sequential process, and the resultant understandings are much more valuable. This is the domain of what Michael Schrage (1995) has come to call "the dynamics of creative collaboration;" and it has been reinforced by many technology advances in the area of computer-supported collaborative work (CSCW).

2.1 Interaction and group DSS

Recent work on decision support systems (DSS) has emphasized this freely interactive decision making as prevalent and has led to the development of a strong literature and practice in group decision support systems. Jay Nunamaker and his colleagues (2001) suggest the following categories of interaction in decision making:

- With *collective effort* people work on their own. Group productivity is simply the sum of individual efforts. Technologies such as shared network directories, word processors, and spreadsheets may be used effectively to support collective efforts.
- With coordinated effort people make individual efforts; but they have critical hand-off points. Productivity depends on the level of individual effort and on the coordination among those efforts. Electronic mail, team databases, and workflow automation may support coordinated efforts.
- With *concerted effort* all members must make their effort in synchrony with other members. The performance of any member directly affects the performance of the other members. There are no individual efforts. Collaborative reasoning tools may be used to enhance the value created by concerted efforts. Examples of collaborative reasoning tools are a key part of CSCW technology and include electronic brainstorming tools, group outlining tools, and idea categorizers. Schrage (1995) provides an excellent introductory review of many of the pioneering tools in this area

Except for the independent style, which is extremely rare, decision making thus rests on mutual understanding among the interacting parties, even if the interaction is a sequential one.

2.2 Negotiated understanding

Charting a path to mutual understanding often rests on a strong awareness of *mis* understanding: how it arises, how it imposes impediments to success, and, most

important of all, how it may be resolved. Dealing with those differences that lie at the heart of misunderstanding usually involves getting beyond the domains of the functionality of DSS and CSCW tools because, at the end of the day, differences in understanding can only be *negotiated* (Habermas 84). Negotiation is at its most effective when it draws upon a rich suite of opportunities for interaction, some of which apply directly to the source of the misunderstanding, while others contribute to a contextual social environment of understanding.

Misunderstandings are thus rarely negotiated in a marketplace of abstract ideas and the application of those ideas to formal processes of argumentation. In fact, to draw upon the terminology of Robert Putnam, the marketplace of negotiation is actually based on *social capital*: "features of social life—networks, norms, and trust—that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives" (Putnam 95). In other words differences in understanding are negotiated within a context of behavioral norms established among the parties doing the negotiating and grounded upon a foundation of trust cultivated by all of those parties. Within this context communities and networks organize themselves for the general good of the organization.

3 The dimensions of interaction

The primary issue at stake, then, is how the negotiation of differences in understanding can best benefit from the resources of documents and other sources of information. We begin by recognizing that *reading* an information source, whether it is an extended report, a message typed into a DSS or computer-mediated collaboration system, or some multimedia document, such as a complex image, involves more than "figuring out what it means," at least at a level that would be called "semantic" in linguistics. It also involves "reading" the social context in which that document was written. As Anthony Giddens (1984) has demonstrated, one significant part of this context involves organizational *authority* (which Giddens calls "domination"). An equally significant part involves that element of *trust* that contributes to Putnam's model of social capital (Putnam 95), although Giddens (1984) argues for a broader context to which he assigns the name "legitimation." These two elements, along with *meaning* (which Giddens calls "signification") may be viewed as three dimensions of a "space" of interaction. Differences in understanding may involve these dimensions in various combinations, or they may

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¹ This insight can be traced back as least as far as Aristotle, who, in Book I of his *Rhetoric* wrote, "The duty of rhetoric is to deal with such matters as we deliberate upon without arts or systems to guide us, in the hearing of persons who cannot take in at a glance a complicated argument, or follow a long chain of reasoning" (Aristotle 84).

arise when the dimensions get confused. Let us consider how each of these dimensions – meaning, authority, and trust – applies to the effective operation of an organization.

3.1 Meaning

When we talk about understanding what things mean in the business world, "things" tend to be manifested in documents; but their manifestation in talk, including the "virtual talk" of computer-mediated communication (Erickson *et al.*, 2000), often plays a critical role when the *negotiation* of understanding is at stake (Orr 96). In other words, once information has been communicated, *meaning* must be negotiated to reach *understanding* (Habermas 84). Clarity of meaning has always been a major priority in the conduct of business. However, the volatility of the world in which business is conducted today means that differences in understanding what things mean are normal. The need to negotiate such differences is critical to any successful enterprise. Such negotiation is best realized through conversation, which constitutes the basis for the argument by Richard Rorty (1979) that the certainty of understanding "will be a matter of conversation between persons." Figure 1 shows the process of communication that leads to understanding through negotiation in the

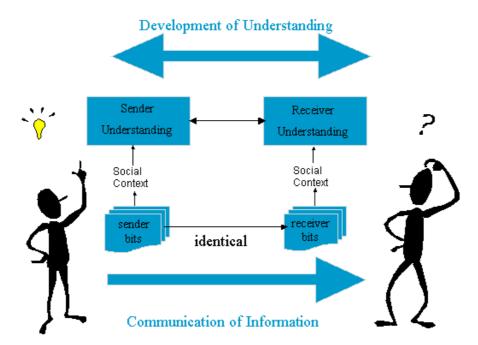


Figure 1: The flow of information and the development of understanding

social context of the sender and receiver.

3.2 Authority

If confronting differences in understanding what things mean has become a norm in business operations, then managing authority (including organizational awareness of who has what authority) has also become an increasingly problematic issue. A primary mantra of knowledge management is that value resides in the personal knowledge of individuals (Davenport *et al.*, 1998); but, the more those individuals appreciate the value of their own personal knowledge, the less tolerance they tend to have for authoritarian domination. Thus, we see more cooperative approaches to organization, such as communities of practice (Wenger 98). However, while communities of practice may be valuable for dealing with many general problems of meaning, they are not always decisive enough to be both rapid and effective. Furthermore, the very notion of a community is one that raises the distinction between "self" and "other" to the level of groups. Therefore, while cooperation *within* a community is rarely a problem, issues of authority involving the relationship of the community to the rest of the organization can still be very difficult.

Authority can also be a key factor in the success or failure of the deployment of DSS. Nunamaker and his colleagues (1996) have analyzed the impact of the presence of an authority figure on the text exchanges that take place in Group Support Systems (GSS). They observe that anonymity can often provide protection from the interference of authoritarian domination; but, when particularly strong authority figures are involved, even anonymity is not necessarily foolproof. Ultimately it is often better to acknowledge the influence of authority and work in the context of that influence, rather than try to work around it.

Are there positive ways to work within that context? To return to the terminology introduced by Putnam (1995), what is at stake in a well-run organization is the pursuit of "shared objectives." If negotiating what things mean is important for making decisions, then an effective working relationship between employee and employer depends on an investment in negotiating shared purpose. A corporation should be able to articulate its mission clearly and convincingly, so that the mission statement is recognized as more than a hollow symbolic gesture. Similarly, every individual should be able to articulate his or her own mission statement and should be able to engage in discourse on the relationship of that personal mission to the corporate mission. Such conversation is best engaged upon a foundation of *shared values*, but this means that every member of an organization must be able to recognize what those values are and how those values are prioritized. Individuals may then come to understand their personal values as a framework for

the *capabilities* that they bring to the organization, and the relationships between individual values and shared values provide a similar framework for the *responsibilities* each individual assumes for pursuing the shared objectives of the organization. Conflicts of shared and individual values and priorities should be accepted as inevitable; but, as is the case with understanding what things mean, they should be addressed through negotiation rather than raw authoritarian mandate.

3.3 Trust

The establishment of trust situates the understanding of who has authority within a context of reciprocal obligation (Fukuyama 96). Such reciprocity is assumed as a social norm, and the administrative challenge is to regulate normative behavior without suppressing individual identity. This entails both the recognition of privacy and the encouragement of tolerance. The reciprocity of trust establishes what Giddens (1984) calls "ontological security," which is basically a sense of knowing what to expect, without which the risk of taking any action might become crippling.

In the effective running of an organization, trust is as much a business priority as are meaning and the management of authority. On the one hand, if understanding what things mean is critical to business operations, businesses will require the ontological security that reflects their mutual ability to trust specific interpretations; so all *content* rests upon a foundation of acceptability. At the same time, if interactions based on authority are critical to business operations, *feedback* will be required to assess the acceptability of those interactions; and feedback can only be delivered effectively within a framework that delimits acceptability of *conduct*. An agreed-upon framework of trust is thus the linchpin of organizational behavior, without which the other dimensions of interaction quickly lose their effectiveness.

4 Views of interaction at work

These dimensions of interaction provide a new way of looking at the different ways in which interaction figures significantly in activities in the workplace. These changing views of interaction in the workplace are summarized in Figure 2. The grid represents the fact that every unit of interaction has a "source" (labeled "from") and a "destination" (labeled "to"), generalizing on the traditional view of communication (Habermas 84). The chart then breaks down the interactive relationships into those between individuals, those between businesses, and those involving an individual and a business. Each cell then contains representative examples of these units of interaction, font-coded to represent whether their primary involvement is with meaning, **authority**, or *trust*. The word "representative" was chosen because this

		to		
		individual	business	
from	al	Cultivation of "social worlds" (beyond work	Solicitation for products and services	
	individual	boundaries) Debate of change-making decisions Trusted interpretations of data about businesses	Evaluative feedback	
	business	Customization of products and services Communication of change-making decisions Running user trials for purposes of product evaluation and test marketing	Cultivation and assessment of new business models Negotiation of mergers and acquisitions Coordination of outsourcing and alliances	

Key
Meaning
Authority
Trust

Figure 2: Changing views of interaction in the workplace

chart was not intended to be exhaustive, only illustrative of the current state of interactivity in the workplace.

5 New opportunities for technology

These changes in how we view the workplace can also serve as a framework for examining opportunities for new technologies. If the forms of interaction mapped out by our dimensions are so significant in making an organization work, then it is worth asking to what extent technology may be able to facilitate such interactions. Let us examine each of the dimensions in terms of the sorts of technologies required to facilitate it.

5.1 Meaning

Negotiating meaning is rarely a simple matter, particularly in mission-critical decision making situations. Nevertheless, it is easy to succumb to many of the

hyperbolic claims of the DSS community that technology can simplify complex problems concerned with resolving what things mean. The proliferation of the Internet has led to a tendency, encouraged by prodigious advances in search engine technology, to assume that the World Wide Web is always there to provide the right answer, in as simple and compact a manner as possible, to the right person at the right time. However, rather than trying to build the Internet as an all-knowing agent that is always there for us with the right answers, we should think of it as the primary vehicle with which we learn how to deal with our most challenging problems of comprehension, pursuing John Seely Brown's vision that the Internet can "become an incredibly powerful medium to unleash a culture of learning" (Corcoran 00).

Thus, if we wish to look to how technology can alleviate confusion over what things mean, rather than looking at new ways to support DSS technologies, data repositories, and search engines, we should ask how technologies can either provide or support the capabilities of librarians, or, as Thomas Davenport (1997) prefers to call them, "information staff." In Davenport's words these capabilities have more to do with "making information meaningful" than with serving as an interface to a massive collection of documents. Davenport has identified four such capabilities – pruning, providing context, enhancing style, and choosing the right medium – each of which will now be discussed in somewhat greater detail.

5.1.1 Pruning

We all know that we have more things to read than we have the time in which to read them. Indeed, the more material made available to us through the connectivity of the Internet, the less time we have to reflect on any of that material. Any service that filters resources down from "what *might* be of value" to "what is *highly likely* to be of value," if not "what is *necessary*," will significantly bring us closer to the understanding we seek.

Search engine technology is the most obvious mechanism for separating the relevant from the irrelevant. This is the classic tension between precision and recall, which has been the focus of information retrieval for years (Salton *et al.*, 1983). Modern search engines use word frequency and co-occurrence analysis to develop a score that ranks each retrieved document's relevance probability. The more sophisticated engines use lexical analysis based on a mathematical model of language.

Although they are increasingly efficient, search engines still focus only on selecting m documents out of a population of n. There is still a major challenge in deriving the *meaning* from the selected set of documents. Emerging technologies in document mining show promise in deriving meaning from a collection of documents (Sprague 99). Some document mining technologies include the following:

- **Categorization.** This function automatically assigns a document to one or more predetermined categories, again based on lexical analysis. The categories may be determined manually or by defining a sample document that represents the category.
- Clustering. This is a fully automatic process that clusters or groups documents based on their content. The label for a cluster is comprised of the key terms occurring in the documents for each group. Clustering provides an overview of the contents of a large document collection, identifies hidden similarities among documents, and speeds the process of finding similar or related information in a document collection.
- **Genre Identification.** This process identifies the type or genre of documents based on the characteristics of the language, format, and content. It would, for example, separately identify news articles from research reports on the same topic.
- **Metadata Extraction.** This is the process of identifying key "features" of a document and extracting them to form a data record or an annotation of a document. Typical features include proper names (people, places, organizations), multiword terms, abbreviations, currency amounts, etc.
- **Summarization.** A major contribution to the information overload problem is the summarization capability, again based on lexical analysis. Some systems provide "indicative summaries," which are abstracts to indicate content. "Informative summaries," which contain enough content to replace the original full document, are under development. Another area of research involves the synthesis of a single summary based on the content of multiple documents concerned with the same subject matter (Barzilay *et al.*, 1999).²

5.1.2 Providing context

Davenport (1997) summarizes his general approach to context as follows:

The communicator of information only creates one part of the context; the audience also brings its own. For example, the external cultural environment or the social background of the audience affects how any information is interpreted. The job of the information professional is to try to assess that context and tailor the information content accordingly.

² A demonstration of this technology may be examined at http://www.cs.columbia.edu/nlp/newsblaster/.

Unfortunately, there is very little technology yet that can assist in the creation and definition of context.³ Recall from Figure 1 that the negotiation of meaning that leads to understanding takes place in the social settings of the sender and receiver. What we do have, in the absence of current technology, is a growing body of studies of the expert work practices of information staff (Marshall *et al.*, 2001). These studies should lead to the development of technology to represent and create context as part of the communication process.

5.1.3 Enhancing style

Davenport (1997) invokes some of his strongest language in addressing the significance of this task:

Many current information professionals, for example, resist improving the style of information because they assume style somehow interferes with the facts, or is a waste of time. This is only true if you don't care whether the facts are ever received or used.

One might argue that one can never learn about style from a book; however, Joseph M. Williams (2002) has written a book entitled *Style: Ten Lessons in Clarity and Grace* that appears to be a good step in the right direction (particularly since the book is now in its seventh edition).

Enhancing style can accommodate a wide variety of technologies for portraying complex sets of information in an understandable way. Within the discipline of information visualization, significant work has been done in the technologies of color 3D graphics, animation, and screen space management (Card *et al.*, 1999), as well as the "design" aspects of complex information portrayal (Tufte 97) (Wurman 97). Some authoring software systems are based on the premise that "what you want to say" is only half the goal. At least as important is "how you need to say it;" and both of these aspects need to be appropriately outlined as part of the authoring process, particularly when multiple media are involved (Shimizu *et al.*, 1998).

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³ The artificial intelligence community has been pursuing its own approach to the definition of context that may then be invoked by reasoning systems. Perhaps one of the most thorough approaches is that of John McCarthy, which may be read at http://www-formal.stanford.edu/jmc/logical/logical.html. However, the artificial intelligence perspective on context does not appear to offer very much of concrete value to the efforts demanded of information staff when it comes to providing context.

5.1.4 Choosing the right medium

As more and more media are available for presentation purposes, it is easy to succumb to the temptation to use everything in sight. Unfortunately, media excess generally implies media saturation, which usually entails loss of attention (i.e. lack of engagement). Animation is a valuable media tool, but it is also subject to overuse. A Web site with a blinking banner ad gets annoying very quickly. *Selection* is the operative principle here. Buckminster Fuller used to lace his lectures with the admonition to "make more and more with less and less." One inevitably communicates more with the bare minimum of properly chosen media than can be communicated through an extravaganza of media abundance.

5.2 Authority

The legacy of artificial intelligence has tended to cultivate the assumption that technology is best applied in the service of meaning; but it can also serve the management of authority, particularly when, as was discussed above, such management has more to do with responsibility than with domination. For example work practices may be mediated by conversational agents as a move away from authority figures. The capabilities of such artificial agents have been investigated by Elizabeth Churchill and her colleagues (2000a). In addition various forms of existing collaboration technologies, such as chat rooms and shared work areas, may be invoked to support the self-organization of communities and networks. Churchill and another set of colleagues (2000b) have investigated how documents may serve as "boundary objects" (Star *et al.*, 1989) around which such self-organization may take place through a technology that she calls "anchored conversations," converting the sort of spatial artifact Microsoft Office implemented for comments into a chat space area, thus enabling conversations to be conducted over specific (multiple) locales within the document.

Workflow technologies can also support authority. They often figure in instances of the sequential interdependent model of decision making; and, as Rebecca Grinter (2000) has observed, the criteria for the success of such systems are severely limiting. While these technologies were conceived to facilitate the management of business processes, they now need to be *re*conceived towards the support of practices, which will involve, as a key factor, the negotiation of capabilities, responsibilities, and values, as was discussed previously. What is required is an accounting of what individuals bring to decision making situations throughout the entire work environment, touching on mission-critical issues such as the following:

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⁴ See, for example, http://www.bfi.org/his_life.htm.

- Who has skills in which core technologies?
- Who has the best intuitive understanding of the nature of the product or service being offered?
- Who has the best intuitive understanding of the types of markets in which the offering may be involved?

There is frequently a tendency to question the second of these items, particularly when the offering is a product, under the assumption that any understanding of a product should be grounded in a formal engineering specification. However, as Scott Noam Cook and Dvora Yanow (1993) have observed, many work places in the "real world" of production often demand such an intuitive understanding on the part of the work force if those workers are to do their jobs most productively.

5.3 Trust

We tend not to think of technology as being particularly well equipped to deal with matters of trust, but it *can* be used to reflect the degree of trust that an organization has in its work force. Toyota demonstrated this by undoing the Ford assembly line concept and overhauling the design of the entire factory floor to provide all workers with a greater share of the responsibility for all production operations (Fukuyama 96). The Toyota strategy used technology to provide everyone with increased awareness of what was happening at all stages of production. In other decision making environments what is equally important is an awareness of prevailing opinions, since those opinions will lie at the heart of all negotiation required for successfully concluding a decision that will be supported by all parties involved. Technology can play a strong positive role in providing awareness of such "community opinion" in ways that do not disturb priorities of privacy and tolerance. This can involve a variety of different approaches:

- One consists in providing means for *collecting* opinion with minimal burden on the user community. Such collection may be implicit in user actions, such as tracking the frequency of visiting Web sites. However, in the interest of privacy, the anonymity of users should be respected when it is requested (or, indeed, should be treated as a default condition). This can be achieved through techniques implemented in the GSS technology reviewed by Nunamaker and his colleagues (1996).
- Once opinion has been collected, it should be *visualized* in ways that are likely to be meaningful to the community at large. This will reinforce the conviction that community opinion is a community resource. Visualization is rarely a straightforward matter (Card *et al.*, 1999). Indeed, if the user community is sufficiently large and varied, it may be necessary to provide multiple forms of visualization for the benefit of different sectors of the organization.

— In such cases it may also be necessary to invoke means of *filtering* opinion based on community membership, drawing upon techniques such as those of collaborative filtering (Arnheim 96).

However, it is important to bear in mind that any technology concerned with community opinion will only succeed if it is reinforced with appropriate investments in social capital (Putnam 95). Members of an organization are not going to use a technology that they do not trust, nor will they use it if they do not trust the *people* who are providing and encouraging use of that technology. The technology will only succeed if its usage is perceived as an acceptable behavioral norm. This means that it must be perceived as equally fair to all users; but it must also be perceived as furthering the co-destiny of the entire community.

6 Conclusions

The study and practice of decision support systems have tended to emphasize the data sources, the analytic models, and the interactive processes that enable decision makers to interact with these technology tools and resources; but decision making processes usually involve multiple people interacting with each other over time. This interaction must involve not only communication of information but also the development of shared understandings. In this paper we have explored three dimensions of this interaction and considered how Internet-age technology can support meaning, authority, and trust, as well as the traditional roles of data access, modeling, and human computer interfaces. We thus conclude that there is opportunity for an expanded role for modern technologies in supporting the social aspects of decision making.

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