Archetypes and other heuristics for planning in the social complexity of the Australian private rental system.

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Abstract: Proclamations that cast Australia as 'a nation of home owners' and having an egalitarian culture of 'the fair go' have long been embraced by Australians. Yet, the rate of home ownership is declining and we have a housing system where steadily increasing numbers of renters experience decreasing levels of security; financial, physical/material, and ontological.

This paper describes participatory processes from a methodological approach developed for understanding social complexity. Based in the online mass capture of renters' subjective micro-narratives (utilising Sensemaker™) these narrative, action research based methods are revealing systemic issues, archetypes and other heuristics as patterns of practice and behaviour within the private rental system (PRS). Some practices and behaviours revealed in the Renters at Home research are exacerbating Australian renters' already disaffected senses of ontological security and home. Here I take just one key concern being investigated – privacy – and just one key factor related to it – rental inspections – to outline and discuss the methods and explore the value of working with archetypes and other heuristics as emergent patterns for understanding system impacts upon renters.

As a counter to the ongoing fall from egalitarian grace in current contexts of the PRS I also discuss the usefulness of mapping rental inspection related issues, extracted by participants in the action research, to appropriate ontological domains of the Cynefin Framework; as support for decision making in socio-urban policy, planning and practice spheres. As the final piece in one cycle of the action research process I conclude with a selection of potential policy and practice 'action responses' derived from mapping rental inspections issues to the framework.

Introduction

Despite cultural proclamations of egalitarianism and being 'a nation of home owners', Australia is a country without a coherent housing policy (Tomlinson 2012) or at least a housing policy that considers the multi-scalar complexities of the problems of housing affordability that includes renters concerns and the need to address these in cross jurisdictional and policy dimensions. One clear indication of this is the reluctance to take up recommendations from the 2010 Henry Tax Review related to the:

….tax-induced distortions that affect private investment in home-ownership and rental housing and that increase housing prices. The recommendations…….would address the inequality resulting from housing related subsidies for those already housed considerably exceeding housing subsidies for those needing housing. *(Tomlinson p.1)*

This macro level policy failure has had unintended consequences for a growing proportion of people living in Australia. Benefits, including the potential for greater levels of interrelated securities, (financial, physical/material, ontological) have been flowing to homeowners and investors to the compounding disadvantage for renters, many of whom are becoming long term and even lifelong renters (Stone 2013; Wulff 1997). A lightly regulated private rental system (Atkinson 2015), in the contexts of turbo-charged property investment markets in major Australian cities, is further impacting renters in challenging and unforeseen ways. If home is culturally regarded as a place where multiple securities are most easily experienced, it begs the question: How 'at home' do renters in Australian urban settings feel?

In the housing literature theorising about 'Home' is often co-located with 'place' and so home is seen as a significant type of place (Easthope 2004). Within the literatures of environmental psychology and architectural, cultural and housing theory home is also explored through notions of 'belonging' (Dovey 2010; Gurney 1997; Hooks & Hicks 1992; 2007; Mee, K. 2009). Yet place remains the starting point. Home is a dwelling place and space where people enjoy, or feel entitled to enjoy, the freedom to be, away from the gaze and judgements of outsiders. Home as a dwelling place then is related to having a locus of control, having and enjoying a sense of privacy, autonomy and ontological security, a confidence in *'the constancy of their social and material environments'* (Giddens cited in Hiscock et al. 2001, p.50). The concept of ontological security has been used to explore the benefits to one's sense of being that home, and more specifically home ownership, is deemed to offer and provide (Saunders and Williams 1988, 1989, Somerville 1998, Dupuis and Thorns 1998, Hiscock et al 2001, Elliot and Wadley 2012).

Saunders' notion that 'the meaning of home reflects the society around it' (Dupuis & Thorns 1998) is a reflexivity of and within the macro socio-spatial field evident in the rental housing market. Hulse and

Milligan (2014) have also noted that if rental housing is understood primarily as a place to live and make a home then policies and practices that derive from this belief would be evident. In contrast, if the sector is understood primarily as asset and investment then, '*the institutional arrangements will reflect these assumptions; the dominant perspective will shape the institutional settings and security of occupancy*' *(2014, p 8).*

Such reflexivities also play out at meso and micro scales of a sociocultural political economy of rental housing and so at the heart of housing policies and practices in rental housing spheres in Australia are also contested questions of culture and equity; inextricably linked to renters' lived experience, yet not well considered. In this paper I explore the value of narrative based patterns and heuristics; issues, behaviours and archetypes, extracted from the mass capture of renters' micro narratives (captured with Sensemaker ™ software) through participatory sensemaking processes. I discuss methods for making sense of what is occurring in the PRS as a multi-scalar system of 'social complexity' (Snowden, DJ 2005). I also explore the usefulness of the multi-ontological Cynefin Framework as a sensemaking and decision support tool and a contribution to socio-urban policy and planning and practice within the context of the PRS.

I take one key concern of renters – privacy – and one key factor related to it – inspections - to outline a methodological approach and to explore the value of working with archetypes and other heuristics as emergent patterns for understanding system impacts upon renters.

As a counter to the ongoing fall from egalitarian grace in current contexts of the PRS I also discuss the usefulness of mapping rental inspection related heuristics to corresponding ontological domains of the Cynefin Framework as support for socio-urban policy and planning. And, as the final piece in a cycle of action research I conclude with a discussion of potential policy and practice 'action responses' derived from mapping rental inspections issues ontologically to the Cynefin framework.

An approach for planning in a social complexity

How can we make sense of the complexity of renting, constituted of human individuals and organisations, wherein much of the complexity resides? In such a *social complexity,* how can we detect and make sense of weak signals in the system – in this case renters' voices and experiences – that are often structurally silenced? Simple, linear relationships between elements or actors in the private rental system do not exist. Rather, these convoluted relationships (Juarrero 2000) or interdependencies are connected through context. This goes to a multi-ontological view (Aaltonen 2007), both of methods to understand a complex system and of the system itself. As Snowden explains:

> *Multi-ontology sensemaking argues that different approaches are legitimate, but within boundaries and that the tools and methods that work in one ontology do not work in another…it is behoven on management (*and policy makers*) to know which ontological domain they are operating in. (Snowden, DJ 2005)*

Following Snowden, the PRS as a social system necessarily includes a 'complex' ontological domain. In light of the impacts of neoliberalism upon multi-scalar securities Dunn suggests that, 'social policy and specifically housing policy should be concerned with ways to support the basic security systems of individuals at multiple scales' (Dunn 2013, p. 184). While Dunn also suggests that heuristics are needed in support of policymaking he offers no method or approach for these to emerge. What follows is a rigorous set of methods for extracting and discerning heuristics - including behaviours and cultures - within the PRS and the impacts of these upon the basic security systems of Australian private renters. This paper posits that such methods and tools can inform multi-scalar governance in ways that quantitative and qualitative methods alone cannot, particularly given the contextual complexities of such a system.

Narrative and participatory sensemaking

Niles' (2010) work 'Homo Narrans', originally published in 1999, illustrates our storytelling or narrative nature. We tell our stories from a context and our narratives in turn provide further context for making sense of the world (or a private rental system). Stories and other types of narratives therefore, can be quite simply understood as filters through which we take in data. Sensemaking is a process whereby individuals or groups make sense of ambiguity. Dervin's 'sense-making' methodology, in development for over thirty years and based in narrative for sense-making of the individual, has been credited for the shift from system-centred to user-centred research (Naumer, Fisher & Dervin 2008). 'Sensemaking' of organisations and other more complex social systems however has two prominent approaches that transcend Dervin's work by centring on sensemaking of people *and* systems, as a group process. One

was developed by social psychologist Karl Weick and his colleagues (Weick 1995); the other by Cynefin research centre founder David Snowden (Browning & Boudès 2005). All three approaches have a phenomenological emphasis on lived experience (Mills, Thurlow & Mills 2010).

Beyond the multi-ontological Cynefin Framework (2003) used for decision-making and strategic planning (see Figure 3), the subsequent work by Snowden *et al* out of Cognitive Edge has also resulted in the development of a set of narrative based methods and the Sensemaker™ software designed for capturing mass, self-indexed, micro-narrative or anecdotal data. In the 'Renters at Home' research some of these methods are being utilised as the basis for socio-urban planning; for re-prosecuting the exigencies of rental housing and governance within the PRS that are exacerbating renters' securities. The methods provide requisite context and facilitate the emergence of system heuristics for decision making; patterns (heuristics) of issues, behaviours and archetypes (Snowden, David 2010).

Archetypes as patterns of behaviour

Early Jungian conceptualisations of archetypes initially drew on patterns derived from mythological stories. Indeed Jung named his archetype concept as 'a pattern of behaviour' (Jung, C 1949 para 1228 quoted in Roesler, p 226 (2012) and in recent questioning in the literature of analytical psychology as to the origin of archetypes Roesler has pointed to archetypes as being culturally constructed and transmitted (2012). Snowden's process of archetypes extraction also draws on patterns derived and emerging from narrative and Snowden's heuristic method extracts archetypes as culturally influenced patterns, human constructed exemplars of other patterns of culture and behaviour, albeit emerging from inquiry into a system through narrative and 'contextual complexity' (2005).

Archetypes can be read as cultural aggregates or as Kostera (2012) calls them, structural patterns. They work well if understood as 'strong plots' (Czarniawska and Rhodes 2006 in Kostera (2012) in cultural narratives that, through their persuasive power, are able to influence social practice, including organisational practice (Kostera, Zdrowski & Edward Elgar 2012) - as ways to do or not do things.

The social constructs that emerged as archetypes in a participatory process are reflective of issues and concerns that resonated with participants. Yet these concerns are also revealed in and find correspondence with the other data forms - the individual rental tales and the aggregated data patterns of renters' experiences – resulting from self-indexing by rental tale contributors. These visual patterns thus also represent macro scale views of what is occurring in and across the system and various jurisdictions.

To illustrate the value of such methods for policy planning and change interventions in the PRS I firstly describe the heuristic processes and subsequently explore two of the 15 extracted archetypes. I interrogate these in terms of just one core concern of renters along with some of its interdependencies, which corresponds deeply to a sense of 'dwelling as home and security': Privacy.

Heuristic processes

Private sector micro-narratives (rental tales) were collected through Sensemaker™ along with tales from other tenurial contexts. The bespoke online collection instrument (collaboratively developed with stakeholders) offered a naturalistic context to catalyse a naturalistic, anecdotal response. Contributors were then asked to place their experience (as a dot) into various spatial fields that displayed factors relevant to filters about 'feeling at home', 'sense of security', 'impacts on privacy', among others (see Figures 2 and 3 below).

Eighty-three tales were subsequently utilised in a PAR workshop. In a fluid facilitation process adapted from a method developed by Snowden (http://cognitive-edge.com/resources/basic-methods/) (Snowden, D) the tales were arrayed in a large workshop space along with conceptual and media materials related to the field of inquiry to provide additional research context. Nineteen participants included renters, a housing manager, tenancy advocates and government and peak body policy officers. The purpose of the workshop was fourfold. Firstly, as the second phase of a participatory/action research and planning process (the first phase being the online capture of micro-narratives with Sensemaker™) the workshop was utilised to triangulate issues found in the rental tale data. Participants scanned the data on the walls, noting down all the issues that resonated with them as renters. This triangulated data also fulfilled the second purpose of extracting a themed metadata set of rental system issues and concerns to be subsequently mapped to the Cynefin framework initially developed by Snowden and Kurtz (2003) as a basis for further planning – the third purpose. The fourth and final purpose of the workshop was to 'extract' rental system archetypes as yet another form of system heuristic.

A secondary scanning by participants of the primary data yielded an initial 'extraction' of characters, clustered similarly and named. Characters at this point of the process are ostensibly one dimensional and stereotypical and so to counter the tendency for participants to resort to stereotyping, they were directed to assign equal numbers of positive and negative attributes to the characters (how their best friend and worst enemy would describe them).

These attributes were then disembodied and deconstructed from the original clusters of characters and randomised as yet another layer of filtering in the archetype extraction and construction process. From several hundred positive and negative human attributes and traits that had emerged from the participants small groups then collaborated on developing new, multidimensional, fully human archetypes, beyond the stereotypes that had first emerged in the earlier part of the process. From the newly assigned attributes participants then constructed fresh narratives about the emerging archetypal personae, situating them within their individual, cultural and system contexts. Finally, the participant groups briefed cartoonists whose role was to animate these culturally constructed archetypes. Fifteen archetypes in the system of rental housing emerged from this process; a range of tenants, agents, landlords and advocates. As archetypes they were immediately recognisable by those familiar with the private rental system and the cultures within that system.

The following two archetypes (as cultural aggregates extracted by participants) amply reflect issues and behaviour patterns related to privacy (and other privacy/rental system interdependencies) that are also revealed through the other forms of data: The descriptions and attributes below are those ascribed by workshop participants. (See Appendix for drawings)

Prue the real estate agent.

Prue is described as diligent, customer focussed, efficient, fastidious, entrepreneurial and well educated (she trained as a lawyer but couldn't handle the legal profession) but she is also regarded as anal retentive, manipulative, patronising, discriminatory and a bully. She is money conscious and has zero tolerance towards 'bad tenants' and so avoids renting to tenants she has prejudice about (she considers them risky); she manipulates and cheats tenants out of their bond but landlords - her customers and clients - love her (as she always pays them on time). Prue is thin and rich; she drives a BMW and always wears immaculate makeup and lots of gold jewellery. She is a 'power dresser' - wears a well co-ordinated outfit of suit jacket and slim trousers. She carries a briefcase with lots of papers and wears glasses on her nose for close inspection of things.

Ritchie the landlord who does his own repairs

Ritchie is Mr Fixit himself – (He is skinny, unshaven, with pointy long nose and balding head) owns the flat next door and rents it out. He rocks up whenever he wants (in singlet, shorts, old work boots with no socks) but it's to do repairs and maintenance that needs doing. He is a self-taught handyman with a toolkit (and wears a belt with pockets for screws and nails around his pot belly). He performs these repairs regardless of what the tenants think. When they complain about the inconvenience he tells them they should be grateful and appreciate that he is a conscientious landlord (and) unlike all those other landlords he is a nice guy. He is retired but used to work in government. His best mates see him as flexible, confident, resourceful and artistic and rather entrepreneurial. Others see him as unscrupulous, a rule breaker who is disrespectful, selfish and a bit delusional.

Governance value

The deeper governance value (in terms of regulatory, policy and practice improvement) of these particular archetypal extractions and constructions lies in the identification of behaviours and practices that find correspondences within the other data. Thus the archetypes act as another form of triangulation and validity checking. They exemplify behaviours and practices in the system that need addressing if Australian renters are also to enjoy levels of ontological security, privacy and sense of home that begin to approach that of Australians who own (or mortgage) their home or indeed renters elsewhere who enjoy substantially greater levels of secure occupancy (Hulse, Milligan & Easthope 2011) and other securities than Australian private renters.

Heuristic correspondences

Heuristics appeal to the pattern basis of human intelligence as well as our storying nature. The visual patterns in Figures 1 and 2 below tell us something at first glance. While correlative statistics may be

extracted for quantitative analyses what is more useful for collaborative analysis with stakeholders are the emergent macro patterns and the capability (via the Sensemaker Explorer™) for deeper analyses relative to specific queries about system interrelationships. Each dot in the graphical clusters below represents a self-indexed micro-narrative and in this planning process the micro-narratives of the renters in the cluster and those that exemplify the pattern remain disintermediated. They speak for themselves. Corresponding archetypes are usually found in tales clustered and adjacent to a factor of concern, in this case: Inspections as a factor of privacy.

Figure 1. Macro pattern of a triadic question. In the rental tale contributed, to what extent do/did the following factors impact your privacy?
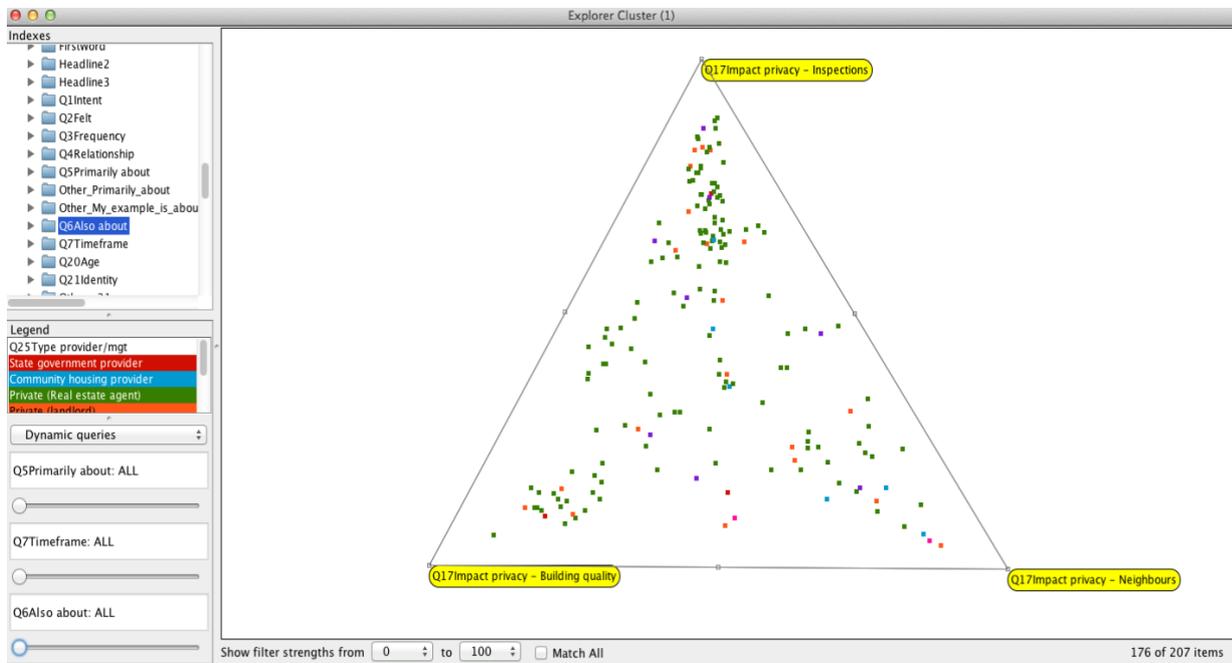

The triad of Figure 1 above depicts factors in the system of rental housing related to impacts on privacy: Inspections; Quality of the built environment; Neighbours. At first glance, without interrogating the data further, it is clear that the pattern closest to the apex of 'inspections' is denser and more prominent than the patterns nesting closer to the other two apices (Neighbours and Building Quality). The extent of the patterns suggests more substantial impact upon renters' privacy by inspections (amongst most of the contributors with concerns about their privacy). Interrogating the issues emerging from the participatory scan of the micro-narratives, it became clear there are numerous interrelationships with the factor of inspections that cause concern for renters.

The question responded to in Figure 2 overleaf asked narrators to place their experience along a continuum, a dyadic form that utilises the Aristotelian golden mean of the ideal state. In this case the ideal state (hidden from contributors so as not to entrain their responses) is expressed as a state where 'rental practices and conditions, regulations and legislation *balance* care for investments and all persons' rights to create a secure home base free of interference'. The pattern in Figure 2 clearly depicts a lack of balance in the system based on the reported experiences (and perceptions) of renters.

The patterns provide heuristics of a broad inegalitarianism experienced in the system of renting. As such they are useful starting points for regulatory, policy and practice deliberations about redressing imbalances in the system. Such heuristics are important to consider; particularly if stable housing, privacy and a sense of home are understood as basic to human securities, and the benefits that flow from these remain commonly recognised as underpinnings of a 'good' Australian society (Friedmann 1979).

Figure 2. Macro pattern of a dyadic question. In your experience, renting in Australia is….:
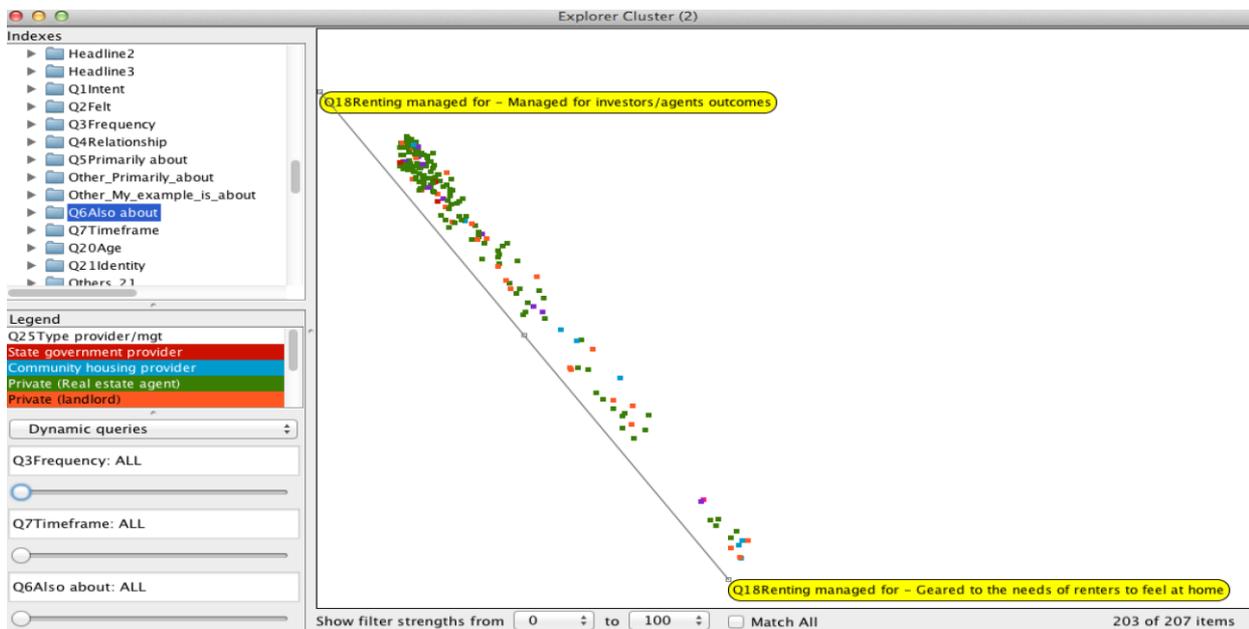
The following tales are found as correspondences within both the pattern of 'inspections' as a factor in privacy concerns (Figure 2) and the 'managed for investors and agents outcomes' pattern (Figure 3) depicted. The tales elucidate the types of rental agent and landlord practices that cause substantial disquiet for renters, their senses of ontological security, home and their right to privacy and quiet enjoyment of a property. These tales and the issues emerging from them point to behaviours and interdependencies, also exemplified in the Prue and Ritchie archetypes, which require intervention to inject more balance and fairness into a system strongly perceived by a large majority of respondents as out of balance. Mapping these to the most relevant ontological domain(s) in the Cynefin framework (discussed shortly) provides decision support as to the type of responses required; to ensure there are less tales like this in future.

I may not have a home tomorrow

"This is from a clients perspective: I have lived for years in a great home had a great real estate agent and everything had been running smoothly. I now have a new real estate agent - she calls me all the time texts and emails she is rude and speaks down to me. When I have inspections she tells me off for having dishes in the sink or spider webs in a corner that I can't reach. I look after my house it is clean and tidy and I have caused no damage what so ever. Yet the new real estate agent tells me she has to come back to re-inspect and expects the issues to be fixed. She tells me if they aren't she will evict me and no-one will ever rent to me again. Every 3 months I am so scared that I feel sick at the thought of her coming into my home and I'm always worrying about what she will think of my house and if I will be evicted. My house no longer feels like a home I feel invaded and insecure. I don't want to be homeless." (female, 35-50, SA, ongoing issue, tale about 'treatment of renters')

The following rental tale expresses a level of imposition from private landlords that renters face.

Don't open the curtains!!

Took a lease on a nice rental property a while ago through L J Hooker and later found out the local owner of the rental property was in the Air Force so was away a lot. Unbeknownst to me he had nominated his father to keep an eye on the property in his absence. As any good renter knows you should be given an Entry Notice if any one is wishing to come to the property whilst you are renting e.g. a tradie, rental inspection, maintenance, etc. The owner's father a foreign man did not speak great English and did not obey these rules, dropping in unannounced at a moment's notice to do little jobs around the house. One morning I got out of bed naked flung open the bedroom curtains and there he was, painting the window frames outside my bedroom!! Nice!! On other occasions he would be knocking at the door at 7am while I was still asleep, somewhere on the property hammering or out in the back yard weeding when I got out of bed! It was pointless trying to tell him he shouldn't he on my property as he regarded it as his property and was not going to obey the rules! I didn't bother reporting him which in hindsight I should have but I was certainly very careful in future to be

> *properly clothed at all times when opening my curtains!! (female, 50-65 yrs QLD, 20-30 years renting, happens occasionally, tale about 'treatment of renters')*

Of the concerns that emerged, initially through the collaborative processes of instrument design for the rental tale collection, in the tales themselves and then through the subsequent participatory workshop, privacy and the factors and issues that impact it have loomed large. It remains to be seen below how mapping emergent concerns ontologically might better support privacy, a sense of home and ontological security of private renters in the current Australian housing system.

Complex interdependencies: Mapping heuristics to a multi-ontological framework

When emergent heuristics related to privacy (those that have been extracted from the narrative data in various ways) are coded and mapped ontologically the usefulness of the Cynefin Framework (see Figure 3 below) becomes apparent. The Cynefin Framework consists of five ontological domains: Simple; Complicated; Complex; Chaos; and Disorder. Issues mapped to these domains become understood as properly tied to particular orders of response.

Figure 3. The full Cynefin Framework with five ontological domains and orders of response

Without the understanding that aspects and issues within the rental system can be mapped according to their ontology the issue of 'inspections' may be construed and enacted as a 'simple' instrumentality; with policy and regulatory responses of 'best practice' geared to maintaining owners' properties but with scant regard paid to the human complexities of power, proprietary entitlement and profit-turning at the expense of renters' multi-dimensional securities. In sensemaking of renters' lived experience the complexities and interdependencies of inspections belie the 'simple' ontological view and the efficacy of managerialist responses. Sensemaking and mapping the issues ontologically, with due regard for fairness and balance, brings into question current, embedded regulations as well as practices based in assumptions of the privileging of owners' and agents' interests first, under which the system appears to operate.

The plethora of issues and contexts in interdependent relationship with this one factor of privacy (inspections) illuminates significant structural imbalances in the system that require different orders of response, residing as they do in differentiated ontological domains. The following points outline by no means exhaustive concerns in 'convoluted relationship' with inspections emerging from the scanning of rental tales and noted by workshop participants.

- Renters are often treated as inconsequential in rental markets. They have little or no power to negotiate simple things such as inspection times around busy family and work lives.
- Renters feel required to pander to and tolerate agents and landlords "own rules" and double standards of behaviour and cleanliness, lest they be evicted (or threatened overtly or covertly) for minor things construed by 'inspectors' as infringements on someone else's idea of the perfect condition of a property.

- "Own rules" especially around what constitutes "fair wear and tear" and "bond cleaned" regularly "gouge" bond monies at the end of tenancies and renters' time, energies and resources at the beginning of and during tenancies.
- Properties regularly up for sale also impact the sense of privacy and home that renters feel justly entitled to and can translate to additional illegal and threatening behaviour by owners and agents.

Inspections thus cause ongoing impositions on time as well as impacts on financial, ontological and other securities. They elicit a range of feelings in renters - from feelings of mild annoyance or abject humiliation at the imposition of a stranger regularly passing judgement on their housekeeping, to overwhelming levels of stress, a sense of loss and depression at having to move house yet again. The inspection regimes outlined above are in stark contradiction to the time renters are allotted to inspect properties they may apply to rent (and pay for handsomely). Renters often feel they must remain convivial with agents to enhance the chances of finding another rental property. In a tight private rental market agents and owners can rely on renters unwillingness or inability to assert their rights; to privacy; for return of full bond for fair wear and tear; against retaliatory evictions should a complaint (about anything) be made. Poor practices and often illegal behaviour on the part of agents and owners therefore go unchecked because the risks to basic security (a roof over one's head), let alone other securities, are deemed too great. The system remains open to gaming by other, more powerful (and monied) interests.

It is clear there are distortions in practices and behaviours (regulated or not) that act to further compound the disadvantage and inequities for many renters in contexts of constrained housing markets.

Interrogating the social complexity of inspections (or any other emergent factor or concern for that matter) through a Cynefin Framework lens thus offers a means of coming to new, differentiated responses that have at their core redress of imbalances in the system. Mapping issues related to inspections to the Cynefin Framework reveals 'emergent' and 'good practice' responses to the issues that may go some way in ameliorating the problems for renters.

While a full mapping of all rental issues emerging from the research has yet to occur as part of the participatory/action research process here I propose that 'frequency of inspections' would be mapped to the 'complicated' domain of the Cynefin Framework as an issue requiring expertise. 'Good practice' responses might entail a *critical* reappraisal of the rationale for inspections - through panels of experts and representatives of all stakeholders. 'Good practice' around inspections might be seen as contingent on other factors such as length of occupancy and previous references rather than an arbitrary quarterly event. An inspection (at a mutually agreed time) at the end of the first three months to identify issues from both sides of the tenancy agreement (issues not picked up in brief assessments of people or dwelling) might allow for necessary repairs and levels of maintenance by leaseholders relative to other factors to be equitably negotiated. There may be no further need for quarterly inspections and so the frequency may extend to annually or to the end of the tenancy. Other 'good practice responses' related to inspections might include a formulation of what constitutes 'fair wear and tear' with guidelines and examples relative to the material standards of properties. Aspects of this issue related to inspections thus also belong in the 'complicated' domain where certain expertise is called for - from materials specialists, surveys of previous tribunal judgements and other system heuristics.

The power plays and other, poor, inspection related concerns renters narrate however belong in the 'complex' ontological domain and are therefore not well managed by usual regulatory processes or responses. Here, 'emergent' responses are called for; small 'safe to fail' experiments or probes to sense and evaluate impact before potentially integrating such responses into the system. One identified experiment already in development is a small pilot of a transformative leadership program in support of behavioural and attitudinal change for specific cohorts in the real estate sector, as part of their ongoing professional development.

Conclusion

In outlining processes for extracting heuristics – issues, behaviours and archetypes – I have explored the value of working with these methods and findings to support governance decision-making in policy and practice spheres in the Australian private rental system (PRS). The narrative, software architecture and participatory/action research based methods have revealed systemic patterns as imbalances within the PRS exacerbating Australian renters' disaffected sense of privacy and home. Mapping system heuristics related to 'inspections' and 'privacy' ontologically to the Cynefin Framework has clarified and called for the types of responses needed to effect appropriate and equitable policy and practice change to redress system imbalances in the social complexity of the PRS.

Appendix – Participants' depictions of Archetypes Prue and Ritchie (with help from cartoonists)

PRUE THE ANAL ESTATE AGENT

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