Department of Industrial Engineering and Management

The micro-to-macro problem: the generation of mobilizing frames through idea development conversations

Riku Ruotsalainen

Aalto University

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Abstract

Existing research has established mobilizing frames as a driver of institutional change. However, we know little about how mobilizing frames emerge. This doctoral dissertation investigates how and when conversations can produce new mobilizing frames, i.e. action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings. The empirical analysis of this dissertation is based on a longitudinal study of idea development conversations in a creative project between professionals from nine public health care organizations in Finland, 2009 - 2012.

The three essays of this dissertation interpret the same empirical data through distinct theoretical 'lenses' developed in the essays. This research approach is called 'theoretical triangulation' and it is used to provide an in-depth understanding of the micro-to-macro conversational processes linking individual actors' discourse to the generation of mobilizing frames. The first essay takes an ecological perspective to investigate what characteristics of conversations are associated with the generation of influential ideas. The second essay develops a novel structuration perspective to study how conversations construct cultural structures, and how such cultural structures condition the subsequent negotiations concerning tangible changes in the organizations. The third essay studies how conversations construct conversational 'networks', and how such networks condition the selection of ideas as mobilizing frames.

The findings suggest conversations are more likely to generate influential ideas when actors utilize a broad spectrum of genres, when actors shift between the genres frequently, when the population of conversed ideas is large, and when the average conversational attention per idea is low. In such temporally evolving and culturally diverse conversations, the development of nascent ideas into mobilizing frames is crucially dependent on the formation of inclusive, supportive, dense, and relatively stable conversational 'networks' where the idea advocate is centrally positioned. The findings are synthesized into a model describing the ecological relationship between the population of ideas and the conversational, cultural, and relational environment in which the ideas live and die. This novel perspective provides a theoretical answer to the important practical question of why change in the field of public health care is so slow.

Keywords Idea development conversations, micro-to-macro processes, culture, interpersonal relationships, collaboration, health care, change, resistance

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Tiivistelmä

Aikaisempi tutkimus on osoittanut mobilisoivien kulttuuristen kehysten ajavan monia institutionaalisia muutoksia. Tiedämme kuitenkin hyvin vähän mobilisoivien kehysten synnystä. Tässä väitöskirjassa tutkitaan kuinka ja milloin ideointikeskustelut voivat luoda uusia mobilisoivia kehyksiä. Väitöskirjan empiirinen analyysi perustuu ideointikeskusteluihin, jotka käytiin yhdeksän julkisen terveydenhuolto-organisaation välisessä luovassa projektissa vuosien 2009 ja 2012 välillä.

Väitöskirjan kolmessa esseessä analysoidaan samaa empiiristä aineistoa erilaisten teoreettisten 'linssien' kautta. Tämän lähestymisen tavoitteena on luoda syvä ymmärrys mikro-makro-prosesseista, jotka yhdistävät yksilöiden puheen keskusteluissa mobilisoivien kehysten luontiin. Ensimmäisessä esseessä tutkitaan minkälaiset keskusteluiden ominaisuudet ovat yhteydessä mobilisoivien kehysten luontiin. Keskusteluiden ja kehysten luonnin välistä suhdetta selitetään erilaisten genrejen käytön ja ideoiden saaman huomion avulla. Toinen essee luo uudenlaisen strukturaatioperspektiivin ja tutkii miten keskustelut konstruoivat kulttuurisia rakenteita sekä miten nämä kulttuuriset rakenteet vaikuttavat myöhempiin neuvotteluihin koskien konkreettisia muutoksia organisaatioissa. Kolmas essee tutkii miten keskustelut luovat 'keskusteluverkostoja' ja miten nämä verkostot vaikuttavat kehysten valintaan.

Tutkimuksessa väitetään, että keskustelut luovat mobilisoivia kehyksiä todennäköisemmin silloin, kun toimijat käyttävät monenlaisia genrejä keskusteluissa, kun keskusteluita määrittävät genret vaihtuvat usein, kun keskustelussa esiintyy paljon ideoita, ja kun yksittäiset ideat saavat vähän huomiota. Tällaisissa koko ajan kehittyvissä ja kulttuurisesti monipuolisissa keskusteluissa ideoiden kehittyminen kehyksiksi riippuu kattavien, ideoita tukevien, tiiviiden ja suhteellisen stabiilien keskusteluverkostojen synnystä sekä idean puolestapuhujan keskeisestä asemasta näissä verkostoissa. Tulosten perusteella muodostetaan malli, joka kuvaa ideoiden ekologista suhdetta keskusteluiden, kulttuurin ja ihmistenvälisten suhteiden muodostamaan ympäristöönsä. Työ vastaa tärkeään käytännöllisen kysymykseen miksi julkisen terveydenhuollon muutos on hidasta.

Avainsanat Ideointikeskustelut, mikro-makro-prosessit, kulttuuri, ihmistenväliset suhteet, kollaboraatio, terveydenhuolto, muutos, muutosvastarinta

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Foreword

This doctoral dissertation relates to the academic field of organization science. The central theoretical puzzle this dissertation seeks to answer is when and how conversations in meetings can generate novel mobilizing frames, that is action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings, which have the potential to change organizational fields. This puzzle has received fairly little attention in existing organizational research, probably because it captures an empirical phenomenon residing between micro level idea generation in groups and macro level processes of institutional change.

Researchers in psychology and social psychology have increasingly studied group creativity. Their work has established that teams characterized by high diversity can potentially generate more novel ideas than low diversity teams would, but high diversity can hinder the group from establishing a joint understanding what ideas they should select for implementation. On the other hand, researchers interested in topics such as diffusion of managerial practices, industrial change, and organizational change have focused to understanding how established administrative innovations, e.g. total quality management, are adopted (implemented) in organizations. Their findings typically suggest that the implementation of established innovations in organizations requires broad and homogeneous intraorganizational support for the implementation. There is an inherent paradox between the generation of novel ideas and organizational and institutional change: high diversity breeds novel ideas while low diversity is required for the selection of such ideas and their subsequent diffusion. The previous literature provides few answers to the question of *how* high diversity teams generate ideas and select some of them for implementation. This raises the primary research question driving this dissertation: What types of conversational processes link individuals' discourse in idea development conversations to the generation of mobilizing frames?

Given the fairly unexplored nature of the puzzle, in this doctoral dissertation I have chosen to conduct a longitudinal study of idea development conversations in an interorganizational project between nine public health care organizations in Finland. I utilize three distinct theoretical 'lenses' to capture the different processes linking conversations and the generation of mobilizing frames. There are different names for this type of research design. For example, 'pragmatic postmodernism', theoretical 'triangulation', and 'bricolage' are some of the names used in the methodological literature. The three theoretical lenses are presented in detail in the three essays of this dissertation, giving a form to their theory sections and guiding the empirical analysis in them. The theoretical insights and empirical findings

discussed in the essays are then integrated in the general discussion of this dissertation. The clearest virtue of this type of research design lies in producing a multidimensional and 'deep' understanding of a complex empirical phenomenon. Yet the flip side of the multidimensional understanding is the increased heterogeneity of concepts and other forms of language used in the different essays, which can be to the detriment of readers.

I have tried to keep the heterogeneity of language forms at a productive level by minimizing long theoretical introductions and specialized discussions in the essays. This has led to a relatively 'dense' style of academic writing, directing my text mainly to other organizational scholars. I typically introduce theoretical concepts and discussions with relatively few introductory remarks, hoping the reader is able to see how my conceptualizations link to some of the larger discussions in the field of organizational science. I also mainly referred to fairly recent studies, trying to minimize 'ritualistic' referencing. At the same time, I have aimed to keep my writing at a level which is comprehensible to many organizational scholars, regardless of the particular theories they have specialized into. This is the reason why I have chosen to minimize the usage of categories classifying particular streams of literature, such as "relational sociology". Another reason is that, in my opinion, such categories rather leave the reader with more questions than provide clarity.

While I think that I have succeeded in capturing the complexity of idea development conversations through the three theoretical lenses depicted in the essays, some of the combinations of concepts introduced in the essays might cause cognitive dissonance for the readers. Most of this is probably caused by my inability to imagine how different readers interpret and respond to my texts. Yet, I hope some of this dissonance initiates a reflexive process in the reader. My intention has been to bring conceptual heterogeneity into the essays in order to increase our understanding concerning how conversations breed mobilizing frames. While the individual essays use diverse concepts and heterogeneous language to capture the complexity of idea development conversations, the general discussion section of this dissertation cuts down this diversity and suggests that a single mechanism - the formation of supportive interpersonal relationships – drives the evolution of particular novel ideas into mobilizing frames. I also provide some additional justifications for my theoretical triangulation approach in the general discussion section.

This being said, readers unfamiliar with organization science might find this doctoral dissertation hard to grasp. In such cases, I suggest consulting Hatch and Cunliffe's excellent introductory book to organization theory (2006) and especially its pages 25-60, 85-88, 123-129, 205-206, and 330-335. They introduce the larger discussions to which this dissertation relates. Readers interested primarily in the practical applications of this dissertation are suggested to read first the implications for managers in health care and implications for policy makers subsections in the general discussion section.

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At this point I finally have the possibility to thank all the persons who have provided me insight, support, and critique during the past five years which I have spent doing my studies and conducting my dissertation research. Not only have you guided and pulled me on my way towards a finalized dissertation, but many of you have provided me points-of-view which have changed my worldview in more general sense. I am grateful for the possibility to learn from such great and intellect human beings like you.

The first two-and-a-half years of my studies were in many ways most difficult. I was struggling with finding the theoretical perspective to my dissertation, conducting analyses, and finding funding. During these times of deep reflection, Paul Lillrank helped me by providing critique towards my work and by highlighting the central importance of inference and argumentation for any scientific work. Starting from the beginning, Esa Saarinen provided me important support and hints about books which turned out to be valuable later on. Karita Reijonsaari helped me to gain access to the field and secured me funding throughout these yearly years.

Several of you have been there for me during the whole process. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Matti Vartiainen and my instructor Henri Schildt for the valuable work you have done in supervising my work. You have made yourself available to any questions, concerns, or doubts which I have had. You always read my manuscripts and provided me critique and comments, without which this dissertation would not have been possible. Moreover, you have provided me important support in applying for and gaining access to monetary and informational resources. Co-authoring a manuscript with Henri was perhaps the turning point in my research process. Only after that experience I started understanding how to tie the different parts of a manuscript into a coherent whole. Thank you.

I have been privileged to have three outstanding scholars, Jörg Sydow, André Spicer, and Nelson Phillips, taking part in the examination of this dissertation. Your research has been a great source of inspiration for me. I thank Jörg and André for the comments which you raised in your preliminary examination statements. They not only helped me to make the dissertation more solid but also enabled me to reflect bigger issues related to my theorization. I would like to thank Nelson for agreeing to act as the opponent in the public defence of my dissertation. You are an excellent opponent for this dissertation, given that it builds very much on the work that you have done on the intersection between interorganizational collaboration, institutional theory, and organizational discourse, which I admire a lot.

I would like to thank Eero Vaara, Jörg Sydow, Nelson Phillips, Janne Tienari, Saku Mantere, Tuomas Kuronen, Jouni Virtaharju, the anonymous reviewers of the Academy of Management 2012 and 2013 annual conferences, and the anonymous reviewers and editors of *Academy of Management Journal* and *Organization Studies* for providing critique and comments to individual essays and other parts of this dissertation. I am in debt to your comments, they were crucial for the development of my ideas. More generally, my thinking has become more heterogeneous thanks to the lively and enjoyable 'junior scholarly' discussions with my doctoral student peers at Aalto University School of Science.

Two scholars outside my immediate field have broadened my thinking by showing alternative ways of doing scholarly work. Thanks to Mika Aaltonen, I have understood how academia and practitioners can collaborate to solve real world problems, providing an important middle-ground between traditional academia-dominated 'basic science' and industry-dominated 'applied science'. I would like to thank Jukka Lipponen for commenting my manuscripts, providing readings, and advising me on the publication process. Discussions with you regarding classics in social psychology were especially valuable for the third essay in this dissertation.

I also thank all the participants of the interorganizational project which I was allowed to observe and record for my dissertation. The possibility to take part in your meetings and my informal chats with you before and after the meetings have provided me an important vantage point to the work you do to develop treatments and organizations in the health care field. Though at first the conversations in the project appeared as very chaotic to me, in the end I am more than satisfied in investigating exactly this case in my dissertation. The problem of "overuse", and the problems of forming a consensus decision on the potential solution all point to the basic theoretical problem of collective action. Having this case as my empirical case has provided me the opportunity to craft a new theoretical approach for understanding the origins of collective action in professional fields.

This dissertation has been funded by the Institute of Healthcare Engineering, Management, and Architecture (HEMA), by the Finnish Doctoral Program in Industrial Engineering and Management, and by the Department of Industrial Engineering and Management. I am grateful for having been able to focus the majority of my time to my dissertation research.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents Mirja and Tenho Ruotsalainen, Päivi Tarvainen, and my Sirpa for their endless support. Sirpa, though at many times I could not provide answers to your questions concerning what would this work produce or where would this process put me in the end, you always supported me with your wisely-chosen words and pushed me beyond details to reconsidering the larger research problems guiding my research. In addition to emotional and cognitive support, I enjoy our conversations ranging from science to politics to everyday human joys and fears. I am a fortunate man to be able to share my life with you, Rasmus, and Sara.

Helsinki
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Introduction

The development of novel ideas into innovations transforming organizational fields often requires entrepreneurial spirit, collective action, and a multitude of discursive and cultural tools through which broad social support is established (DiMaggio, 1988; Hargrave & Van De Ven, 2006; Munir & Phillips, 2005; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). Though the links between discourse, novel ideas, and processes of institutional change have been studied extensively in existing research, researchers have typically focused either to the later phases of institutional change, where established ideas are further legitimated through discourse (Greenwood, Hinings, & Suddaby, 2002; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Vaara, Tienari, & Laurila, 2006) on the field level, or to the intermediate phases, where multiple nascent ideas compete for legitimacy (Hargrave & Van De Ven, 2006; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; cf. Reay & Hinings, 2005, 2009). We know little about the initial micro level processes through which novel ideas surface, gain social support, and stabilize as macro level mobilizing frames, i.e. "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings" (Benford & Snow, 2000: 614) which have the potential to diffuse to contexts beyond the one in which they were created and to drive institutional change in those contexts.

Our existing knowledge of the micro-to-macro processes generating mobilizing frames is fragmented into distinct streams of literature each of which captures only a part of the whole process. For example, while students of interorganizational collaboration commonly agree that the goals and means of collaboration are formed through a discursive 'negotiation' process (e.g. Everett & Jamal, 2004; Gray, 1985; Hardy, Lawrence, & Grant, 2005; Lawrence, Phillips, & Hardy, 1999; Levina & Orlikowski, 2009; Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2000; Ring & Van de Ven, 1992, 1994), we have only vague understanding of the micro level processes through which negotiations proceed. Some researchers have suggested that an interorganizational collaboration can produce macro-level outcomes when the collaboration is characterized by close and strong relationships between the collaborating parties (Lawrence, Hardy, & Phillips, 2002), but they provide few answers to how such relationships are formed through micro level discursive negotiations. Scholars of culture and discourse, on the other hand, have investigated how actors use cultural resources (Levina & Orlikowski, 2009; Ng & de Cock, 2002; Vaara, Tienari, Piekkari, & Säntti, 2005) and various discursive tools (Molotch & Boden, 1985; Samra-Fredericks, 2003) to shape interpersonal relationships, but these micro level researchers have seldom studied creative contexts characterized by lacking pre-defined relationships (e.g. Powell, 1990), vague or non-existing goals and means for collaboration (Lawrence et al., 1999),

and fairly equal chances for conversational participation. Hence, our understanding of the links between micro level discursive action, discursive negotiation processes, and the more durable outcomes such negotiations produce in a creative, non-hierarchical, and professional context is inadequate.

In this doctoral thesis, I address these gaps in the existing literature by studying the conversational processes linking micro level discourse of individuals in idea development conversations to the generation of macro level mobilizing frames. I build on methodological individualism (Coleman, 1986; Udehn, 2002) and analytical sociology (Hedström & Swedberg, 1996, 1998) to focus on the conversational conditions supporting and mechanisms driving the evolution of novel ideas into mobilizing frames. The empirical analysis of this dissertation is based on longitudinal study of two task forces in a three-year collaboration project between professionals from nine health care organizations. The project was set up to redesign the governance model of patient transfers spanning several social and health care organizations in the Finnish public health care field. The project was initiated as the previous governance model was first forcefully delegitimized by politicians, health care officials, and the public press, and consequently, abandoned. My comprehensive data set consists of both primary data on the studied project (non-participant observation and audio recording of meetings in the project, informal interviews with the project participants, project documentation, and a research diary) and of secondary data on the institutional context of the project (documentation of relevant decision making bodies, reports, and articles in a newspaper and a journal).

The studied case is a particularly good empirical context for the investigation of the processes which link micro level discourse to the generation of macro level mobilizing frames. First, institutional theory suggests that change is more likely in contexts where structural contradictions exist and strengthen (Giddens, 1984: 199; Seo & Creed, 2002) as actors "compete over the definition of issues and the form of institutions that will guide organizational behavior" (Hoffman, 1999: 352). Second, existing research on interorganizational collaboration has documented both the 'virtuous' and 'vicious' outcomes which collaboration can produce. Both earlier innovation research (Ahuja, 2000; Owen-Smith & Powell, 2004; Powell, Koput, & Smith-Doerr, 1996) and institutional research (Hardy & Maguire, 2010; Lawrence et al., 2002; Maguire, Hardy, & Lawrence, 2004; Phillips et al., 2000) have implied that interorganizational collaboration is a potential source of mobilizing frames. At the same time, much of the literature on interorganizational collaboration highlights how political conflicts can wreck the collaboration (Larsson, Bengtsson, Henriksson, & Sparks, 1998; cf. Gray & Hay, 1986; Hardy & Phillips, 1998). Especially in the health care sector conflicts are common (e.g. Ashburner & Fitzgerald, 1996; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Reed & Anthony, 1993). Third, in terms of the generated outcomes, the studied empirical project can be seen as an extreme case. The project was able to generate only two mobilizing frames causing incremental changes to the interorganizational treatment processes, even though the project had the explicit goal of producing innovations, and the tens of collaborating professionals from the nine health care organizations spent tens of hours in meetings in order to find novel ideas. The studied case fulfills all these criteria. By analyzing such an extreme case, we can better understand the

conditions and mechanisms through which conversations can generate mobilizing frames.

The phenomenon of interest in this doctoral dissertation is particularly complex. First, lacking pre-defined relationships (e.g. Powell, 1990) and vague or non-existing goals and means (Lawrence et al., 1999) of the interorganizational collaboration increase ambiguity regarding how the collaborative conversations should proceed. Second, many studies of health care have described how intra- and inter-professional social interaction is characterized more by 'negotiated order' (see e.g. Strauss, Fagerhaugh, Suczek, & Wiener, 1997) than by rigid practices, again increasing the ambiguity of social interaction. Third, the micro-to-macro problem has been claimed to be the most complex theoretical problem for social theory taking the reflexive and purposive action of individuals as its starting point (Coleman, 1986). Fourth, in addition to complexity as an empirical phenomenon, complexity scholars often see the ways of representing such complexity as second-order complexity (Tsoukas & Hatch, 2001). Understanding complexity as an empirical phenomenon requires reflexivity and, often, novel ways of representing the complexity. In this doctoral dissertation, I have approached this problem of first- and second-order complexity by adopting a research approach called 'theoretical triangulation' (Denzin, 1978: 295; cited in Jick, 1979: 609). In theoretical triangulation, the aim is to utilize multiple theories to interpret a particularly complex empirical phenomenon in order to foster reflection and cumulative theory-building.

This dissertation draws upon four streams of literature which have investigated similar micro-to-macro processes, but from different theoretical perspectives: interorganizational collaboration, discourse and change, structuration of (organizational) culture, and networks and innovation. I utilize the insights gained from the literature review to craft three theoretical 'lenses' through which the three essays of this dissertation investigate the micro-to-macro processes linking discourse and mobilizing frames. The first essay develops an ecological model of the relationship between idea development conversations and generation of mobilizing frames, and investigates the role that the utilization of 'genres' (Fairclough, 2003; Orlikowski & Yates, 1994) and conversational attention play in that relationship. The second focuses to in-depth aspects of discursive action in the collaborative conversations. It shows how the 'cultural structures' of collaboration are produced through conversations and how the usage of cultural structures as strategic resources (Swidler, 1986; cf. Hardy, Palmer, & Phillips, 2000) influences the generation of mobilizing frames. The third essay investigates how idea development conversations influence interpersonal relationships, and how the constructed interpersonal relationships condition the generation of mobilizing frames.

The findings of the three essays depict the conversational and relational conditions for the generation of mobilizing frames through idea development conversations, and a central mechanism driving the evolution of particular ideas into mobilizing frames. First, conversations are more likely to generate mobilizing frames when actors utilize a broad spectrum of genres, when actors shift between the genres frequently, when the population of conversed ideas is large, when the average conversational attention per idea is low. Second, particular ideas can

evolve into mobilizing frame when conversations around the idea constitute an inclusive, dense, and relatively stable conversational 'network' where the idea advocate is positioned as the most influential 'hub'. Third, actors can drive the formation of supportive networks through goal-driven behavior which I call 'strategic emotional contagion' (cf. Barsade, 2002). In addition to 'virtous' outcomes, this dissertation documents how most ideas die to the lack of responses, to the initial resistance towards the idea, or to the lack of social support for the idea.

In the general discussion section, the findings are integrated into a microsociological model of idea development conversations. This model illustrates the relationships between conversations, culture, networks, and ideas by distinguishing between two central processes of idea development conversations: the structuration of culture and the evolution of ideas. Both the empirical insight of ideas' high mortality and the theoretical focus to the conditions and mechanisms driving the evolution of ideas into mobilizing frames suggest that the relationship between ideas and conversations should be understood as an ecological relationship. The general discussion section, hence, outlines a model describing the ecological relationship between the population of ideas and the conversational, cultural, and relational environment in which the ideas live and die. Though the population ecology of organizations literature has detailed numerous conditions and mechanisms for organizational survival in changing environments (e.g. Baum & Oliver, 1991; Ruef & Scott, 1998; Zaheer & Mosakowski, 1997), relatively little theoretical attention has been paid to the important question of how the situated organizational, and interorganizational contexts determine which ideas survive and which ideas die over time (Burgelman, 1991, 2002).

The rest of this doctoral dissertation is structured as follows. In the next literature review section, I discuss how micro-to-macro processes have been explained in existing literature on interorganizational collaboration, discourse and change, the structuration of culture, and networks and innovations. The section reviews first these four streams of literature separately, after which it provides a synthesis of them in order to highlight the key conditions and mechanisms provided for micro-to-macro processes. After summarizing the key gaps in our existing understanding of micro-to-macro processes, the literature review section is concluded by outlining the three essays of this dissertation. Then, the next section introduces the research site, my empirical data, and the context surrounding the conversations, and discusses the key methodological choices and research process phases. The methodology section is followed by the three essays where I represent and discuss the central findings of this dissertation. This dissertation is concluded by elaborating the theoretical contributions of this study, providing suggestions for managers and policy makers in health care, replying to some possible objections against this study, and outlining areas of future research.

The micro-to-macro problem in studies of collaboration, discourse, culture, and innovation

The primary research interest in this doctoral dissertation is in understanding when and how actors' micro level discursive action in idea development conversations produces macro level mobilizing frames. This problem relates to the more general micro-to-macro problem, which Coleman defines as "the means by which purposive actions of individuals combine to produce a social outcome" (1986: 1321). This dissertation builds on methodological individualism (Coleman, 1986; Udehn, 2002) and analytical sociology (Hedström & Swedberg, 1996, 1998) by taking action of individuals as its primary unit of analysis (cf. Collins, 1981) and by assuming actors can and do reflect upon the contexts of their action and make 'rational' choices based on their reflection (e.g. Giddens, 1984).

The goal of this literature review section is to bring various research streams into discussion with one another in order to stimulate reflection regarding the nature of micro-to-macro processes through which conversations can generate mobilizing frames. The different streams of literature are reviewed in the following subchapters by investigating how they describe i) the contextual conditions under which micro-to-macro processes are more likely to happen, ii) the mechanisms through which they take place, and iii) the social outcomes they generate. Mechanisms are different from processes and conditions. Scholars often use the concept process to describe how social events unfold, how social objects evolve over time, or as a category for referring to actions of individuals or organizations (Van de Ven, 1992), though on a more theoretical level process refers to the different types of theories used to describe and explain development and social change (Van de Ven & Poole, 1995; Van de Ven, 1992). While processes describe and explain the development of X (e.g. organization's strategy, meaning of concepts, or networks) over time, mechanisms explicate the underlying generative actions of actors that link a state or an event to another (Hedström & Swedberg, 1998: 12). In other words, mechanisms depict the central actions and interactions 'driving' development processes, opening the black box between the initial state and end states in development processes. Mechanisms refer directly to the actions of actors, capture middle-range theories residing between pure description and abstract theories, eliminate irrelevant factors in explanations, and aim to decrease the gap between the initial state and end state in processes (Hedström & Swedberg, 1998: 24–25). Finally, conditions describe contextual factors, which increase the likelihood that some processes will occur through particular mechanisms.

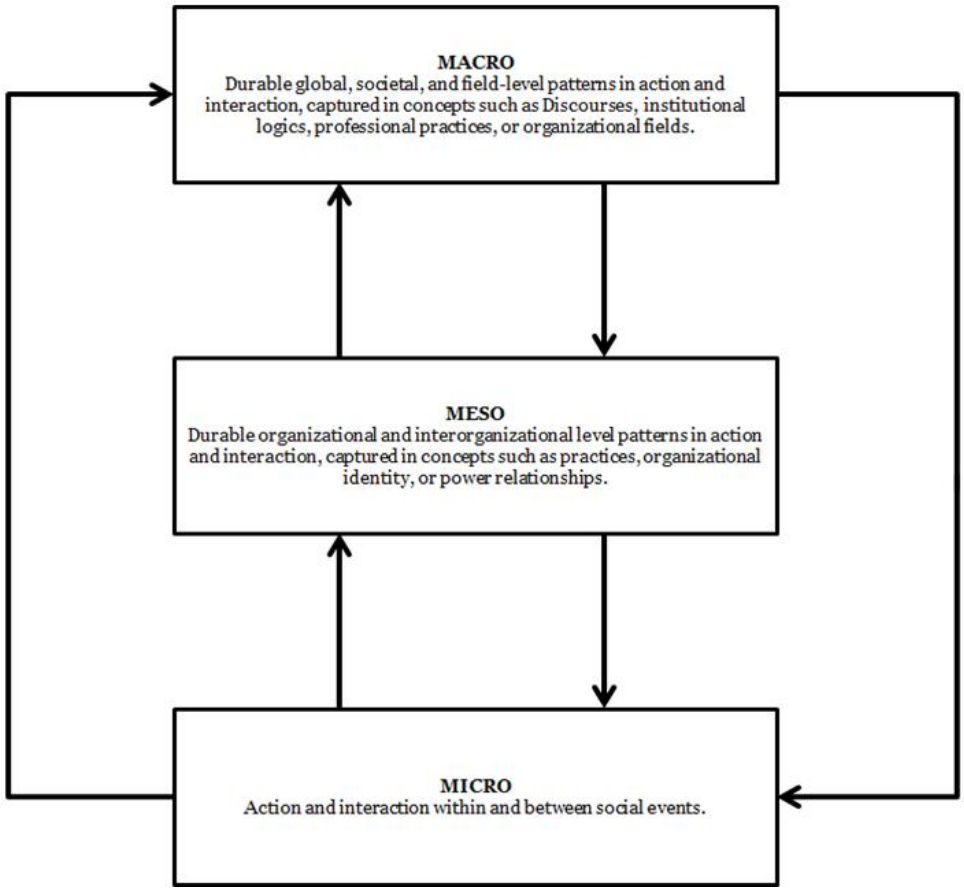
In addition to differentiating between conditions and mechanisms depicted in the different streams of literature investigating micro-to-macro processes, the diverse research streams can be better understood by detailing their levels of analysis. Therefore, this literature review section distinguishes between micro, meso, and macro levels of analysis (see Figure 1). The micro level refers to action and interaction in social events. This level of analysis often focuses to the heterogeneous forms of action on the micro level. The meso level focuses to temporally and spatially more durable patterns of action and interaction. Various concepts have been used to capture such patterns. Some of the concepts used in the reviewed literature include networks (e.g. Granovetter, 1973), power relations (Levina & Orlikowski, 2009), and strategies (e.g. Samra-Fredericks, 2003; Vaara, Kleymann, & Seristö, 2004). Finally, the macro level refers to durable patterns in action and interaction which are widely shared on the organizational field, societal, or global levels. The reviewed literature draws attention to macro level concepts such as Discourses[1] (see e.g. Fairclough, 1992), institutional vocabularies and theorizations of change (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005), and institutional-based trust (Bachmann, 2001; Giddens, 1990; Zucker, 1986).

In the following four subsections, I describe how studies on interorganizational collaboration, discourse and change, the structuration of culture, and networks and innovation have explained the relationships between micro, meso, and macro levels. The four subsections are divided further into parts where I discuss how a substream of research has investigated a particular relationship between the micro, meso, and macro levels (see the arrows in Figure 1)[2]. While reviewing these four streams of literature, I pay special attention to the conditions and mechanisms these literatures provide for the micro-to-meso and meso-to-macro processes as well as to the social outcomes such processes generate. In order to make these four streams of literature comparable and enable cumulative theory building, in the fifth subsection I summarize these conditions and mechanisms provided and outline the most important gaps in our current understanding of how micro level discourse produces macro level outcomes. The sixth subsection outlines how the three essays of this dissertation address these gaps in the existing literature.

[1] Sometimes discourse scholars use Discourse with a capital D to refer to the grand and mega-level patterns in language use (see Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000a).

[2] E.g. the first subsection is organized into two parts – the first reviewing studies investigating micro-to-meso processes in interorganizational collaboration and the second reviewing studies investigating meso-to-macro processes – while the second subsection is organized into three parts – the first discussing the macro-to-meso discursive studies, the second discussing the micro-to-meso discursive studies, and the third reviewing the limited work on the micro-to-macro discursive processes.

Figure 1 Macro, meso, and micro levels of organizational analysis.



Interorganizational collaboration and the emergence of 'proto-institutions'

Studies of interorganizational collaboration have detailed various links between the three analytical levels. In this subsection I discuss how researchers have explained micro-to-meso and meso-to-macro processes in the context of interorganizational collaboration.

Links between micro level interaction and its meso level collaborative outcomes

Students of interorganizational collaboration widely acknowledge that the goals and means of collaboration are formed through a joint 'negotiation' process (e.g. Everett & Jamal, 2004; Gray, 1985; Hardy et al., 2005; Lawrence et al., 1999; Levina & Orlikowski, 2009; Phillips et al., 2000; Ring & Van de Ven, 1992, 1994). Negotiation needs to be understood as a broad metaphor which can include both formal bargaining and more general sensemaking of the problem under investigation and the possible solutions to it (Ring & Van de Ven, 1994). In this

chapter I discuss research on the contextual factors conditioning collaborative negotiations and the mechanisms through which such negotiations generate meo-level outcomes.

The early work by Doz (1996) highlighted how the collaborating parties' initial conditions (pre-existing expectations, definitions for the objects of collaboration, and organizational routines) influenced whether the collaborators were able to establish a 'virtuous' cycle of heightened mutual commitments, trust, and learning. Amabile et al. (2001) argued the collaborating teams' project-relevant skills and knowledge, collaboration skills, and attitudes and motivation crucially determine whether or not collaboration produces significant results. Both Sharfman et al. (1991) and Phillips et al. (2000) depicted how the institutional context influences collaborative processes. Phillips et al. (2000) proposed that interorganizational collaboration is likely to be structured according to the rules and resources drawn from the institutional field of the dominant members of the collaboration. As the existence of asymmetric relationships enables the collaborators to 'select' goals and means of collaboration, leading to collaborative outcomes over time, Phillips and his colleagues (2000) depict asymmetric power relationships between the collaborating parties as the central mechanism linking micro level collaboration to its meso level outcomes (see also Everett & Jamal, 2004).

While many interorganizational contexts are characterized by pre-established relationships between the collaborating organizations (e.g. Hardy & Phillips, 1998), there are many contexts where the relationships between the collaborating organizations, as well as the question of who is the dominant member of the collaboration, are also subject to negotiation (e.g. Gray & Hay, 1986; Lawrence et al., 1999). Yet the existing research on interorganizational collaboration has over-prioritized collaborative negotiations in contexts where the relationships between the collaborating parties are pre-established and asymmetrical (but see e.g. Lawrence et al., 1999; Sydow & Windeler, 1998). Significantly less attention has been given to the processes through which collaborating parties establish their relationships through negotiation.

Process-oriented studies on temporary organizing form an important exception. In general, the notion of temporary organizing refers to the actions and social interactions that take place in a temporary organizational setting (for a review, see Bakker, 2010). The joint 'negotiation' of an interorganizational relationship is one example of the actions and interactions that can take place in various temporary organizational settings. Temporary organizations, such as projects, are often initiated to accomplish a particular task. For example, the literature on project and program management has investigated temporal organizations that are set up to realize organizational change (e.g. Grundy, 1998; Partington, 1996, 2000; Pellegrinelli, 1997), to create complex products and systems (e.g. Gann & Salter, 2000), to implement enterprise resource planning (ERP) systems (e.g. Ribbers & Schoo, 2002), or to create infrastructure for the Olympic Games (Pitsis, Clegg, Marosszeky, & Rura-Polley, 2003).

To realize their tasks, collaborating parties need to find shared ways of working and to establish social relationships. Levina and Orlikowski's (2009) study is an important study in this vein. Their work describes how collaborating parties enacted different genres in order to solve conflicts and structure collaboration, leading to evolving power relationships between the collaborating organizations as

well as between actors within particular collaborating organizations. Obstfeld's recent study on 'creative projects' (2012) is another excellent example. He utilized the concepts of trajectory projection, trajectory scheme, and trajectory management to depict the overall goal of a creative project, the plan for realizing that project, and the actions through which actors seek to shape the trajectory by executing the plan, respectively. Furthermore, he detailed knowledge articulation, combinatorial action, and contingency management as the main types of actions through which actors of creative projects aimed to mobilize other actors in order to realize a change in an automotive prototype purchasing process. Similarly, Lingo and O'Mahony (2010) detailed the practices through which music producers shaped social relationships in order to take the production process forward and to realize the end product. Sometimes in such creative processes actors need to react to sudden changes, such as in the mundane case of one actor becoming sick just before an important period in the creative process. In this vein, Bechky's and Okhuysen's study (2011) explicated the practices, resources, and processes through which actors are able to secure the advancement of the creative project despite of sudden changes or surprises in the set-up of the temporary organization.

In addition to power, conflict resolution, and shaping of relationships, students of interorganizational collaboration have portrayed interorganizational trust (Zaheer, McEvily, & Perrone, 1998) and institutional-based trust (Bachmann, 2001; Giddens, 1990; Zucker, 1986) as mechanisms facilitating collaboration successfulness. Zaheer et al.'s (1998) findings indicate interorganizational trust has a direct effect to the performance of interorganizational exchange relationships. While interorganizational trust also lubricates negotiations and decreases the number of conflicts, trust's effects to exchange performance seem not to be mediated by negotiations. Similarly, Bachmann (2001) suggests the institutional environment can provide collaborating parties mutually acknowledged trust-generating mechanisms, such as strongly regulated socio-economics systems and strong trade unions, which enable the formation of interorganizational relationships in the first place.

While students of interorganizational collaboration and temporary organizing have investigated both conditions and mechanisms which produce meso level outcomes, these literatures provide no answers to how action within particular events generates more durable meso level collaborative outcomes. In particular, we lack studies showing how trust is generated through micro level action. Moreover, we lack studies which would investigate how action within meetings would generate macro level outcomes.

Links between meso level collaboration and its macro level outcomes

A particular stream of interorganizational collaboration literature has studied which types of collaborations are more likely to produce outcomes having the potential to be diffused to other contexts[3]. Lawrence and his colleagues' study

[3] I focus here to existing studies on how an interorganizational collaboration can generate outcomes which have the potential to be diffused to contexts beyond the collaboration where it was generated and become widely institutionalized. As the focus is on the processes and mechanisms linking meso level collaboration and macro level outcomes, I do not cover here studies which explain meso level outcomes with macro level conditions, as is

(2002) on the generation of 'proto-institutions' through interorganizational collaboration suggests collaborations characterized by both high embeddedness and high involvement are more likely to produce proto-institutions. While their study highlights dense relationships between collaborating parties as the central condition for the generation of proto-institutions, we lack knowledge on how such relationships are formed through micro level discursive action and what are the central mechanisms driving such micro-to-meso processes.

Phillips and his colleagues' (2000) work on the institutional effects of interorganizational collaboration portrays the collaborating organizations' power position in the organizational field as the central mechanism driving the institutionalization of the outcomes of the collaboration. They identify organizations' control of critical and scarce resources and high prestige in the organizational field as the primary sources of such power. Though they provide a clear mechanism for meso-to-macro processes in organizational fields characterized by a strong central organization or group of organizations, they provide no mechanisms for meso-to-macro processes in fields characterized by weak ties between the organizations.

Discourse and change

While the number of studies adopting a discursive perspective has arisen within the past 20 years or so (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000b), the question of to what extent discourse can be seen to construct organizational life still haunts scholars (see e.g. Chia, Parker, & Reed, 2000; Chia, 2000; Kärreman & Alvesson, 2008; Parker, 2000; Reed, 2000). Though many discursive studies combine multiple levels of analysis, existing research on discourse can be roughly divided into studies investigating the meso level implications of macro discourses, to studies focusing into how micro level discourse organizes social interaction, and to studies investigating the micro-to-meso and meso-to-macro discursive processes[4]. I next review these three streams of discursive studies.

Meso level outcomes of macro discourses

Many scholars adopting a macroscopic perspective to discourse have been influenced especially by Michel Foucault's and Norman Fairclough's early work. They typically highlight how discourse "brings into being objects of knowledge, categories of social subjects, forms of self, social relationships, and conceptual frameworks" (Grant & Hardy, 2004: 6). For example, scholars have studied how discourse constructs strategies (Vaara et al., 2004), organizational identities (Brown & Humphreys, 2006), international relations (Riad, Vaara, & Zhang, 2012), or inter-professional relations (Finn, 2008). Researchers typically focus to understanding how the social reality is produced by sets of texts linked with ideologically-laden macro discourses, as interpreted by the researcher. In other

the case in Powell and his colleagues' influential studies of interorganizational collaborations as the 'locus' of innovations (Owen-Smith & Powell, 2004; Powell, Koput, & Smith-Doerr, 1996).

[4] For another categorization of the levels of analysis in organizational discourse studies, see Alvesson and Kärreman (2000a).

words, scholars adopting the macro discourse perspective are more inclined to 'theory-driven' analysis of how language is used to construct the social world rather than focusing to theorizing 'grounded' in particular forms of language use used by actors themselves in their micro level action.

Given the diversity of processes through which social change can take place (Van de Ven & Poole, 1995) and the element of randomness involved in such processes (e.g. Cohen, March, & Olsen, 1972), the research on macro discourses is somewhat ill-fitted to explain most processes of social change. Especially existing research linking discourse and social relations has rarely examined how social processes shape social relationships over time. Instead, researchers have investigated how actors utilize particular ideologies of social relations in their talk of social relations (e.g. Finn, 2008). While paying attention to the underlying ideologies of talk has increased our understanding of how diverse parties understand the social relationships, we lack studies which would investigate how talk in organizations shapes social relationships over time.

In more general terms, these studies adopting the macroscopic perspective to discourse rarely consider the boundary conditions of their theories. When are macroscopic forms of discourse more likely to influence the processes through which meso level outcomes are generated? And when are such processes of social change better explained through micro-to-macro processes? We lack knowledge on the conditions under which processes of social change are more likely to be driven by macro-to-meso processes and when by micro-to-meso processes.

Meso level outcomes of micro level discursive action and interaction

The work on talk in more limited organizational contexts, on the other hand, has started the work towards understanding how talk-in-interaction (Schegloff, 1997) shapes social relations over time. Here the focus is not so much on the ideological nature of talk and on the underlying discursively constructed conceptualizations of social relations, but on the flow of talk in discursive events and on how the organization of those talk events evolve over time. For example, Samra-Fredericks's (2003, 2005) study of strategizing behavior shows how actors use particular forms of discourse to gain power over others in talk events, enabling them to shape the strategic direction of the company. Iedema and his colleagues (2004) depicted the types of interactive and discursive resources actors used to manage a small group interaction. An important difference between studies taking either a macro or micro perspective to discourse lies in how they define the context of talk in organizations. While the former stream of studies focus to the underlying theoretical and ideological nature of texts, the latter focuses to the discursive forms, beliefs, and values actors use in their explicit talk.

Conversation analysis based research forms an important stream of research on micro level discursive action. Most typically conversation analysis is focused to understanding how talk-in-interaction is controlled and organized through rules of turn-taking (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). The basic rules of turn-taking in a (equal) conversation are: i) the current speaker may select the next speaker, ii) if that does not happen, then anyone can select him- or herself as the next speaker (during a small period of silence in the conversation), and iii) if that does not happen, the current speaker may continue (Fairclough, 1992: 152). In contexts

where the power relationships between conversing parties are pre-defined and asymmetrical, the rights and obligations regarding turn-taking vary depending on the social position of the speaker (Gibson, 2005). For example, research in the organization of conversations in institutional settings, such as in medical or counseling settings (Peräkylä, 1995), have documented how the more powerful conversers can strongly influence the organization of conversations e.g. through questions (e.g. Samra-Fredericks, 2003; Wang, 2006), topic control (e.g. Bogoch, 1994; Hanak, 1998; McKinlay & McVittie, 2006), or by using normative theories concerning professional-client interaction (Peräkylä & Vehviläinen, 2003). The asymmetric conversational obligations and the usage of turn-taking 'technologies' critically influences the development of the 'content' of the conversations (cf. Taylor, Cooren, Giroux, & Robichaud, 1996). Nevertheless, one of the possible pitfalls of conversation analysis lie in overemphasizing the role that turn-taking technologies play in construction of the content of conversations (Peräkylä & Silverman, 1991). Especially in professional contexts where conversers' rights for conversational participation are equal, the social relationships between conversers are not pre-defined, and the conversers respect reasoned argumentation, the development of conversations are likely explained better through the 'content' of individual turns rather than the rules concerning the distribution of turns. Yet we lack studies investigating the processes through which micro level 'content' of conversations stabilize into more durable cultural structures and conversational patterns and how such emergent structures influence subsequent interaction and the generation of mobilizing frames.

Micro-to-meso and micro-to-macro explanations in discourse studies

The above described macro and micro approaches to discourse provide somewhat conflicting answers to the question of to what extent discourse constructs organizational life. The former stream of research typically adopts a strong social constructivist perspective, arguing the macro discourses utilized in texts construct a contingent version of the social world; a version which some authors find somehow distorted and socially wrong. This work has been criticized for seeing discourses as deterministic, not paying enough attention to other forms of structures influencing organizational life, and misconceptualizing power solely as a local phenomenon (Reed, 2000). The latter stream of discursive studies, on the other hand, has often emphasized the multiplicity and fluidity of forms of discourse used in particular interactive events, inhibiting us to see the more macroscopic patterns in such talk-in-interaction. Moreover, the micro discourses perspective has often focused to contexts characterized by pre-defined power asymmetries, giving no answers to the question of how micro discourses produce social outcomes in contexts characterized by lacking hierarchies and rather equal chances of conversational participation.

Given the divergence in the two types of discursive studies, it seems justified to claim that we lack research linking these two perspectives in a singly study. An important theoretical problem lies in understanding the conditions, mechanisms, and processes though which the heterogeneity of microscopic discourse leads to the more macroscopic outcomes of social interaction. Some proposals have been made in earlier research. Robichaud and his colleagues' (2004) model of the construction of 'metaconversations' through language depicts how organizational communities'

orientation towards increased self-understanding leads to discourse in these communities, constructing a metaconversation of the community's identity through the mechanisms of recursivity of language and 'closure' of identity. By premising their model to the human need of making connections with other humans and by not paying attention to possible interpersonal conflicts and power struggles, their model fits best to apolitical organizational contexts and phenomena.

Fairclough's (1992) theory of discourse and social change has been popular among organizational discourse scholars. It is a serious attempt to link micro level linguistic, meso level social, and macro level societal levels into a coherent theory. Fairclough distinguishes three analytical dimensions in discourse – discourse as text, discourse as discursive practice, and discourse as social practice – and three constructive effects of discourse – ideational, identity and relational outcomes of discourse. While most of the individual dimensions in his theory are well crafted, his conceptualizations of discursive change (Fairclough, 1992: 96–100) and social change (Fairclough, 1992: chapter 7) speak little about the conditions under which the "production, distribution, and consumption" of texts is likely to lead to novel organizations of discursive events or to more macro social changes. We lack research complementing his sophisticated theory of discursive heterogeneity (in terms of the linguistic and ideological composition of texts and their production and consumption) with mechanisms of social change. We need a robust theory of when and why sometimes discursive improvisation, i.e. introduction of novel discursive elements, lead to permanent changes in the proximate and the more general social contexts and why sometimes the novel discursive elements pass into oblivion.

Drawing on Fairclough (1992), Phillips and his colleagues (2004) proposed that actors and organizations can generate texts, which can then embed in the discourses of a particular institutional field. Their conceptualization paid special attention to how the conditions of the legitimacy of the producer of the text, the genre of the text, and the intertextual and interdiscursive nature of texts influence the likelihood that a particular text actually becomes embedded in the discourse of a field. But they suggest no mechanisms which would drive the adoption of particular texts as a part of discourse in particular fields. As such, their model is perhaps best suited for understanding *when* actors can shape the ideological underpinnings of particular fields. Hardy and Maguire's study (2010) complements Phillips et al. (2004) by depicting domination, interpretation, and translation as the central mechanisms through which texts can become institutionalized. Institutional change, then, can occur as organizations in the institutional field interpret and translate new or transformed narratives and modify their activities in orchestration.

The structuration of culture

Organizational researchers have had a long-standing interest on the links between 'culture' and action in organizations. Whereas much of the initial organizational culture literature aimed to explain action through unitary culture (e.g. Barney, 1986; Harris, 1994; Schein, 1985; Wilkins & Ouchi, 1983; Willmott, 1993),

subsequent work on subcultures (e.g. Jermier, Slocum, Fry, & Gaines, 1991; Riley, 1983), fragmented cultures (Meyerson & Martin, 1987), and on the transient, discursively constituted nature of culture (Boje, 1995) questioned to what extent culture can be seen to determine action. Recent research on culture increasingly investigates culture as an *outcome* of organizational action. Similar to many other students of culture, I turn next to structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) to outline how organizational action constructs culture.

Structuration theory has been an important source of inspiration for many organizational scholars. Given its rather abstract level of representation, scholars have often adapted it to study more limited organizational phenomena. Existing applications of structuration theory can roughly divided into two groups. Many have taken the notion of the 'duality of structure', i.e. how "the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize" (Giddens, 1984: 25), as their starting point and focused to analyzing how actors use cultural elements strategically. Less frequently, scholars have utilized structuration theory to theorize how consecutive periods of organizational action shape organizational culture over time, i.e. how structuration processes shape cultural structures.

The utilization of meso and macro cultural structures in micro level action

The first group of studies has investigated how actors utilize cultural structures as strategic resources (cf. Hardy et al., 2000) to structure social events (e.g. Bechky & Okhuysen, 2011; Kellogg, 2011; Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Rindova, Dalpiaz, & Ravasi, 2011). This type of research is sometimes called culture as a 'tool kit' approach (Swidler, 1986). The structuration perspective highlights the importance of capturing the relevant structures in the research design. Existing work has drawn attention to various types of cultural structures enacted in strategic action, such as 'genres' (Levina & Orlikowski, 2009; Orlikowski & Yates, 1994), materialized strategy texts (Spee & Jarzabkowski, 2011), or the structures of signification, domination, and legitimation (Riley, 1983; Sydow & Windeler, 1998) á la Giddens. Researchers have showed how the strategic usage of cultural resources influences issues such as power relationships (Levina & Orlikowski, 2009), strategic versatility (Rindova et al., 2011), and formation of an organizational identity (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001).

A particular subgroup of culture as 'tool kit' studies has focused to the strategic use of cultural resources to gain situated power (e.g. Kellogg, 2011; Levina & Orlikowski, 2009; Molotch & Boden, 1985; Ng & de Cock, 2002; Vaara et al., 2005; cf. Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005), echoing Giddens' emphasis on the centrality of explaining social change by understanding how actors use resources of domination to gain power in social interaction (1984: 256–262). For example, researchers have drawn attention to how actors utilize widely shared cultural resources, such as institutional vocabularies and theorizations of change (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005) or shared "patriarchal role-playing and personal loyalty" themes (Ng & de Cock, 2002), to gain power over others in social interaction (cf. Samra-Fredericks, 2003). While this work on the strategic usage of cultural resources represents an important transition of organizational culture studies towards understanding how

culture is formed through organizational action, a more important question relates to how social interaction constructs and shapes culture over time[5].

Micro-to-meso explanations of cultural change

Fairly few organizational studies have examined the effects that structuration processes have for the culture of particular organizations. One could say that this not a surprise since there are both theoretical and methodological challenges in adopting a structuration perspective to explain cultural change. Archer (1988, 1995) has been one of the most active critics of structuration theory. She asserted that structuration theory gives no answers to three central questions: i) where do rules come from, ii) how do rules change, and iii) why are things so, and not otherwise (Archer, 1995: 132). She argued that this is due to the fact that structuration theory does not distinguish between structure and agency but sees the two as a duality. In this subchapter I focus to outlining the answers that organizational literature has provided to the second problem. I proceed by outlining first the conditions under which cultural change is more probable and then discussing existing research on the processes through which culture can change.

Perhaps the most important part of Archer's critique was that, according to her point-of-view, structuration theory gives no answers to what are the conditions under which action leads to the reproduction of existing patterns of culture and under which action can lead to cultural transformation. This criticism, however, appears to be a straw man as Giddens (1984: 199) does in fact propose that structural contradictions, by which he refers to the incongruity between various high level structures (cf. Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012), "heat up" processes of social change. This argument is similar to the argument in institutional logics literature according to which institutional change is more likely when multiple contradictory institutional logics coexist in particular fields (e.g. Seo & Creed, 2002).

Barley and Tolbert's model of structuration (1997) was one of the early theorizations of the processes through micro action shapes cultural structures over time. They focused to how structures of interaction, which they called 'scripts', change over time as actors revise them through their action. While their work made structuration theory more temporal by detailing the sequential phases through which scripts influence organizational action and how action can revise or replicate the scripts, their model of structuration was not really attuned to diversity in organizational action and how it influences structuration processes. As such, their model of structuration fits best to routinized forms of interaction with little improvisation or revising by actors, making it more a theory of cultural reproduction than cultural transformation.

Jarzabkowski (2008) built on Barley and Tolbert (1997) to investigate what types of structuration processes, captured through different types of 'strategizing

[5] By saying social interaction shapes culture, I refer to cultural structures (rules and resources) of action. Some other researchers have studied how social interaction and their systemic properties shape the cultural products of cultural industries (e.g. Peterson & Anand, 2004).

behaviors' and their sequential combination, were effective in changing weakly or strongly institutionalized strategies. Compared to Barley and Tolbert's model (1997), Jarzabkowski's study (2008) succeeds in paying explicit attention to heterogeneity in organizational action, to temporality in structuration processes, and to the outcomes that different types of structuration processes produce in different contexts.

Rindova and her colleagues' recent study of Alessi (2011), the Italian manufacturer of household products, investigated how new cultural elements become a part of the organization culture. Their study depicts how organizations can systematically search for new cultural elements from various cultural registers outside the organization and to make an effort to create practices and strategies for integrating the set of new and often contradictory cultural resources as a part of the organizational identity. Their study explicates the mechanisms of cultural repertoire enrichment and identity redefinition to show how the cultural structures of an organization can transform over time. Yet their model of cultural transformation is more a meso-to-meso explanation, as they explicitly focus to the organizational level practices of cultural repertoire enrichment and identity redefinition.

To summarize, organizational scholars have drawn upon structuration theory to investigate how sequential phases of organizational action revise existing cultural structures of an organization. Compared to these studies, Archer's critique of 'central conflation' (1988, 1995) seems to miss that structuration theory can be adopted and adapted to study the links between structuration processes on various levels of analysis. The above mentioned studies, however, have investigated meso-to-meso-level structuration processes. We lack studies investigating how new meso-level cultural structures are constructed through micro-level social interaction. Moreover, we lack studies on how the micro level shaping of the meso level culture influences more macroscopic social changes. In other words, when and how can cultural change in an organization initiate more macroscopic cultural changes?

Micro-to-macro explanations of cultural change

Though an extensive review of the theories of micro-to-macro explanations of cultural change is outside the scope of this doctoral thesis, an example of such theorizing is beneficial for us to understand the more generic mechanisms of cultural change. Thompson's theory of how relations of domination are sustained through production and consumption of symbolic forms (1990) fills this purpose. Though Thompson's theory suggests macro ideologies construct and sustain asymmetric social relations, taking a critical perspective, the mechanisms of production and interpretation of symbolic forms provided in the theory could be applied to develop a more general theory of social change.

Thompson makes a distinction between cultural forms and social structures and describes cultural analysis as "the study of the meaningful constitution and social contextualization of symbolic forms … in structured contexts" (1990: 123). This is an important theoretical move as it enables the analyst to investigate how symbolic forms are used to construct and shape social structures, defined as "relatively stable asymmetries and differentials in terms of the distribution of, and access to, resources of various kinds, power, opportunities and life chances" (Thompson,

1990: 150). His theory complements the aforementioned studies of the mechanisms through which interorganizational collaborations and key events can initiate an institutional change (Hardy & Maguire, 2010; Phillips et al., 2000, 2004) by focusing attention to the pre-given asymmetries in actors' resources (such as the skill to use symbolic forms or access to important social events) as the main condition determining whether an actor can initiate a social change.

Networks and innovation

Few organizational scholars would question the importance of interpersonal relationships for understanding and explaining organizational life. Dating at least back to early work on informal organization (Barnard, 1938), scholars have recognized actors have the disposition to prefer interaction with some particular actors while avoiding some others (e.g. Casciaro & Lobo, 2008). Contemporary research on interpersonal relationships typically approaches interpersonal relationships as 'networks'[6]. Network studies have proliferated in social sciences within recent decades, explicating how networks influence a variety of organizational phenomena (e.g. Battilana & Casciaro, 2012; Ibarra, Kilduff, & Tsai, 2005; Labianca & Brass, 2006; Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass, 1998). In particular, network scholars have investigated the characteristics of networks and interaction processes in networks supporting the generation and implementation of creative ideas in intraorganizational (e.g. Ibarra, 1993; Obstfeld, 2005; Perry-Smith, 2006) and interorganizational (e.g. Hargadon & Sutton, 1997; Owen-Smith & Powell, 2004; Ruef, 2002) contexts.

In this subsection I discuss two streams of research linking networks and innovations. The first stream has investigated how networks support the generation and implementation of creative ideas. The second has taken a more agentic approach in explaining how networks are created and shaped through micro level brokerage work.

Meso level conditions for the generation and implementation of creative ideas on the meso level

Structural network research has investigated widely which types of networks support innovation within and between organizations. The generation of creative ideas seems to prosper in networks characterized by multiple 'structural holes' (Burt, 2004). The concept of 'structural holes' refers to widely acknowledged phenomenon that information flows more freely within groups than between groups (Burt, 2004: 353) due to the fact that views of the social world and cultural preferences are more homogeneous within social groups than between them (e.g. Kilduff & Krackhardt, 2008). Structural holes explain how local communities generate distinct cultures, leading to cultural fragmentation more generally. Therefore, actors who act as 'bridges' between dispersed communities (yet may be 'peripheral' in their local communities) can have a central role in multiple micro-

[6] Some earlier definitions of interpersonal relationship include e.g. shared, culturally induced values towards particular objects (e.g. Radcliffe-Brown, 1940), actors feelings towards other actors' experiences (Heider, 1958), and division of esteem between group members (Homans, 1974).

to-macro phenomena, such as diffusion processes or social cohesion between groups (Granovetter, 1973). More specifically, network contexts characterized by multiple structural holes help actors and organizations acting as bridges generate creative ideas by providing these actors access to the knowledge bases of unconnected local communities and industries (e.g. Burt, 2004; Hargadon & Sutton, 1997; Owen-Smith & Powell, 2004; Perry-Smith & Shalley, 2003).

While structural holes seem to benefit both individual and organizational level creativity, research on the network conditions for the implementation of creative ideas show somewhat conflicting evidence. Ibarra's early work (1993) reported actors' centrality in an organizational network was important for their administrative innovation roles, mediating the impact of non-network attributes. A central position in the organizational network provides actors a more detailed understanding of the political landscape of the organization, helping them to implement administrative innovations through political behavior (Pfeffer, 1981). In more technical innovations, network centrality did not have such an influence on an actor's innovation role. Similarly, Battilana and Casciaro's recent study (2012) suggests a contingency between change agent's network position and the type of organizational change the agent seeks to foster. Change initiatives diverging widely from the current organizational arrangements are better advanced by change agents located in 'structural holes', whereas more locally connected change agents can be more influential in implementing less divergent changes.

The research on the network conditions of organizational innovation output highlight the importance of understanding the nature of network ties and the mechanisms through which organizations can cash in networks ties. Powell and his colleagues' studies on the biotechnology field in the U.S. (Owen-Smith & Powell, 2004; Powell, Koput, Bowie, & Smith-Doerr, 2002; Powell et al., 1996; Powell, Packalen, & Whittington, 2012) portray how a central location in a spatially limited network is associated with the innovation output of a firm. Firms gain a central position in the network by engaging in diverse collaborations with other organizations and by developing a capability of managing ties (Powell et al., 1996). However, Owen-Smith and Powell (2004) highlighted how the optimal position of firm in a network depends on the types of ties between firms, conceptualized either as open information 'channels' between network members or as legally limited 'closed conduits' between firms. In networks characterized by open channels a central brokerage position provides an organization an information benefit, while in networks built from closed conduits a network position characterized with multiple 'strong' ties might be more beneficial. Ahuja's (2000) study on networks and firm innovation output in the chemicals industry suggested in some industries firms might benefit more from the increased trust and decreased risk of opportunism generated by strong local networks, as compared to more open, diverse, and information-rich networks.

Creating and shaping meso level networks through micro level brokerage work

Process-oriented network research complements the above described structural research by investigating how actors shape interpersonal relationships to foster creativity and drive innovation. Obstfeld's study of networks and innovation in an engineering division of an automative manufacturer showed how actors drive innovation by both deriving information from sparse networks and by supporting

implementation by connecting loosely coupled actors and groups. Compared to the more structurally oriented network research on innovation, Obstfeld's study highlighted how brokering actors exploit both sparse and dense networks to drive innovation, referring to these patterns of actor behavior as strategic 'orientations'. Lingo and O'Mahony's (2010) study continued this work by showing in detail the types of practices actors utilize in different phases of the innovation process to foster and implement creative ideas.

As the research on actors' brokerage work (Lingo & O'Mahony, 2010; Obstfeld, 2005) has investigated contexts characterized by pre-existing hierarchies, roles, and practices for creative work, our understanding of how actors form supportive relationships and foster innovation in contexts lacking pre-defined hierarchies and practices is thin. The aforedescribed discourse and construction of culture studies imply that the strategic use of discourse and culture could be related to the forming and shaping of social relationships in ambiguous innovation contexts, but we do not know exactly how. Moreover, existing innovation research has rarely examined how brokerage work influences the trajectories of other nascent ideas. By investigating 'successful' cases, where brokerage work supports the generation of innovations, we lack knowledge on why some ideas do not advance into innovations. Understanding such 'failure' cases might increase our understanding of the more general conditions and mechanisms of micro-to-macro processes.

Summary of the literature review: the shaping of interpersonal relationships as the main mechanism driving micro-to-meso processes

The conditions and mechanisms of micro-to-meso, meso-to-macro, and micro-to-macro processes provided in the four streams of literature are summarized below in Table 1. Though the reviewed literature streams pay attention to diverse issues on the micro, meso, and macro levels of analysis and provide multiple explanations for the relationships between the levels, the literature review shows how the four streams of literature provide strikingly similar mechanisms for micro-to-meso processes. Most of the studies in the reviewed four streams of literature depict changing interpersonal relationships as the main mechanism driving micro-to-meso processes. Similarly, the interorganizational collaboration and discourse and change literatures depict coercive and symbolic power as the main mechanisms of meso-to-macro processes.

In this subsection, I will first discuss how the identified micro-to-meso mechanisms can be seen as alternative representations of a same middle-range phenomenon of shaping interpersonal relationship. I conclude this subsection by explicating gaps in our current understanding of micro-to-meso and meso-to-macro processes.

Four literature streams' micro-to-meso mechanisms as brokerage strategies

The different literature streams use different concepts and terminology to describe the micro-to-meso mechanism of changing interpersonal relationships. Yet all of them can be seen as different types of brokerage strategies, as discussed by Obstfeld (2005). Obstfeld describes four general brokerage strategies: i)

coordinating action between distant parties, ii) sustaining and exploiting the separation of parties, iii) facilitating existing relationships for a short period of time, and iv) introducing and facilitating relationships over sustained period of time (2005: 104). Set against this typology, conflict resolution in interorganizational collaboration research (e.g. Amabile et al., 2001; Levina & Orlikowski, 2009) – how the resolution of conflicts drives collaboration by increasing mutual trust and commitment e.g. by introducing shared norms of collaboration – can be seen as a particular version of Obstfeld's third brokerage strategy (2005: 104). Conflict resolution is intended to re-establish pre-existing yet stagnant relationships through an active intervention.

Gaining a powerful position over others in social interaction, a mechanism discussed in interorganizational collaboration (e.g. Everett & Jamal, 2004; Phillips et al., 2000), discursive (Samra-Fredericks, 2003, 2005), and cultural studies (Ng & de Cock, 2002; Vaara et al., 2005), is a particularly interesting form of brokerage. As the focus in existing literature has been on the particular actors who gain a central position in the social interaction and the discursive and cultural means through which they gain their position, we know surprisingly little about how the 'centralization' of power to one party influences the relationships between the other parties. Some of the existing work (Ng & de Cock, 2002; Phillips et al., 2000; Samra-Fredericks, 2003, 2005; Vaara et al., 2005) implies gaining power over others in social interaction is mostly related to Obstfeld's second brokerage strategy (2005: 104). Samra-Fredericks, for example, describes how the powerful strategist identified in her analysis "began to make [the other strategist's] position untenable and how others 'learnt' that [the powerful strategist] believed [the other strategist]to be lacking in strategic thinking which eventually led to [the other strategist] leaving the company" (2003: 159). Vaara and his colleagues' study of the decision to make Swedish the official language of a company (2005) depicts how the Finnish-speaking employees of the company struggled to manage through meetings held in Swedish language, setting them in 'peripheric' position in the meetings. These examples help highlight how the mechanism of gaining power over others could be seen as a brokerage strategy of actively exploiting the distance between particular actors. Nevertheless, it is probable that gaining power over others not only excludes particular actors but also fosters new relationships between previously disconnected actors, which is Obstfeld's fourth brokerage strategy (2005: 104). Gaining power of others seems to be a 'hybrid' brokerage strategy, both sustaining and exploiting the separation of parties and introducing and facilitating new relationships between previously disconnected parties.

Table 1 Foci of the four literature streams and the conditions and mechanisms which these literatures provide for micro-to-meso, micro-to-macro, and meso-to-macro processes.

	Interorganizational collaboration and the emergence of 'proto-institutions'	Discourse and change	Structuration of culture	Networks and innovation
Focuses within individual events (micro) to	?	Talk, texts and their characteristics, such as different speech registers, intertextuality, and usage of questions	Cultures resources used in interaction, such as narratives, vocabularies, etc.	?
Focuses on the level of interaction events (micro) to	Conflicts between collaborating parties, resolving conflicts	?	Cultures resources used to structure interaction, such as genres	Actor orientations towards networks, types of practices used to structure interaction
Conditions of micro-to-meso processes	Pre-existing expectations, definitions for the objects of collaboration, and organizational routines (Doz 1996)	?	?	Actors' position in an organizational network (Ibarra 1993, Battilana & Casciaro 2012)
Mechanisms of micro-to-meso processes	Domination (Phillips et al. 2000, Everett and Jamal 2004), conflict resolution (Amabile et al. 2001, Levina and Orlikowski 2009)	Recursivity of language, 'closure' of identity (Robichaud et al. 2004), gaining power over others (Samra-Fredericks 2003, 2005)	Gaining power over others (e.g. Ng and de Cock 2002, Vaara et al. 2005), cultural enrichment and identity redefinition (Rindova et al. 2011)	Brokerage strategies (Obstfeld 2005, Lingo & O'Mahony 2010)
Focuses on the organizational and interorganizational (meso) level of analysis to	Power relationships between collaborating parties, conditions supporting successful collaboration, goals and means of collaboration, outcomes of collaboration	The discursive construction of organizational identities, strategies, international relations, etc. The outcomes of micro level discursive action.	Evolution of interpersonal relationships and power, searching for new cultural resources and making sense of them, and these processes' implications to corporate strategy	Implementation of innovative initiatives, organizational innovation output, characteristics of interorganizational networks
Conditions of micro-to-macro processes	?	?	Pre-given asymmetries in actors' resources (Thompson 1990)	?
Mechanisms of micro-to-macro processes	?	Interpretation and translation of narratives (Hardy and Maguire 2010)	?	Transposition (Powell et al. 2012)
Conditions of meso-to-macro processes	Dense interorganizational relationships (Lawrence et al. 2002)	The legitimacy of the producer of the text, the genre of the text, and the intertextual and interdiscursive nature of texts (Phillips et al. 2004)	?	?
Mechanisms of meso-to-macro processes	Coercive and symbolic power (Phillips et al. 2000)	Coercive power (Phillips et al. 2004), domination (Hardy and Maguire 2010)	?	Organizational learning (Powell et al. 1996)
Focuses on the (institutional) field (macro) level of analysis to	Institutional conditions and outcomes of interorganizational collaboration	The underlying theoretical and ideological nature of texts	Typical forms of cultural elements, asymmetries in actors' resources	Emergence of industrial clusters (Powell et al. 2012)

Finally, the 'closure' of identity (Robichaud et al., 2004) and identity redefinition (Rindova et al., 2011) mechanisms can be seen as strategies for fostering the strength of pre-existing relationships over longer periods of time, making them examples of Obstfeld's fourth brokerage strategy (2005: 104). The work done to redefine organizational identity makes existing interpersonal relationships stronger by increasing organizational members' identification (e.g. Albert, Ashforth, &

Dutton, 2000; Ashforth & Mael, 1989) with the discursively constructed organizational identity.

Gaps in the existing literatures investigating micro-to-meso and meso-to-macro processes

The literature review shows also gaps in our existing understanding of micro-to-meso, micro-to-macro, and meso-to-macro processes. First, our existing understanding of micro-to-macro processes gives few answers to when and how idea development conversations in contexts characterized by fairly equal possibilities for conversational participation can generate mobilizing frames. What are the conditions and mechanisms of micro-to-macro processes in such contexts? While there is a substantial amount of research on the organization of conversations (e.g. Bakhtin, 1984, 1986; Bales, 1950; Collins, 1981; Gibson, 2000, 2003, 2005; Goffman, 1981, 1983; Mische & White, 1998; Molotch & Boden, 1985; Peräkylä & Silverman, 1991; Peräkylä, 1995; Robichaud et al., 2004; Sacks et al., 1974; Samra-Fredericks, 2003, 2005; Woodilla, 1998), micro-to-macro processes of conversations in contexts lacking pre-defined hierarchies (Powell, 1990) have received surprisingly little research attention. The first essay in this dissertation addresses this gap in the existing literature by investigating the relationship between idea development conversations and the generation of mobilizing frames. More specifically, the first essay develops an ecological model of the relationship and suggests the utilization of 'genres' (Fairclough, 2003; Orlikowski & Yates, 1994) is the central mechanism influencing the evolution of particular ideas into mobilizing frames.

Second, the review of the interorganizational collaboration revealed how little attention has been given to the discursive processes through which collaborating parties negotiate their relationships. While it widely acknowledged that the goals and means of collaboration are formed through a joint 'negotiation' process (e.g. Everett & Jamal, 2004; Gray, 1985; Hardy et al., 2005; Lawrence et al., 1999; Levina & Orlikowski, 2009; Phillips et al., 2000; Ring & Van de Ven, 1992, 1994), we lack studies which would investigate how the collaboration is negotiated through micro level discourse. Moreover, existing research on interorganizational collaboration has not investigated how the negotiation of collaboration influences the generation of mobilizing frames or 'proto-institutions' (Lawrence et al., 2002). Review of the research on the structuration of culture showed how we lack knowledge concerning how individuals bring and stabilize new cultural elements as a part of the culture, and how such structuration processes influence the generation of mobilizing frames. The second essay addresses these gaps in the existing literature by seeking to understand how individual discourse constitutes cultural 'structures' of collaboration, defined as shared cognitive 'content' providing rules and resources which actors intuitively follow or strategically draw upon (Giddens, 1984), and how the usage of cultural structures in idea development conversations conditions the generation of mobilizing frames.

Third, while Lawrence and his colleagues' study (2002) depicts dense relationships as the main condition for the generation of 'proto-institutions' through interorganizational collaboration (meso-to-macro process), we lack studies which would investigate how such relationships are formed through micro level action in interorganizational collaborations characterized by lacking pre-defined

relationships (e.g. Powell, 1990), vague or non-existing means (Lawrence et al., 1999), and the shared need to generate novel ideas. At the same time, we lack discursive studies investigating how interpersonal relationships are shaped through micro level talk over time. Moreover, existing networks and innovation studies have rarely examined why sometimes ideas do not advance into innovations. The third essay in this dissertation addresses these gaps in our existing knowledge by investigating how interpersonal relationships (conversational networks) and ideas co-develop through idea development conversations.

Outline of the essays: Linking collaboration, conversational, cultural, and network perspectives to study when and how idea development conversations breed mobilizing frames

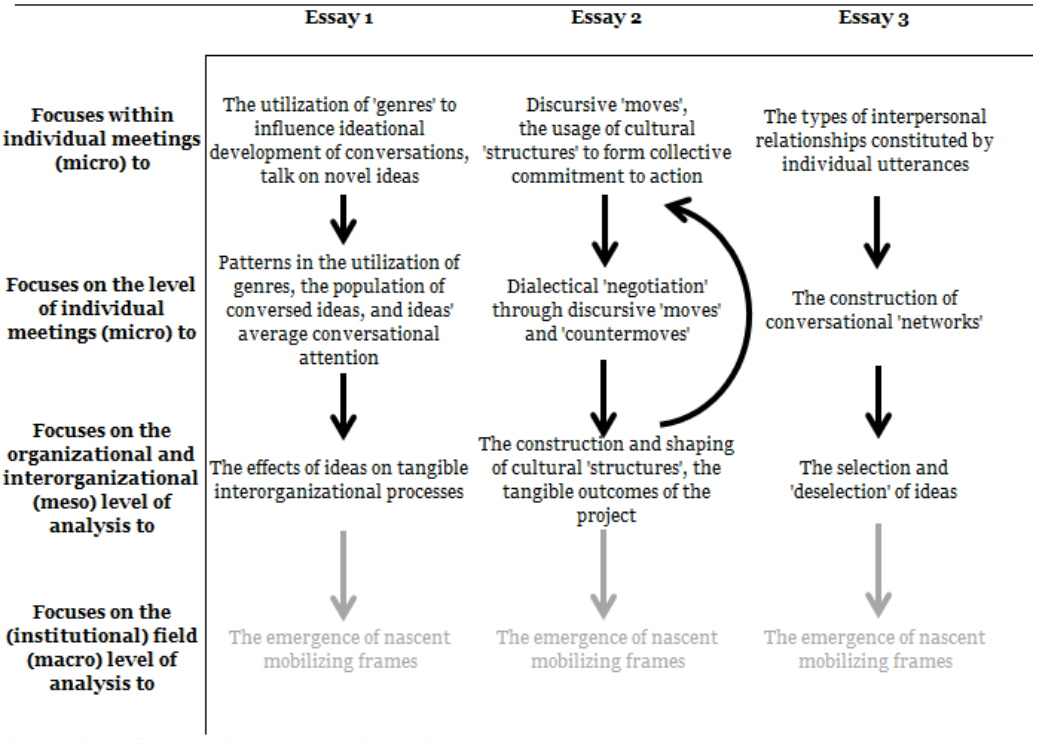
This doctoral dissertation investigates when and how actors' discursive action in idea development conversations generates mobilizing frames (Benford & Snow, 2000). Idea development conversations form a particular type of conversations (Woodilla, 1998) which has received scant attention in existing organizational research. Understanding their development and the conditions, mechanisms, and processes through which they can generate mobilizing frames (having the potential to diffuse to contexts beyond the one in which they were created and to bring about social change in those contexts) poses a challenge for our current understanding of micro-to-macro processes. The main research question of this doctoral dissertation is: What types of conversational processes link individuals' discourse in idea development conversations to the generation of mobilizing frames?

The three essays of this doctoral dissertation utilize different theoretical 'lenses' to focus attention to different aspects of the micro-to-macro processes linking micro level discourse and the generation of macro level mobilizing frames. Table 2 represents the central concepts, levels of analysis, and processes investigated in the three essays, which are introduced in more detail in the following three subsections. Though the three essays utilize different conceptualizations for the micro level discursive action of individual actors and consequently, for the aggregated levels of analysis (meeting, organizational, and interorganizational levels of analysis), the three essays share five overarching factors. First, all the essays analyze the same empirical data, focusing especially to the in-depth analysis of the 10 transcribed meetings. Second, all the essays aim to explain how and why particular conversations were able to generate mobilizing frames while others did not.

Third, the explanations of the outcomes of idea development conversations developed in the essays build upon methodological individualism (Coleman, 1986; Udehn, 2002), i.e. they take discursive action of individuals in conversations as their primary unit of analysis (Collins, 1981) and assume actors can monitor the contexts of their action and reflect upon 'rational' courses of action (e.g. Giddens, 1984). Fourth and consequently, the essays reject 'theory-driven' accounts of discourse, which e.g. assume the ideologically-laden nature of discourse in their explanations of social outcomes of discourse, and instead take a more traditional talk-in-interaction perspective (e.g. Schegloff, 1997; Widdowson, 2004) to focus attention to the types of discursive forms used by the individual actors.

Fifth, though the essays are based on methodological individualism, they deny neither the existence of shared cultural and social structures nor their influence to individual action and social interaction. For example, actors' social position in the social structure is likely to influence what types of conversational strategies they adopt and how others respond to their talk in conversations[7].

Table 2 Central concepts, levels of analysis, and processes investigated in the three essays. [a]



[a] Grey color indicates a relationship which is implied in the particular essay.

Introduction to Essay I: Understanding what types of conversations breed influential ideas

The literature review showed our existing understanding of the relationship between creative, non-routine conversations and the generation of mobilizing frames is inadequate. While students of organizational discourse has investigated the relationship between micro level organization of conversations and the outcomes the conversations can generate (Phillips et al., 2004; Robichaud et al., 2004; Samra-Fredericks, 2003, 2005), they have not investigated contexts characterized by lacking pre-defined relationships (Powell, 1990), vague or non-existing means of collaboration (Lawrence et al., 1999), and fairly equal chances for conversational participation. Moreover, while the limited micro level research on

[7] By acknowledging the role culture and social structure play in social action and interaction, this dissertation joins others in adopting a weak version of methodological individualism (for a review of the different versions of methodological individualism, see Udehn, 2002).

networks and innovation (Lingo & O'Mahony, 2010; Obstfeld, 2005) has suggested that the shaping of interpersonal networks is central to the evolution of ideas, it gives few answers to why most ideas die in conversations. Therefore, the first essay in this dissertation investigates the relationship between idea development conversations and the generation of mobilizing frames. The essay takes an ecological perspective to investigate how and when collaborative conversations can produce nascent innovations. In creative, non-routine, professional contexts, conversational attention is a scarce and particularly fluid resource. In order to become selected and diffused to other contexts, ideas need to gain conversational attention. This essay suggests that the utilization of 'genres' to shape conversational attention is an important process influencing the development of ideas which has received little attention in previous research. The first essay seeks to answer the following question:

Research question 1.1. *What characteristics of conversations are associated with the generation of ideas that have interorganizational effects?*

Introduction to Essay II: The structuration of culture through conversations

Though scholars have explained the structuration of culture through various processes (e.g. Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Jarzabkowski, 2008), there is a limited amount of research on the micro-to-meso processes through which actors stabilize new cultural elements as a part of the culture of particular organizations. Similarly, while scholars commonly agree that the goals and means of interorganizational collaboration are 'negotiated' through discourse (e.g. Everett & Jamal, 2004; Gray, 1985; Hardy et al., 2005; Lawrence et al., 1999; Levina & Orlikowski, 2009; Phillips et al., 2000; Ring & Van de Ven, 1992, 1994), fairly few have studied the micro level processes through which negotiation takes place. More specifically, though we know interorganizational collaboration can generate 'proto-institutions' (Lawrence et al., 2002), we do not know how the negotiation of collaboration is related to such outcomes.

To address these gaps in the existing literature, the second essay develops a novel structuration perspective (Giddens, 1984) to idea development conversations. Similar to studies on the strategic utilization of cultural resources, the essay takes the duality of structure as a starting point and draws upon the notion of a discursive 'move' (Goffman, 1981; Pentland, 1992) to investigate how actors constitute cultural 'structures' through conversations and how these 'negotiations' influence the generation of nascent mobilizing frames. Similar to many studies of culture, the essay takes cultural structure to consist of shared cognitive 'content', such as joint expectations and goals (Ring & Van de Ven, 1994), shared norms and understandings (Sydow & Windeler, 1998), and mutual commitments (Ring & Van de Ven, 1994)[8]. The second essay seeks to answer the following research questions:

[8] While both cultural structure and mobilizing frames refer to cognitive content which is to some extent shared (and hence, cultural), there are two crucial differences between these two concepts. First, the concepts capture entities residing on different ontological planes. In the second essay the concept of cultural structure is used to capture the micro level cognitive content which the conversing actors share (see essay II for more details). The concept of mobilizing frames, on the other hand, refers to "action-oriented sets of beliefs

Research question 2.1. *What types of discursive moves actors use to constitute the cultural structure of collaboration?*

Research question 2.2. *How does the emerging structure shape the content of the collaboration?*

Research question 2.3. *Why do discursive moves relating to certain issues lead to tangible outcomes while others do not?*

Introduction to Essay III: The co-evolution of ideas and networks

While existing research on both the institutional outcomes of interorganizational collaboration (Lawrence et al., 2002) and on the advancement of innovation through brokerage work (Lingo & O'Mahony, 2010; Obstfeld, 2005) has posited dense and supportive interpersonal relationships as the main mechanism driving the evolution of ideas, we lack studies investigating the micro level discursive processes through which actors secure initial social support for their ideas. As existing research has implied interpersonal relationships and ideas might co-evolve in innovation contexts characterized by little previous interaction, non-existent hierarchies, and ambiguous goals (Lawrence et al., 1999), the third essay investigates how networks and ideas co-evolve through idea development conversations. Drawing upon Bakhtin's literature theoretical work on Dostoevsky's novels (1984), the essay suggests idea development conversations are driven forward by actors' emotional and cognitive reactions towards other actors' utterances in conversations. The essay builds, first, on theories of dialogue (Bakhtin, 1986; Goffman, 1981) to understand how such reactions constitute directed ties between network members, aggregating into sets of conversational 'networks'. Second, the essay draws upon research on the foundations of interpersonal relations (Bales, 1950; e.g. Casciaro & Lobo, 2008; Filipowicz, Barsade, & Melwani, 2011; Labianca & Brass, 2006) to identify the general cognitive and affective types of 'contents' conveyed in actor reactions and the types of relationships such reactions construct. The developed microfoundation of 'conversational networks' is utilized to seek answers to the following questions through empirical analysis:

Research question 3.1. *How do conversations around creative ideas aggregate into conversational 'networks'?*

Research question 3.2. *How do conversational 'networks' condition idea selection in idea development conversations?*

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and meanings" (Benford & Snow, 2000: 614), which can diffuse from one context to another one. Mobilizing frames are not bound to particular local contexts, like cultural structures are, but can move between various local contexts within the organizational field. Second, though mobilizing frames can be conceived as cultural structures, not all cultural structures necessarily are mobilizing frames. Cultural structures can also refer e.g. to shared norms.

Research setting, methodology, and process

The primary data represented are drawn from a case study of two task forces in a collaboration project between nine health care organizations. The project was set up to redesign the governance model of patient transfers spanning several social and health care organizations in the Finnish public health care field. In this dissertation, I refer to this case as the Swift patient transfer project. The project was initiated as the previous governance model was first forcefully delegitimized by politicians, health care officials, and the public press, and consequently, abandoned.

I originally selected the case because it provided a rare opportunity to study how professionals from different health care organizations collaborate to innovate new governance models in a situation in which a previous governance model was abandoned. Scholars of institutional change commonly agree that processes of institutional change 'heat up' when actors become aware of institutional contradictions (Giddens, 1984: 199; Seo & Creed, 2002) and 'speed up' when actors "compete over the definition of issues and the form of institutions that will guide organizational behavior" (Hoffman, 1999: 352). The political controversies preceding the studied project and the decision to abandon the previous governance model fulfill these criteria of a situation in which institutional change is more likely. More importantly, the project provided an opportunity to collect data on the very early phases of institutional change where actors propose and negotiate on various novel ideas that can diffuse to other contexts and cause changes in those contexts. Such data enabled me to elaborate existing theory which investigates this phenomenon but which has been fragmented into distinct streams of literature.

Research site: Resolving complex problems in patient transfers spanning several social and health care organizations

Finnish public health care consists of primary and social care provided by municipalities and of secondary and tertiary care provided by regionally based hospital districts[9]. The hospital districts are co-owned by the municipalities in the region. The Swift patient transfer project took place within the province of Uusimaa, which consists of 28 public primary care organizations and a university

[9] There are exceptions to this general rule. Bigger municipalities, such as the city of Helsinki (the capital), offer some routine-like specialized medical care services through their own hospitals.

hospital district, the Hospital district of Helsinki and Uusimaa (henceforth HUS for short). HUS runs the Helsinki University Central Hospital and 23 other hospitals, covering the most densely populated part of Finland and being responsible for the treatment of most severe diseases in Finland. The highest decision making body of HUS is the Council, which comprises of politicians from the municipalities co-owning HUS. The Executive Board of HUS is responsible for operational and finance management, and it reports to the Council.

Patient transfer related problems have incommoded the public health care in the metropolitan area of Helsinki since the 1960s. Though problematic patient groups have changed, the problems have always related to patients whose medical condition requires first an intensive treatment episode in the hospital district and then continued treatment, rehabilitation, and housing in primary and social care. From 1960s to 1980s secondary care hospitals were filled with patients with chronic diseases as primary care could not accept these patients due to missing capacity (Joutsivuo & Laakso, 2008: 80–89). These problems were solved as the major municipalities in the province of Uusimaa, with the help of the government, were able to improve their home care and to establish several new primary care hospitals by the end of 1980s (Joutsivuo & Laakso, 2008: 80–89).

During early 2000s the patient transfer problems re-emerged. This time municipalities struggled to accept patients whose physical condition had significantly declined after being treated for an acute disease, such as cerebral infarction, in an HUS hospital. Some of these patients required rehabilitation in a primary care hospital whereas others needed to obtain a place of residence from a nursing home as they could no longer live at home due to their physical or mental disabilities. Especially for the largest cities the problem was systemic by nature. For example, in order that a hip fracture patient could be transferred from a specialized HUS hospital to a municipal rehabilitation hospital, some other patients needed to obtain a place of residence from a nursing home so that their bed in the rehabilitation hospital could be given to the hip fracture patient. Given that the occurrence of illnesses is partly stochastic on population level, the overall number of patients waiting for a transfer to a more suitable place of treatment at a particular moment of time was subject to temporary changes, and sometimes resulted in backlogs.

Table 3 below describes the key events that took place around the patient transfer problem and which led to the establishment of Swift patient transfer project investigated in this paper. I use three key events – the disclosure of invoicing errors in January 2008, the decision to initiate the Swift patient transfer project in June 2009, and the decision to reintroduce the overuse fee system in June 2011 – as markers that bracket the institutional context of the case into four distinct periods that I discuss below in detail.

Table 3 Institutional context of the Swift patient trasfers project.*

Time	Description of key events
2002-2004	The cities forming the metropolitan area need to pay increasing penalties to HUS as the city health care organizations are not able to take in elderly patients whose treatment in a specialized hospital had ended and who needed continued treatment in a primary care facility. The city of Helsinki tries to solve the problem by buying extra capacity from private nursing homes. (HS 2002-08-17, HS 2002-08-31, HS 2004-10-19)
2006	*April*. HUS reports that its financial results are all-time best. The editorial of Helsingin sanomat criticizes HUS for the complex, bilateral cash flow between HUS and the municipal health care organizations, and for the penalty system of HUS: "The penalties of HUS are an oddity ... If the city [of Helsinki] cannot provide a bed for these patients within three days, HUS charges Euros 1400 for each additional day. HUS has decided this charge on its own ... It is absurd that the city of Helsinki spends Euros 25 million to speed up the intake to elective treatments at HUS, and when HUS operates increasing amount of patients with this money, the city of Helsinki needs to pay millions of euros in penalties as the city cannot provide continued treatment for these patients." (HS 2006-04-29) *October*. The social services and health care committee of Helsinki made a motion of buying extra capacity from a private health care firm in order to avoid penalties set by HUS. The motion was defeated in the city Executive Board as the leftist parties and the green party opposed it. (HS 2006-10-17, 2006-10-21, 2006-12-05). *December*. The city of Helsinki tries to get rid of the penalties by changing its internal patient transfer routines and by buying nursing home capacity from private firms. The city sets up a temporal role of a "director of the treatment process" and associates significant power to the role in order to foster changes in the city organization (HS 2006-12-02). HUS plans to transform its current flat rate penalty system into a progressive "overuse fee" system. Helsingin sanomat speculates the reasons for this: "It seems that HUS does not believe that the city of Helsinki is really trying to induce a change [in its capacity to accept patients for rehabilitation] because the Executive Board of HUS has proposed [the overuse fee system]. (HS 2006-12-11)
2007	*February*. An article in Helsingin sanomat reflects the issue that increasing the efficiency of HUS through penalties might have a negative effect to the overall efficiency of the health care system in the Uusimaa region. The article reports the results of a recent study according to which even though the durations of treatment episodes in HUS have decreased, the overall durations of the treatment of patients - consisting of a treatment episode in a HUS hospital and subsequent treatment episodes in various primary care hospitals, health centers and elderly homes - have increased. (HS 2007-02-19) *April*. The CEO of HUS raises awareness of the problem of "overuse": "The majority of the surplus in our financial statement comprises of the [overuse] fees... It is important for the functioning of the overall health care system and for the best possible treatment of each individual patient that we find a solution to this overuse of secondary care." (HUS annual report 2006) *May*. Helsingin sanomat reports that the penalties which the city of Helsinki needs to pay to HUS are decreasing as the city has acquired more beds for continued treatment, increased the utilization rate of its hospitals and health centers, and hired experienced nurses for managing the transfers of individual patients (HS 2007-05-24) ***September*. The new progressive overuse fee system is taken into use.** *December*. The new overuse fee system increased the overall amount of fees which the municipalities were to pay to HUS. The Executive Board of HUS decides to return Euros 2 million to the municipalities to redress the increased amount of fees. (HUS annual report 2007)
2008	***January*. An investigation by an accountancy firm revealed that every fifth overuse fee invoice sent from HUS to municipalities was erroneous.** Helsingin sanomat reports the findings on its first page. The health care organization of Helsinki estimates that these erroneous invoices comprise 30 % of the total amount of fees that Helsinki was to pay to HUS. The city decides to discontinue paying the invoices. Also cities of Vantaa and Espoo report that they have received erroneous invoices. Representatives from HUS, city of Espoo, and city of Vantaa assert that they should collaborate to solve these issues. The editorial of Helsingin sanomat criticizes HUS for the invoicing errors. (HS 2008-01-03, 2008-01-04, 2008-01-06) *April*. Leading social and health care officers from the cities forming the metropolitan area state that an absolute condition for the payment of the overuse fee invoices is that HUS routinely communicates to primary care organizations when it seems likely that a particular patient will need continued treatment in a municipality in the near future. (HUS annual report 2008, HUS Executive Board materials 2009-02-23) *June*. Cities in the metropolitan area apprise HUS of the intention to not to pay the overuse fees. (HUS Executive Board materials 2009-02-23) *November-December*. A task force comprising of representatives from HUS and from the cities forming the metropolitan area meet to discuss the overuse problem. The task force makes some suggestions how to improve the process. HUS sends a letter to municipalities which have mature invoices and demands payment. (HUS Executive Board materials 2009-02-23)

Table 3 (continued) Institutional context of the the Swift patient transfer project.

Time	Description of key events
2009	*January*. The cities forming the metropolitan area issue an response to HUS in the matter of paying the mature overuse fee invoices. The cities raise four issues that should be solved before payment: 1) errors in the invoices, 2) lacking communication from HUS to the municipalities regarding upcoming patient transfers, 3) inadequate resources at the Helsinki University Central Hospital, and 4) lacking agreement between HUS and municipalities concerning patient transfers. (HUS annual report 2008, HUS Executive Board materials 2009-02-23)
	February. Representatives from HUS and from the cities in the metropolitan area negotiate on the payment of the invoices. They form a joint understanding that HUS should return 50 % of the overuse fees invoiced in 2008. HUS management proposes to the Executive Board of HUS that 50 % of the invoiced overuse fees should be returned to the municipalities and that a collaborative task force should be formed to make suggestions how to replace the current overuse fee system. (HUS Executive Board materials 2009-02-23, HUS annual report 2008, HS 2009-02-24)
	March. The Executive Board of HUS decides to return 50 % of the invoiced overuse fees (Euros 3,4 million) to the municipalities and to establish the task force that HUS management had suggested. The Council of HUS approves these decisions. (HUS Executive Board materials 2009-03-09, HUS Council materials 2009-03-31, HS 2009-03-10)
	April-May. The task force meets to form suggestions how to replace the overuse fee system.
	June. The suggestions of the task force are presented to the Executive Board of HUS. The task force suggests that 1) the overuse fee system should be replaced with instructions concerning the treatment process, which should be done by 1st of September 2009, 2) measurements for the whole treatment process should be developed in future task forces, 3) the pricing of HUS services should be developed so that overuse treatment days are invoiced according to their real costs, and 4) the overuse fee system should be replaced with the above mentioned elements starting 1st of September 2009 and the functioning of the new system replacing the old should be piloted until the end of 2010. The new system should be evaluated at the end of 2010. The Executive Board of HUS approved these suggestions. Later on, also the Council of HUS approves them. (HUS
	***October*. The Swift patient transfer project investigated in this paper kicks off.**
	November-December. The Executive Board of HUS decides to return 10 % of the 2009 overuse fees to the municipalities after negotiations with representatives from the cities forming the metropolitan area. The Council of HUS approves the decision. HUS management estimates that the earlier decision to abandon the overuse fee system will increase the costs and average durations of particular treatments as the overuse days are included in the invoicing of normal treatments (HUS Executive Board materials 2009-11-02, 2009-11-30, HUS Council materials 2009-12-15).
2010	*April*. The Swift patient transfer project is reported in the HUS annual report 2009, under the section "Research and development activities". The report mentions that the project was one of the most significant projects of HUS in 2009. (HUS annual report 2009).
	May. The external examination committee of HUS utilizes a theoretical costing model, which was developed in the Swift patient transfer project, in its report to make sense of the treatment processes spanning both HUS and primary care hospitals and health centers. The external examination committee asserts that the overuse days have increased during 2009. (external examination committee's report concerning year 2009)
	December. The Swift patient transfer project is officially finalized, but some of the task forces continue to meet e.g. in order to discuss the latest statistics concerning the overuse problem.
2011	*February*. Results of the Swift patient transfer project are reported to the Executive Board of HUS. HUS management suggests that the overuse fee system should be reintroduced. HUS management reasons this proposal with the negative effects that the current instructions and measurement based system has for the measurement of HUS productivity and for the treatment costs of particlar patient groups. In addition, HUS management suggests that HUS should buy rehabilitation services directly in order to transfer patients faster to rehabilitation hospitals. The Executive Board approves these suggestions. (HUS Executive Board materials 2011-02-21)
	May. The external examination committee of HUS focuses increasing amount of attention the problem of overuse. The report of the task force describes how the number of overuse patients have increased (to approximately 44 patients waiting for transfer each day) and asserts that the municipal health care organizations could not provide continued treatment for patients who no longer needed specialized care in a HUS hospital. (external examination committee's report concerning year 2010)
	June. HUS management makes a motion to the Executive Board of HUS to reintroduce the overuse system starting 1st of July 2011. The Executive Board approves this motion and suggests to the Council of HUS to approve this. The Council of HUS approves the motion as is. (HUS Executive Board materials 2011-06-15, HUS Council materials 2011-06-15).
	***July*. The overuse fee system is reintroduced, but this time with rules similar to the penalty system which was in use until September 2007.**

Table 3 (continued) Institutional context of the the Swift patient transfer project.

Time	Description of key events
2012	*May*. The external examination committee of HUS criticizes the current overuse system for the increased amount of overuse patients during 2011. The committee evaluates that the current overuse system does not "spur" municipal health care organizations to arrange continued treatment in a municipal health center swiftly, and implies that the current system encourages municipalities to delay the transfer of patients to primary care as the costs of these overuse days will be divided between all the municipalities owning HUS. The number of overuse patients has increased to approximately 90 patients waiting for transfer each day. (external examination committee's report concerning year 2011)
2013	*April*. For the first time, overuse days are clearly reported in the HUS annual report 2012. The report states that the new overuse fee system has not decreased the number of overuse days. (HUS annual report 2012) *May*. The external examination committee of HUS raises the problem of overuse as the central issue in the management of the health care system in the Uusimaa region. The summary of the report starts with two critical questions: "Should the overuse fee be increased and the waiting period for the fee be decreased? Who should be responsible for the organization of rehabilitation? In addition, the committee criticizes a number of collaborative projects executed to improve the effectiveness of boundary-spanning treatment processes. The committee lists a number of problems in the collaborative projects, e.g. the problem of gaining the commitment of many health care organizations to suggested process improvements and the implementation of the ideas developed in the collaborative projects. On the other hand, the committee raises the treatment process of the hip fracture patients as an example of a treatment process that functions well. (external examination committee's report concerning year 2012)

* Legend: HUS = The hospital district of Helsinki and Uusimaa
HS = Helsingin sanomat (a newspaper)
... = part of the quote has been excluded in order to focus on the most important parts.

Before January 2008 – increasing control of municipalities through a penalty system

Between 2002 and 2007 **s**everal cities in the metropolitan area, and especially the city of Helsinki, were facing problems in organizing hospital beds and places of residence in nursing homes for patients that no longer needed specialized care in a HUS hospital. At the same time, HUS was facing strong pressure towards cost efficiency. HUS had been formed in a merger between three hospital districts in 2000 and one of the key goals of this merger was to cut health care costs in the region. As the treatment of Helsinki's citizens has always formed the majority of the treatment days and associated costs of HUS, Helsinki's problems of accepting patients was a significant operational problem also for HUS. HUS utilized a "penalty system" to govern the patient transfers. According to the system, HUS invoiced municipalities for patients' extra treatment days which they were forced to spend in a HUS hospital as primary care could not accept them. Until September 2007 the penalty was approximately four times the average price of a treatment day in HUS hospital, but HUS started charging the penalty only after a waiting period of three days. In September 2007 HUS introduced a new progressive per-patient and per-day "overuse fee", without a waiting period, with which it hoped to speed up the transfer of patient from HUS to primary care.

During this time, *Helsingin sanomat* raised public awareness of the patient transfer problem by discussing the problems that the city of Helsinki was facing and by elaborating the implications of these problems for Helsinki's health care costs and for the treatment of individual patients. In 2006 and 2007, the newspaper took an increasingly critical stance towards the penalty system of HUS as it meant that the city of Helsinki needed to pay millions of euros in penalties to

HUS. The penalty system had been in place for several years, but the internal problems of Helsinki brought the system into public discussion.

Political controversies following the disclosure of errors in the overuse fee invoices in January 2008

The new overuse fee system became heavily delegitimized after an investigation by an accountancy firm revealed that approximately every fifth overuse fee invoice sent from HUS to municipalities was erroneous. Shortly after this, the cities forming the metropolitan area decided to cease paying the overuse fee invoices sent by HUS. This led to a series of events where representatives of municipalities were demanding that a number of issues should be solved before they can pay the invoices, the representatives of HUS demanded munipalities to pay, and HUS and municipalities started negotiating how to solve the controversy.

During April and May 2009 a task force between HUS and the municipalities negotiated on the matter and formed a suggestion that the overuse fee system should be abandoned and replaced with new instructions and measurements concerning patient transfers. These instructions and measurements should be developed in future task forces which would involve representatives from both HUS and primary care. The Executive Board and Council of HUS approved this motion and decided to establish the *Swift patient transfer project* between HUS and 8 largest municipal health care organizations in order to create novel solutions to the overuse problem.

Collaborative governance during the Swift patient transfer project

The formation of the project formed a temporal truce between HUS and the municipalities. HUS no longer charged the municipalities for the extra treatment days that patients needed to spend at a HUS hospital as primary care could not accept them. Between 2009 and 2011 the number of these overuse days increased dramatically. Nevertheless, this sparked no discussion in the Executive Board and Council of HUS. Consequently, *Helsingin sanomat* had very little to report and there was only limited public discussion on the problem.

In February 2011 the project was discussed and evaluated at HUS. HUS management came to a conclusion that even though the project had produced e.g. new patient transfer instructions and measurements, it had not produced any significant changes to the actual problem of overuse. To the contrary, the number of overuse days had increased. HUS management made the motion that the overuse fee system should be reintroduced in order to speed up patient transfers. The Executive Board and the Council of HUS approved this motion. The overuse fee system was reintroduced starting July 2011, but this time with rules similar to the penalty system which was in use until September 2007.

Reintroducing the overuse fee system did not hinder the increasing amount of overuse days

After July 2011 the amount of overuse days has increased steadily to approximately 90 patients waiting for transfer each day. HUS evaluated that the reintroduction of the overuse fee system did not help to stop this development. In 2012 and 2013 HUS emphasized the overuse problem increasingly in its yearly reporting. For example, HUS reported the number of overuse days in its 2012 annual report for

the first time. The external examination committee of HUS raised the problem of overuse as the central issue in the management of the health care system in the province of Uusimaa.

I selected the case because it provided an opportunity to examine how mobilizing frames arise from innovation conversations across organizations. Early in the research process, I decided to focus on two specific task forces which had important, loosely-set targets for their work. The first had the main responsibility for creating a new collaboration-based boundary management model for the organizations and new patient transfer routines related to outbound patients. The second task force was to develop new measurements for the care and treatment of patients causing logistics problems. These two task forces generated the most important outcomes of the project.

Describing the context and key actors

The actors in the two task forces were remarkably polite to each other during the whole time of observation. In each meeting, participants greeted persons entering the meeting room with friendly words and smiles. Sometimes participants shook hands in the beginning of the meeting. In case an already present member had not noticed the entrance, the entering person sometimes touched the other person's shoulder and greeted him with smiles. All in all, the atmosphere of the meetings was collegial and friendly as the participants worked to maintain tact in the meetings (Goffman, 1959).

Contrary to many projects in contemporary business organizations, the actors communicated mainly through oral conversations in the meetings (cf. Kaplan, 2011; Kellogg, Orlikowski, & Yates, 2006). Some participants occasionally used PowerPoint to present a particular, prepared description of e.g. treatment practices in a particular secondary care or primary care organization. These technology-enhanced monologues were, however, merely the starting point for the subsequent conversations through which the participants constructed the key cultural structures and mobilizing frames. The conversations were commonly characterized by a 'scientific' rhetorical mode, i.e. the actors typically provided epistemic facts, such as operational statistics, to justify their ideas, and they were self-critical in evaluating the validity and reliability of the statistics.

The two task forces comprised of a balanced mix of representatives from the various units of the hospital district and from the various municipal primary care organizations (see Table 4). Though some actors belonged either to the first or to the second task force, many key actors belonged to both. Table 4 shows how the eight most active conversers brought about the majority of talk in the 10 transcribed meetings (in total 90 %). Their input to the meetings was crucial for the outcomes the project generated. Especially Peter and Mike stand out from the rest. They proposed initially the ideas which later on gained social support and evolved into the two mobilizing frames which the project generated.

Peter was a cultivated senior chief administrative physician, who took actively part in the conversations by reproducing professional beliefs and norms, correcting other participants' conceptual inaccuracy, and educating persons with too rigid

presuppositions. Mike was a medical administrator, who focused on bringing new ideas to discussion. His ideas gained the attention of others and many used his ideas as references in their own considerations. In addition to proposing significant ideas, Peter and Mike were often responding to each other both to challenge each other's ideas and to gain the active consent of the other for one's own ideas (see essays II and III).

Debbie and Aaron acted as the chairmen of task force one and task force two, respectively. In addition to organizing the conversations in the task forces, they also actively participated in other types of conversations (see essay I for more details). Derrick and Suzy influenced especially the conversations in task force two by introducing and explaining statistics concerning treatment on the organizational boundaries between the hospital district and the municipal primary care organizations. Finally, Amy and Kathy took actively part in the conversations by introducing novel ideas and by evaluating the ideas of others. Their initial support turned out to be an important momentary threshold for the generation of mobilizing frames.

Table 4 Members of the two task forces.*

Actor	Organization	Occupational role	Member of which task force	% of total talk in the 10 transcribed meetings
Debbie	Hospital district	Organization development manage	Both	21 %
Aaron	Municipal primary care organization	Director of health services	Second	18 %
Mike	Municipal primary care organization	Chief physician	Both	11 %
Peter	Hospital district	Chief administrative physician	Both	10 %
Derrick	Hospital district	Administration specialist	Both	10 %
Suzy	Hospital district	Organization development manage	Both	8 %
Amy	Hospital district	Organization development manage	Both	7 %
Kathy	Municipal primary care organization	Medical director	Both	5 %
Matt	Hospital district	Medical director	Both	2 %
Tanya	Hospital district	Chief physician	First	2 %
Lily	Municipal primary care organization	Chief physician	First	2 %
Jody	Municipal primary care organization	Chief physician	First	1 %
Barbara	Hospital district	Organization development manage	First	1 %
Nick	Hospital district	Director of psychology services	First	1 %
Kristen	Hospital district	Nursing director	First	1 %
Randy	Hospital district	Medical specialist	First	0 %
Evelyn	Municipal primary care organization	Director of health services	First	0 %
Frank	Municipal primary care organization	Medical director	First	0 %
Baxter	Hospital district	Deputy chief physician	First	0 %
Steve	Municipal primary care organization	Director of health services	First	0 %
Cecilia	Municipal primary care organization	Head nurse	First	0 %
Mandy	Municipal primary care organization	Nursing director	First	0 %

* The names of the actors are disguised.

Data collection and its use in the analysis

My data consists of both primary data on the studied Swift patient transfer project and secondary data on the institutional context of the project (see Table 5). The primary data consists of non-participant observation notes and transcribed audio recordings of 23 meetings of two task forces, 10 transcripts of the task forces' meetings, 18 informal interviews with the project participants, project

documentation, and of a research diary. I chose to collect micro level data on the project because of two reasons. First, having data on "naturally occurring" discourse in social interaction is in general more preferred in discourse analysis (Phillips & Hardy, 2002: 70–71). Second and more importantly, this type of data enabled me to investigate in detail the conditions, mechanisms, and processes through which micro level discourse in the conversations produced mobilizing frames, having the potential to be diffused to contexts beyond the ones where they were created.

The secondary data comprises of documentation of two most important decision making bodies of HUS (the Council of HUS and the Executive Board of HUS), HUS annual reports and external examination committee's reports, and articles in the leading Finnish daily newspaper *Helsingin sanomat* and in *Finnish Medical Journal* (published by the Finnish Medical Association). I collected this archival data in order to understand the institutional context of the case and to evaluate whether the ideas developed in the studied project influenced the larger institutional context. All my data is in Finnish language and the analyses were done using Finnish language. I translated the excerpts of dialogue included in this dissertation into English only at the end of the analysis.

I tried to ensure good quality of data and its interpretation by paying attention to my position vis-à-vis the 'observed' members of the studied project, an issue that is commonly seen as perhaps the central methodological problem in both collecting observational data (e.g. Miller, 1969; Schwartz & Schwartz, 1969; Vidich, 1969) and representing the results of its analysis (e.g. Atkinson, 1990; Van Maanen, 1988). In this chapter I describe how I took this problem into account in the data collection phase. The next chapter describes my approach of utilizing multiple theoretical lenses to interpret the collected data, a research design through which I tried to theoretically triangulate (Denzin, 1978: 295; cited in Jick, 1979: 609) my interpretation of the data in order to enable cumulative theory building.

When observing the studied project, I tried to take a middle way between two extreme positions of an observer: i) not having any personal contact with the observed actors, the equivalent of observing the actors behind a one-way viewing screen, and ii) maximizing contacts with the observed actors in order to gain access to their worlds of experience and to secure trust and cooperation (Schwartz & Schwartz, 1969). In other words, I tried to achieve rapport with the observed actors while ensuring the objectivity of analysis (Miller, 1969). I did this by following Schwartz and Schwartz's (1969) advice of separating temporally when I take the role of a non-participant observer and when I take more active role vis-à-vis the observed. For me, a crucial temporal boundary for switching between these two positions was the start and end of the meetings. During the meetings I tried to minimize my contacts with the observed actors, while before and after the meetings I interacted with the observed actors "on the simply human level" (Schwartz & Schwartz, 1969: 96).

Therefore, when making observation notes and recording the meetings of the two task forces, I typically sat in most distant seat of the meeting room so that the meeting participants could focus on the actual matters and ignore the non-participant observer. I deliberately did not take part in the conversations of the task forces. For example, when sometimes the chairman asked each participant at a

time for their opinion on a particular matter, I remained quiet and, if needed, signaled through non-verbal means that I skip my answering turn. As the project participants had relatively quickly got accustomed to my participation in the meetings, the conversers did not typically expect me to participate in the conversations and I did not need to signal my non-participant role.

Before and after the meetings, I held informal interviews with the meeting participants in order to secure rapport and gain insight how they interpreted the meetings and whether my impressions were coherent with theirs. The informal interviews also enabled me to discuss key differences and similarities between the studied project and other organization development projects in the health care field, providing me important information for the evaluation of the boundary conditions of this dissertation. During the whole research process, I wrote down personal impressions of the meetings and initial theoretical interpretations into a field diary.

Selected 10 audio recordings of meetings were transcribed verbatim to focus the analysis on those conversations which produced the most important ideational outcomes of the project, i.e. the most influential mobilizing frames. Before selecting the 10 meetings for transcription, I listened to the audio recordings of six different task forces' meetings from 2009 and 2010 and made preliminary theoretical interpretations of the meetings. I chose to focus to two particular task forces and their 10 meetings in more detail as I realized that the most significant mobilizing frames emerged from those meetings. The three essays are mainly based on the analysis of these 10 transcribed meetings. I used the informal interviews to identify cultural structures influencing the conversations on an implicit level, e.g. the need to form consensus decisions. When analyzing the 10 transcribed meetings for essay III, I read my field notes and listened to the audio recordings in order to triangulate (Jick, 1979) my categorization of utterances' cognitive and emotional content. I used the recordings, notes, and documents from the non-transcribed meetings mainly to track whether particular ideas had any explicit effects on the interaction in the Swift patient transfer project or to other forms of collaboration between the organizations, and to find support for my emerging findings of the mechanisms guiding conversations and the generation of mobilizing frames. More detailed descriptions of data analyses can be found from the data analysis subsections in the three essays.

I utilized the secondary data to create the timeline of the institutional context of the case (Table 3) and to evaluate to what extent the ideas developed in the Swift patient transfer project influenced the problem of overuse in general and treatment and patient transfer routines in particular. The secondary data were also utilized to theorize the more general implications of this study to our understanding of change in the health care field (see General discussion section).

Table 5 Data and its use in the analysis

Type of data	N	Amount of data in hours	Amount of data in pages	From time period	Use in the analysis
Primary data on the studied two task forces of the Swift patient transfer project					
Non-participant observation notes, audio recordings, and *transcripts* of the 10 key meetings of the two task forces.	10	20	423	October 2009 - September 2010	Creating the key analyses and results of this study (see Essays I, II, and III), understanding actions through which the conversations in the two task forces evolved.
Non-participant observation notes and *audio recordings* of other meetings of the two task forces.	13	25	15	December 2009 - December 2012	Finding support for the findings emerging from the analysis of transcripted audio recordings, tracking whether particular ideas developed in 10 key meetings had any explicit effects on the subsequent interaction in the project or on treatment or patient transfer practices between the organizations, understanding the evolution of the project.
Informal interviews with project participants*	18	5		October 2009 - December 2012	Familiarizing with the project context, understanding how the project partipants interpreted the meetings and whether my impressions were coherent with theirs, familiarizing with the health care field, understanding key differences and similarities between the studied project and other development projects in the health care field.
Project *documentation* (agendas, meeting minutes, reports)	50		371	September 2009 - December 2012	Familiarizing with the project context, tracking whether particular ideas developed in 10 key meetings had any explicit effects on the subsequent interaction in the project or on treatment or patient transfer practices between the organizations, identifying the key outcomes of the project.
Primary data on the Swift patient transfer project in general					
Non-participant observation notes and *audio recordings* of other task forces' meetings	15	25	20	October 2009 - October 2011	Familiarizing with the project context, familiarizing with the health care field.
Meetings with HUS representatives to discuss the preliminary results of the study	2	4		October 2010, October 2013	Confirming that I had identified the key outcomes of the project and interorganizational effects of ideas developed in the project correctly, reflecting jointly on the initial results of the study, gaining insight for subsequent analyses.
Research diary	1		65	December 2009 - October 2013	Documenting personal impressions of the meetings and initial theoretical interpretations, documenting the evolution of the iterative research process between data, existing theories, and emergent theory.
TOTAL		79	894		
Secondary data on the institutional context of the project					
Documentation of relevant meetings of the Executive board of HUS	26		98	February 2009 - February 2011	Familiarizing with the institutional context of the project, identifying key events in the institutional context of the project, constructing the timeline of the institutional context of the case (Table 3), tracking the effects of ideas developed in the project.
Documentation of relevant meetings of the Council of HUS	30		171	March 2009 - December 2011	Same as above
HUS annual reports and *external examination committee's reports* of HUS	17		2496	2005 - 2012	Same as above
Articles in leading Finnish daily newspaper Helsingin Sanomat	45		44	July 2000 - September 2010	Same as above
Articles in the Finnish Medical Journal	2		1	December 2006, February 2008	Familiarizing with the institutional context of the project.
TOTAL	120		2810		

* The number of informal interviews and their total duration are estimates. As these took place just before and after task force's meetings, had an open structure, and were short in duration, I documented these interviews in my research diary rather than having separate interview notes.

Research approach

As the literature review showed, our understanding of micro-to-macro conversational processes in contexts characterized by the lack of pre-existing hierarchies (e.g. Powell, 1990) and vague or non-existing goals and means of collaboration (Lawrence et al., 1999) is thin. This doctoral dissertation seeks to provide some answers to this theoretical problem by developing a model of how individuals' micro discourse in conversations produces social outcomes over time. As such processes have not been studied in ambiguous and creative interorganizational contexts and as the theoretical understanding of the phenomenon has been fragmented to different streams of research, I have chosen to investigate this phenomenon by studying conversations in a three-year collaborative project between nine public health care organizations. The chosen case and the collected qualitative data are particularly suitable for developing a theory of a phenomenon which is not properly understood based on existing research (Edmondson & McManus, 2007).

Researchers seeking to understand phenomena which have received scant previous research attention face the problem of what types of research tools can be used in the endeavor. Similar to many others investigating nascent and intermediate phenomena, this dissertation seeks to identify the most relevant empirical patterns in the data in order to develop a model of the key theoretical constructs and their relationships driving the phenomenon under investigation (e.g. Edmondson & McManus, 2007). The theory is developed through an iterative process (e.g. Gadamer, 2005) where the researcher uses his early theoretical interpretations to analyze the empirical data, leading to disconfirmation of some theoretical interpretations and verification of others. These theoretical understandings are, then, used to craft new theoretical interpretations and to make new analyses. The iterative research process typically reaches a closure when the researcher feels the developed theory explains the empirical phenomenon adequately, i.e. when 'theoretical saturation' is reached (e.g. Eisenhardt, 1989).

Different qualitative research approaches differ in terms of how exactly the above iterative research process should proceed. Researchers adopting a grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) often use the nascent theoretical understandings generated through an iterative cycle of research to make decisions on what type of data to collect next. Thus, grounded theory scholars often do data analysis and data collection at the same time to make the created theory properly 'grounded' in robust sets of empirical data (e.g. Suddaby, 2006). This dissertation, on the other hand, adopts a research approach where the iterative process between data and theory is fueled by adding more theory to the iterative research process.

The data-driven yet theory-informed research approach utilized in this dissertation has no widely recognized name for it. Researchers have used terms such as 'theoretical triangulation' (Denzin, 1978: 295; cited in Jick, 1979: 609), 'bricolage' (Boxenbaum & Rouleau, 2011), or 'pragmatic postmodernism' (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000: 186–196) to describe research endeavors utilizing multiple theories to interpret particularly complex phenomena. Regardless of the particular name used, these approaches start from the premise that our interpretation of the world is inherently shaped by our knowledge of the world (e.g. Morgan, 1983). Influenced by postmodernism, these research approaches often seek to increase

researchers' reflexivity regarding how the chosen theoretical perspective as well as the larger context of research influences the research process and its outcomes (e.g. Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000; Calás & Smircich, 1999; Chia, 1996; Morgan, 1983; Morrow, 1994: chapter 9).

Although there is no agreement on what reflexivity in research exactly means, most definitions share the idea that researchers should aim to think i) how the various assumptions, decisions, and practices in the research process affect ways of seeing and consequently, the research 'constructs' (or results in conventional terms) and ii) how the research constructs affect the research context and iii) how these dependencies should be taken into account in the research process. In other words, reflexivity concerns both interpreting the empirical data and interpretation of interpretation (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2000, pp.5–6). While theoretical sophistication increases researchers' reflexivity concerning how to interpret empirical data, researchers' knowledge of and ability to use different metatheories increase reflexivity by problematizing common (dominant) ways of interpreting empirical data and possibly providing a frame breaking experience (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2000, p.253; Lewis & Grimes 1999; Gioia & Pitre 1990). These frame breaking experiences have been proposed to be an essential productive force in researchers' theory-building efforts (Alvesson & Kärreman 2007).

In this dissertation I have utilized multiple theories to interpret the empirical data and in order to develop a model of how actors' discursive action in conversations produces social outcomes over time. Overall, the theoretical puzzle in this dissertation relates to a larger debate regarding what types of patterns can be identified in language use and how do those patterns relate to the generative capacities of language. Whereas some early work on language posited language use could not be studied due to its idiosyncratic nature (de Saussure, 1959), subsequent work has identified a number of patterns in language use in social context. For example, conversation analysts have focused to detailing how turn-taking in conversations is organized through the usage of 'adjacency pairs' (e.g. Sacks et al., 1974), semiotic scholars have investigated how 'signs' and their production and interpretation are related (e.g. Barley, 1983; Eco, 1976), and discourse analysts have often focused to understanding how a limited number of quasi-permanent macro meaning structures enable and constrain the formation of meaning of language use (e.g. Phillips & Hardy, 2002). As this hopefully illustrates, the existing theory provides multiple possibilities for alternative interpretations of talk-in-interaction.

I have aimed to turn this heterogeneity of discourse theories into an asset by utilizing multiple theories to interpret the same empirical data. The selected approach can be seen as a particular version of theoretical triangulation (Denzin, 1978: 295; cited in Jick, 1979: 609). This dissertation uses theoretical insights from critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003), Bakhtin's literary theories (1984, 1986), Goffman's work on the notion of a discursive 'move' (Goffman, 1981), and interaction process analysis (Bales, 1950) to draw theoretical attention to different types of longitudinal patterns in the empirical data. While these theories enable me to pay selective attention to the empirical data, I use inductive analysis to create typologies of different types of patterns in the empirical data. For example, in the first essay I use Fairclough's concept of a genre (2003) to investigate how actors

shape the purpose of the conversations through their utterances. Then, through inductive analysis, I identify eight different types of genres used in the conversations and I show how their usage varies over time. These theoretically-informed but inductively formed typologies of language use take a middle-ground between grounded theory's focus to empirically-defined concepts and theoretically-determined concepts common in other research approaches. Similar to others (e.g. Hammersley, 2003), I see the usage of various theories to capture different aspects of language use as a central benefit for a research which seeks to develop theory on an phenomenon, which has been investigated in distinct streams of existing research. In this dissertation, different theories of language use and their outcomes, then, are seen as research tools which can be combined to enable creativity in research.

Research process

In this subsection, I describe the process through which this dissertation was formed. As reflexivity is a central ingredient of the selected research approach (see previous subsection), in this subsection I discuss the key events in the research process and the theoretical discussions which have guided this research endeavor as well as influenced its central outcomes. By presenting the research process in an open narrative format, I hope to provide the readers material for reflecting how my choices have influenced the results of this dissertation.

Phase 1: Initial research interests and entering the field (January 2009 – October 2009)

The idea of investigating talk-in-interaction, or actors' discursive action in conversations, originated from my Master of Science thesis, where I investigated decision making processes in a development program of a major logistics company. In the thesis, I utilized multiple types of empirical data, but I found myself interested mostly in the question of how individuals propose and collectives agree on particular courses of action during meetings (of which I had some anecdotal observation data). Though the thesis was accepted, I remained puzzled about the processes through which actors form social outcomes through social interaction.

Soon after I started my doctoral studies my feeling of the importance of understanding the generative processes in social interaction became more intensive. In the final essay of my first PhD methodology course, I wrote that I would investigate "how the implementation of new technologies is negotiated in meetings of management teams and how these negotiations shape the technologies to be implemented", where I used to the concept 'technology' to refer to administrative structures in general. Working in a research unit investigating health care management, I was primarily interested in investigating the topic in the field of health care. I felt, and I still do, that the public health care in the western world should prepare itself for the upcoming difficulties related to the increasing number of patients and costs of care caused by the ageing of 'baby boomers' born between the late 1940s and early 1960s.

During August 2009, I started negotiating with the hospital district of Helsinki and Uusimaa (HUS) whether I could investigate their top management team in my dissertation. Although the CEO at that time supported my proposal, my

negotiations with other key stakeholders at HUS got me interested in another project where HUS was seeking to create new administrative structures through a collaborative project between HUS and primary care organizations in the Uusimaa region in Finland. I agreed with the HUS representatives of the importance of the collaborative project and they agreed to support me in entering the field and gaining access to all key meetings of the project. I was quite enthusiastic of the possibility to study social interaction in interorganizational collaboration. I had a preliminary idea that the future research findings from my dissertation could somehow contribute to the recent literature on how organizational boundaries are shaped through discursive action (Santos & Eisenhardt, 2005, 2009).

Before starting the non-participant observation of the project, I asked from the organizational representatives in the project for their written assent for my research. I had provided them a preliminary research plan of my dissertation through email. In the first meeting, then, my contact persons at HUS introduced me to the organizational representatives and we asked one more time for any comments concerning my dissertation plan, especially related to recording the meetings. A couple of questions were raised, but they were raised to increase clarity regarding particular terms in my research plan. As all participants approved my investigation of the project, I started attending the meetings and making contacts with people before and after the meetings.

Phase 2: Wallowing in metatheoretical reflexivity (November 2009 – May 2010)

In tandem with the spending the first six months on the field gathering data, I was constantly considering how I should analyze my data. This period was characterized by deep metatheoretical reflections on the purpose of academic work in general and the type of research I would like to conduct. Having taught metatheoretical thinking on a course on organization theory for two years, I was trapped in finding all research contingent and imperfect by nature.

During this time, I was reading books on various metatheoretical perspectives at the same time. To mention a few, I was especially impressed by the work of Giddens (1984), Bourdieu (1998), Berger and Luckmann (1966), Goffman (1959), and Foucault (1972), which are widely utilized in organization theory, but also by work on sociological imagination (Mills, 1982), early postmodern work (Lyotard, 1984), hermeneutics (Gadamer, 2005), phenomenology (Husserl, 1991), and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992; Parker, 1992; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). I was drifting towards a postmodern analysis of my empirical data, in which I would make several theoretical readings of my empirical data (cf. Alvesson, 1996).

Phase 3: The struggles of conducting first analyses (June 2010 – May 2011)

After making an effort to go through various critical discourse analysis perspectives during summer 2010 and discussing about my analysis options with my supervisor, I had formed an idea of two distinct theoretical perspectives to be taken to interpret my data. The first of these would take a deterministic approach to the relation between discourse and action and seek to understand how 'institutional logics' guide actors' talk-in-interaction. The second would take a voluntaristic approach, seeking to understand how 'institutional entrepreneurs' shape shared systems of

knowledge. Though I was rather satisfied of the crafted theoretical perspectives, I had no clear idea of how I should actually conduct my empirical analysis. I tried to analyze my data using concepts like speech functions, recontextualization of texts, discursive assumptions, conversational 'maxims' (Fairclough, 2003), but I considered the analyses to provide neither theoretical insight nor an explanation for the social outcomes of the collaborative project.

While struggling with conducting empirical analysis, I attended a course on European semiotics at the University of Helsinki. The rich body of work in structural semiotics made me to reconsider the role discursive theories have in empirical analysis. Reading about the different structures of discourse identified in structural semiotics helped me understand how theories of discourse could be used more freely to capture only particular aspects of language use, and moreover, that different theories could be combined more freely to enable more innovative and fresh analysis of my data.

During May 2011, I was reading a book criticizing critical discourse analysis (Widdowson, 2004) and Thompson's theory of the links between discourse and domination (1990) for a course on linguistic semiotics. I understood my empirical analysis should not primarily be based on pre-existing theories about the relationship between discourse and social change, but I should focus to some particular aspects of language use and conduct inductive analysis of how those aspects of language use cause patterns to the conversations and subsequent social outcomes of the conversations.

Phase 4: Writing the second essay (June 2011 – January 2012)

During June 2011, Henri Schildt agreed to my request of instructing my thesis. This was an important threshold in my doctoral studies. We agreed on a joint paper, to be written during fall 2011 in order to send it the annual meeting of Academy of Management on mid-January 2012. Based on Henri's proposition, I started the empirical analysis of the data by simply coding the talk on particular novel ideas which had been raised in the conversations. We then agreed we should take some of these 'initiatives', as we called them, into closer scrutiny (see essay I methodology section for more detailed description).

After a 'close reading' of the selected initiatives, we agreed we intent to develop a perspective of "Cultural structuration of interorganizational collaboration" (research diary 7th of October, 2011). I suggested we could utilize Goffman's notion of discursive 'moves' (1981) to analyze how actors try to shape the cultural structure of collaboration. The analysis of discursive moves resulted in a typology of constitutive moves and countermoves. These were used in a comparative qualitative analysis of the structuration processes of selected 'initiatives'.

Phase 5: Writing the third essay (February 2012 – October 2012)

The third essay of this dissertation started from the idea that discourse can construct and shape social relationships, in addition to constructing ways of representing and understanding particular ideational phenomena (Fairclough, 1992, 2003). As the second essay of this dissertation (written prior to the first and third essays) had developed into a structuration perspective, where we claimed actors' skill of utilizing previously constructed cultural structures conditioned their ability to generate new cultural structures and helped explain why particular

'initiatives' advanced, I wanted to show how such structuration processes influenced social relations over time. My initial idea was that I would investigate how particular ideas and social relations co-evolved through conversations. I though such an analysis would reveal how conversations can have differing outcomes on the two ontological levels of ideas and social relations, increasing our reflexivity regarding the social outcomes of discursive action.

I finished the first version of this essay in the end of May 2012. In that manuscript, I drew upon the literatures on politics in interorganizational collaboration, situated domination, hegemony, Bakhtin's literary theory on Dostoevsky's novels, and Bourdieu's theory of discourse as a market place (1992) to argue how particular actors' skill to dominate others and others' habit of becoming dominated explained why the powerful actors' ideas were selected for implementation while others' ideas were abandoned and they become 'peripheral' in the conversations. This version of the essay had gained inspiration from Critical Theory and critical management studies.

After a break of couple of months, I started rethinking about the paper. During July 2012, I attended a session where Woody Powell presented some of his research on the emergence of the biotechnology sector. Seeing how he and his colleagues (Owen-Smith & Powell, 2004; Powell et al., 2012) provided illustrating graphical representations of networks and their development, I was excited about the possibility of utilizing network analysis tools and softwares for analyzing my data. I started developing this idea further by drawing upon Bakhtin's (1984, 1986) and Bales' work (1950).

The third essay got its final format as I decided to submit it to *Organization Science*'s special issue on "the psychology of organizational networks". I delved deeper into the literature linking networks and innovation, and emotions and networks, to analyze how individual utterances in conversations on particular ideas constructed quasi-stable conversational networks over time. The emotions and networks literature helped me to express more clearly how particular actors are able to form supportive interpersonal relationships, and how the formation of supportive conversational networks influences collective 'selection' of ideas. In the end, I was rather satisfied how the essay developed. I think adding the networks perspective made the essay more interesting and more 'objective' in the sense that the paper was no longer premised on pre-biased theory, like hegemony.

Phase 6: Writing the first essay (November 2012 – June 2013)

The initial idea for the first essay of this dissertation (which was written last) emerged already during summer 2010 as I wanted to understand how institutional logics influence conversations. The idea was based on theoretical 'hunch' which emerged while observing the meetings in the project during summer 2010. I got the feeling the conversations often evolved as some actors wanted to focus to discussing "how things are" while others tried to shift the conversation to "what is relevant". These types of shifts happened numerous times during the meetings, yet I was not able to capture them in more theoretical terms.

Though I did not write this paper for two and half years after the initial idea emerged, I kept thinking about the theoretical problem and writing notes about ideas regarding the paper. During early 2012, I read some work adopting a

complexity perspective to social interaction and conversations (Shaw, 2002; Stacey, 2001) as well as a theory of how conversations and cognition are linked (Sperber & Wilson, 1986). The complexity perspective in particular helped me understand how I could conceptualize the conversations as a complex system which are driven forward by actors' internal cognitive models (Sperber & Wilson, 1986).

I took this a still rather sketchy idea forward by analyzing the empirical data in terms of three types of elements in the conversations: conversational genres (Fairclough, 2003), conversational contexts (Widdowson, 2004), and flow of 'institutional dreams'. Through this analysis I seeked, then, to explain how individual utterance lead to patterns in conversations, how such patterns condition talk on ideas, and what are the more general conditions under which ideas can lead to institutional change. After talking with Henri Schildt about the paper during December 2012, I decided to drop the discussion on institutional change as I had no data on durable changes on the level of organizational fields.

Another revision was made to the essay after gaining more feedback on the paper from the Academy of Management conference and from some other scholars who had read the essay. The comments to the paper were rather identical: the complex adaptive systems perspective was poorly motivated, the concept of conversational contexts seemed to be too ambiguous, and my conceptualization of the links between logics, genres, and conversations was vague. After giving a thought to the comments, I chose to drop the complex adaptive systems perspective and the analysis of conversational contexts. I based the paper more clearly to the microfoundations of institutional logics literature, distinguishing between top-down and bottom-up attentional processes, i.e. between the utilization of genres and talk on ideas, respectively. After making another revision to the paper, I received critical comments from Henri Schildt and Nelson Phillips to the paper. They considered my justification of the link between logics and genres to be insufficient and they implied that the paper would not survive reviewers' critical scrutiny in a journal. Initially I was rather disappointed on the feedback since I had developed this idea for almost three years. As some days passed by, my emotions abated and I thought Henri's and Nelson's critical comments were justified. I decided to drop the microfoundations of institutional logics perspective and focus more clearly the conceptual links between conversations, genres, and talk.

Phase 7: Integrating the essay and crystallizing theoretical findings (January 2013 – June 2013)

Finally, the theoretical findings from the three essays were integrated to develop a model of how actors' micro level discourse in conversations produces social outcomes over time. As I had chosen to adopt a 'theoretical triangulation' approach (Denzin, 1978: 295; cited in Jick, 1979: 609), this was a critical phase of the whole dissertation. I started this work by reading my essays once again and by relating their theoretical approaches and their central findings to each other.

Given the rather different theoretical 'bases' used in each of the three essays, I chose to proceed by starting to write the literature review of the dissertation. By doing that, I would have to find out what is the most relevant issue, to which my dissertation provides answers. After writing the initial subsections on interorganizational collaboration, discourse and change, the structuration of culture, and networks and innovation, I realized the different streams of research

depict rather similar 'mechanisms' (Hedström & Swedberg, 1998) to micro-to-macro processes. Emphasizing the conditions and mechanisms of micro-to-macro processes depicted in the different theoretical streams, I understood how my dissertation contributes to these literatures. After writing the first full draft of this dissertation, I received extensive comments from my supervisor, my instructor, and from persons taking part in a dissertation research seminar at Aalto School of Business during March 2013. I made changes to my dissertation based on their comments, after which another round of commenting and revising was executed. The dissertation was sent to the preliminary, external examination in June 2013.

Phase 8: Revising the dissertation based on the comments from the preliminary examiners (September – November 2013)

The comments from the two external examiners were rather similar. Both of them, for example, found that the mechanisms developed in the individual essays were not presented clearly. I found the comments from the preliminary examiners to be really helpful for the development of my dissertation. Most importantly, they enabled me to reflect bigger issues related to the theoretical framework developed in the dissertation. For example, one of the comments related to the incautiously introduced notion of ecology in the dissertation. The comment forced me to rethink and clarify the role that the notion of ecology plays in the dissertation, and to consider the benefits and pitfalls related to this notion. Based on this one comment, I made quite a big revision to the first essay, after which I also revised the other related sections in the dissertation (e.g. the general discussion section). In addition, both of them raised a number of other minor problems in the dissertation. Making changes based on these comments the dissertation more solid.

General discussion

In this dissertation, I have investigated the conversational processes which link individual actors' discourse in idea development conversations to the generation of mobilizing frames. The first essay of this dissertation took an ecological approach to investigate the relationship between idea development conversations and interorganizational effects of ideas developed in the conversations. It suggested that conversations are more likely to generate mobilizing frames when actors utilize a broad spectrum of genres, when actors shift between the genres frequently, when the population of conversed ideas is large, when the average conversational attention per idea is low. By doing that, the essay elaborated the conversational conditions for the generation of mobilizing frames.

The second essay created a novel structuration perspective to study the relationship between discursively constructed culture of collaboration and the generation of mobilizing frames. The essay proposed that mobilizing frames need to be linked with two or three dimensions of the cultural structure of collaboration (previously formed shared beliefs, norms, and action commitments) in order to become selected. Paying particular attention to the conversationally constituted, explicit, yet delicate link between nascent ideas and the cultural structures of collaboration, the essay highlighted how resisting actors can inhibit the development of ideas into mobilizing frames by criticizing the delicate links between the idea and the cultural structure of collaboration.

The third essay investigated how the conversations construct conversational 'networks', and how such conversational networks condition the selection of particular ideas as mobilizing frames. The central finding was that particular ideas can evolve into mobilizing frame when conversations around the idea constitute an inclusive, dense, and relatively stable conversational 'network' where the idea advocate is positioned as the most influential 'hub'. Moreover, the essay suggested actors can drive the formation of supportive networks through goal-driven behavior which I call 'strategic emotional contagion' (cf. Barsade, 2002).

The first subsection of this general discussion section integrates the theoretical perspectives advanced in the three essays into a microsociological model of idea development conversations. This model distinguishes between three ontological levels –conversational, relational, and ideational realms – and depicts two central processes –the structuration of culture (essay II) and the evolution of ideas (essays I and III) – which link individual actors' discourse in conversations to the generation of mobilizing frames. In the subsection, I elaborate the role that these two processes play in the generation of mobilizing frames through conversations. This enables me to compare and re-evaluate the explanations provided in the

second and third essays for the generation of mobilizing frames. Furthermore, I discuss how this dissertation complements existing research on organizational discourse and communication.

The second subsection outlines a model describing the ecological relationship between the population of ideas and the conversational, cultural, and relational environment in which the ideas live and die. This subsection, first, explains why the conversational conditions which increase the likelihood for the generation of mobilizing frames (essay I) are also associated with high mortality of ideas. Second, the subsection discusses how actors can improve the likelihood that their idea survives and evolves into a mobilizing frame. The discussion section is concluded by elaborating the implications of this dissertation study to health care managers and policy makers, by providing answers to some possible critique towards the dissertation, and by suggesting areas for future research.

Microsociology of idea development conversations

This dissertation provides a 'thick theoretical description' (cf. Geertz, 1973) of the key ontological dimensions of idea development conversations and of the processes linking discourse of individuals in conversations to the generation of mobilizing frames through idea development conversations. This dissertation is a rare attempt to develop a provisional theory on inadequately understood phenomenon by utilizing multiple theoretical perspectives to identify the most relevant patterns in the data, to capture the central concepts, and to understand the relationships between the concepts (for something similar, see Alvesson, 1996).

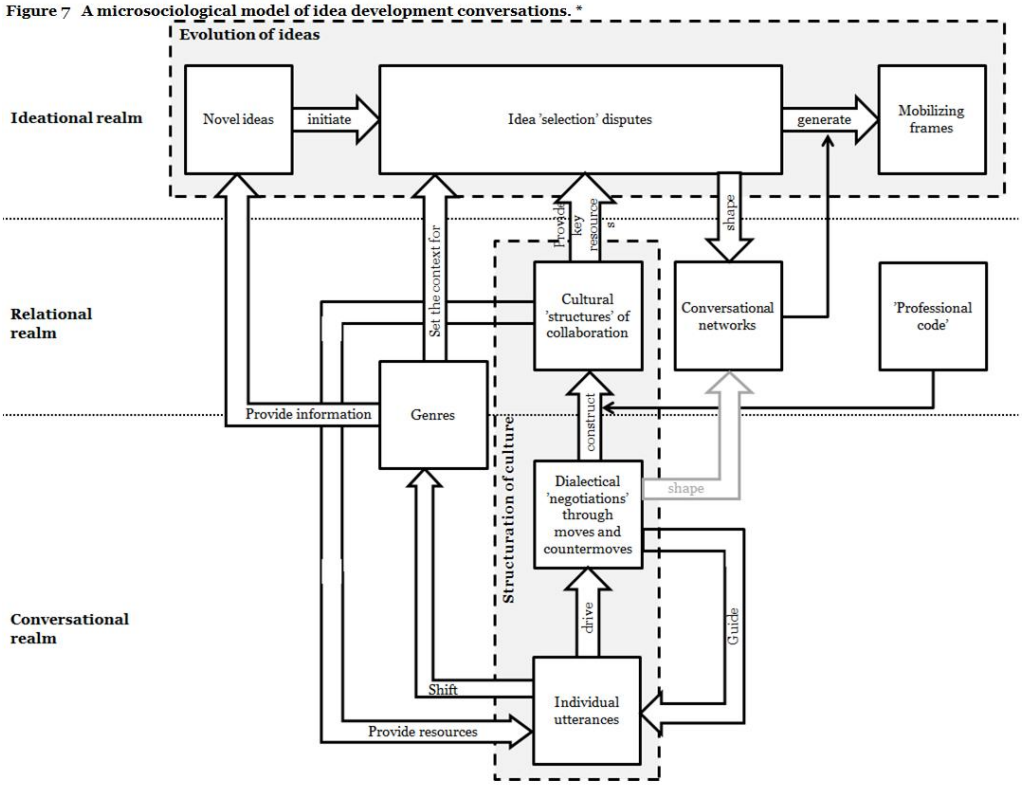
As the three essays pay theoretical and empirical attention to different aspects of the conversations and provide alternative explanations for the generation of mobilizing frames, in this subsection the central challenge lies in relating the different essays into each other and integrating the empirical and theoretical insights from the essays into a rich and holistic model of idea development conversations. I utilize a mode of scientific inference called 'retroduction' (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 1997: 96–106)[19] to integrate the central findings from the three essays into the microsociological model of idea development conversations. The three essays can be combined by thinking what their findings tell us about the nature of idea development conversations and more specifically, what their findings tells us about the conditions enabling and mechanisms driving generation of mobilizing frames through idea development conversations.

The integrated theoretical findings from the three essays are presented graphically in Figure 7. This microsociological model of idea development conversations distinguishes between three ontological levels –conversational, relational, and ideational realms – and depicts two central processes –the

[19] Retroduction is distinct from the more formally defined modes of inference of deduction, induction, and abduction. It is a common mode of inference in social sciences, used to move from empirical observations to theoretical conceptualizations of the conditions and mechanisms which enable the empirical phenomenon to occur. For example, when studying a particular phenomenon X, the fundamental questions in retroduction are: "What properties must exist for X to exist and to be what X is?" '(Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 1997: 97).

structuration of culture and the evolution of ideas. Differentiating between these ontological levels and processes helps to understand in more detail the relationship between discursively constructed local culture and the level of ideas and mobilizing frames. Distinguishing the ideational realm from the other realms enables me to explain the generation of mobilizing frames through the temporally evolving and culturally diverse conversational context constituted by the utilization of genres (essay I), strategic utilization of cultural structures (essay II), and shaping of interpersonal relationships (essay III). In the remainder of this subsection, I discuss the theoretical insights from the three essays individually and compare them to existing literature. The next subsection synthesizes the essays' insights into a conversational-relational ecology of ideas model and outlines the conditions and mechanisms driving the evolution of ideas into mobilizing frames through cross-professional collaboration.

Figure 7 A microsociological model of idea development conversations. *



* Light grey arrows indicates a relationship that has not been investigated in this doctoral dissertation but which is likely to exist.

Between cultural structures and ideas

One of the most debated issues in organizational discourse literature has been the question of to what extent to discourse can be seen to construct organizational life (see e.g. Chia et al., 2000; Chia, 2000; Kärreman & Alvesson, 2008; Parker, 2000; Reed, 2000). Distinguishing between the ideational, relational, and conversational

realms (see Figure 7), this dissertation suggests the outcomes of discourse in creative, non-routine conversations can be better understood by distinguishing between two different processes: the structuration of culture and the evolution of ideas. These processes differ in terms of the underlying theory of development (Van de Ven & Poole, 1995), the objects of discourse, and the ontological realms where these processes take place. The structuration of culture perspective (essay II) helps to understand how new cultural 'structures', defined as shared cognitive 'content', are constructed through idea development conversations. The evolution of ideas process, on the other hand, suggests the development of ideas into mobilizing frames is crucially dependent on particular conversational conditions that enable the creation of incremental but legitimate ideas (essay I) and on the formation of supportive interpersonal relationships that enable the selection of ideas for implementation (essay III). Distinguishing between these two processes and detailing their relationships helps us to understand in more detail the various outcomes discourse can produce.

One of the main research interests in this dissertation has been to explain why some ideas gain social support and grow into mobilizing frames while others do not. The comparative analyses of the essays revealed the more general conversational and relational conditions for the generation of mobilizing frames. The combined findings from the three essays suggest the utilization of cultural structures as strategic resources (Swidler, 1986; cf. Hardy et al., 2000) in conversations might play a more modest role in the generation of mobilizing frames than expected based on previous literature (for a similar argument, see Kellogg, 2011). The integrated findings suggest the strategic utilization of cultural 'structures' supports the advancement of particular ideas into innovations only to the extent such action contributes to the formation of supportive interpersonal relationships. Supportive conversational and relational conditions, not cultural structures, are central to the fertility of conversations.

Downplaying the role that the utilization of cultural structures as strategic resources plays in the generation of mobilizing frames is not to say discourse would not matter. To the contrary, discursive 'negotiations' are central to the generation of new cultural structures, as depicted in the second essay. The second essay provided a typology of discursive 'moves' (Goffman, 1981; Pentland, 1992) through which actors aim to shape the cultural structures of collaboration. The analysis of the patterns in the structuration processes show how the cultural structures of collaboration are constructed through a dialectical process (see Van de Ven & Poole, 1995) where actors propose particular beliefs, values, and commitments to action (thesis) and the other conversers expose them to critique (antithesis). The conversations can generate new shared beliefs, norms, and commitments to action when the dialectical process leads to synthesis of the opposing views or when the opponents can no longer provide countermoves towards the constitutive moves.

The structuration of culture through conversations perspective (essay II) complements previous accounts highlighting how organizations are produced either by discourses (e.g. Vaara & Tienari, 2002, 2011) or by the recursive relationship between text and communication (the so-called communication-as-constitutive, or CCO perspective, see e.g. Cooren & Fairhurst, 2009; Cooren, 2004; Koschmann, Kuhn, & Pfarrer, 2012; Robichaud et al., 2004). Whereas the second essay focuses to the individual as its basic unit of analysis and explains the

structuration of culture through a dialectic theory of development (see Van de Ven & Poole, 1995), researchers adopting a CCO perspective typically take collectives as their basic unit of analysis and explains the construction of culture through a teleological account of change (see Van de Ven & Poole, 1995). The sources of this divergence are likely in different theoretical backgrounds, different research interests, as well as in different empirical settings. Many existing studies on the construction of organizations through communication has often preferred to study 'successful' processes of social construction (e.g. Robichaud et al., 2004) rather than collaborations wrecked by political disputes (e.g. Gray & Hay, 1986; Larsson et al., 1998). While undoubtedly there are many organizational contexts where these communication driven micro-to-macro processes are most likely valid, e.g. conversations concerning incremental changes to organizational identity in established organization units, it is likely that conversations in contexts characterized by heterogeneous cognitive understanding, power asymmetries, or diverging interests are influenced more by political processes than by communicative processes.

Shifting genres as the dynamic 'rules' of conversations

Scholars investigating conversations, discourse, or language use in general have had a long-standing interest to the 'rules' of language use (see e.g. de Saussure, 1959; Foucault, 1972; Grice, 1975; Sacks et al., 1974; Wittgenstein, 1953). The first essay of this dissertation makes a modest contribution to this broad theoretical field by investigating how the utilization of different genres to shift the underlying 'rules' of conversations influences the development of ideas and the ideational outcomes such conversations produce. My inductive analysis identified eight different types of genres utilized in the conversations - relevance conversations, validity conversations, reporting talk, tales from particular organizations, conversations organizing the task force's work, conversations defining the goals of the task force, conversations defining tasks for one party, and clarity conversations (see Table 6 in essay I). A central finding of the first essay was that conversations characterized by a broad spectrum of genres utilized and high volatility of genre utilization are more likely to generate mobilizing frames because such conversations have a high capacity for cognitive processing on the collective level.

The ecological perspective developed in the first essay and the proposed links between idea development conversations, population of conversed ideas, and the ideational outcomes of conversations help us understand the conversational conditions breeding influential ideas. While some previous studies have noticed that sometimes novel ideas emerge "initially like weeds in a garden" (Mintzberg & McHugh, 1985: 194), the first essay is perhaps the first study to provide a robust analysis of the micro level conversational *processes* that produce the temporally evolving and culturally diverse contexts which are likely sources of novel ideas.

Though the ideational content of conversations evolves through individual utterances of individual actors, where they introduce ideas and utilize genres to bring established sets of issues and problems to the conversations, individual actors can control neither how the conversations evolve nor the outcomes they generate over time. Instead, mobilizing frames are best generated through temporally evolving and culturally diverse conversations which are produced

through interaction between interdependent individuals. The identified dynamics between individuals and conversations suggest idea development conversations can be seen as a self-organized, dynamic, and nonlinear complex adaptive system (Holland, 1995) where the conversations and individual actors mutually influence each other.

By investigating the relationship between dynamic 'rules' of conversations and the ideational outcomes they generate, this dissertation complements existing work on the organization of conversations through rules of turn-taking (Gibson, 2003, 2005; Molotch & Boden, 1985; Peräkylä, 1995; Sacks et al., 1974; Samra-Fredericks, 2003), on the organization of language-based interaction through rules of discursive 'practices' (e.g. Brown & Coupland, 2005; Ezzamel & Willmott, 2008; Riad, 2005; Vaara et al., 2004), and on the evolution of scholarly ideas through rules of discourse (Foucault, 1972). The second essay provides another perspective to the rules of conversations influencing micro-to-meso processes by detailing how the institutional-based rules of interaction, which I have referred to as 'professional code', influence the construction of 'sediments' of cultural structures.

The conversational-relational ecology of ideas

This doctoral dissertation gives also a theoretical answer to the important practical question of why public health care in the western world, especially in Europe, is surprisingly resilient to efforts of organizational and institutional transformation. The answer lies not in the lack of work done to transform the field. To the contrary, the studied empirical case and many existing studies (e.g. Reay & Hinings, 2009) provide an outlook on the numerous efforts done to identify key problems in the health care system and to create new practices, managerial processes, and governance models. The theoretical focus to the conditions supporting and the mechanisms driving generation of mobilizing frames developed in this dissertation helps us to understand *why* the field of health care does *not* change radically despite of massive work done to transform the field. The findings of this dissertation suggest that the field of health care evolves only incrementally as the most radical ideas die out in conversations. Based on the findings of this research, most ideas seem to die to the lack of responses from others, to the initial resistance towards the idea, or to the lack of social support for the idea. The empirical insight of high mortality rate of ideas and the theoretical perspectives developed in the three essays pave the way for the theoretical approach of understanding the generation of influential ideas as the *conversational-relational ecology of ideas*.

The population ecology of organizations literature has detailed the numerous conditions and mechanisms of organizational survival in changing environments (e.g. Baum & Oliver, 1991; Ruef & Scott, 1998; Zaheer & Mosakowski, 1997). Far less research has been conducted on how particular ideas survive in the conversational and cultural context of organizations and organizational fields (but see Burgelman, 1991, 2002). This dissertation is an early exploration of the topic, detailing the conversational conditions which enable and relational mechanisms which drive idea survival.

Conditions increasing both the population of ideas and the infant mortality of ideas

The integrated findings from the first and the second essay depict the conversational conditions threatening and the discursive actions supporting the survival of ideas from infantilism to the idea disputes phase of the evolutionary process. The integrated findings suggest that the constantly shifting various genres explain both the high population of conversed ideas and nascent ideas' high rate of infant mortality. Under such diverse and evolving conversational conditions, actors can relatively freely introduce new ideas and in general, change the topic of the conversation. At the same time, these conversational conditions are a threat for the longevity of individual ideas. While such conversations enable actors to propose ideas, they also enable other actors to drift conversational attention to other ideas and other topics.

In the empirical case studied, talk on particular novel ideas often died out as e.g. some professionals initiated validity conversations to question the problem which the idea was proposed to solve. In some other cases, novel ideas faded into oblivion as the chairman of the task force shifted to organizing the task force's work genre to suggest they should move to the next item on the meeting agenda. These constantly shifting genres then exposed the novel ideas to various 'tests', which drifted the conversational attention to other ideas and other topics. Most infant ideas seem to die due to the lack of response from others (Morrison & Milliken, 2000), to the first resistance towards the idea, or to other tests through which conversational attention moves away from these nascent ideas.

Drifting of conversational attention away from the ideas was not always due to the purposeful resistance of others. While in some idea disputes actors seemed to utilize genre shifts strategically to resist the idea under discussion (see the conversation extracts essays II and III), in many cases actors introduced a new topic to the conversation as they seemed to genuinely find that the topic was important for the unfolding conversation. In other words, actors' purposeful action of taking the conversations forward can be fatal to nascent ideas.

In addition, in the examined empirical case a central contextual factor killing many infant ideas seemed to be the underlying shared expectations concerning what the collaborative project between the health care organizations should produce. On one hand, individual collaborators lacked the power to allocate resources (Kellogg 2011) on the interorganizational level. On the other hand, the organizations were functionally dependent and potential ideas needed collective action across organizations. These conflicting contextual factors forced the organizational representatives to form consensus decisions regarding which ideas are to be taken forward to key decision makers in each participating organization. Being bound by this shared norm of striving for collective action, most ideas died to the initial resistance. As such, the work in the task forces resembled more advisory committees giving policy suggestions (Freidson 1986 pp.191–192) than a collective of creative individuals advancing multiple creative ideas simultaneously, which is common in creative industries (e.g. Hargadon & Bechky, 2006).

While the abovementioned factors capture the conversational conditions under which nascent ideas breed and most of them die out, the second essay suggested that the strategic utilization of existing cultural structures when proposing an idea

seemed to support the survival of that idea through the initial 'tests'. For example, linking the idea of changing the care routines of hip fracture patients with validated beliefs concerning most problematic patient groups helped the idea survive the validity 'tests' initiated by professional actors (see essays II and III).

Strategic emotional contagion as the mechanism supporting the temporal and spatial growth of ideas

The findings from the third essay suggest conversations can generate mobilizing frames when the talk on a particular idea constitutes an inclusive, dense, and relatively stable conversational 'network' where the idea advocate is positioned as the most influential 'hub'. The formation of such a conversational 'network' is the central relational condition for the micro-to-macro evolution of nascent ideas into mobilizing frames. The qualitative findings from the third essay suggest idea advocates can drive the formation of such conversational 'networks' and have their idea 'selected' through goal-driven behavior which I have referred to as 'strategic emotional contagion' (cf. Barsade, 2002).

Strategic emotional contagion refers to the social skill of forming and shaping diverse interpersonal relationships towards dense and homogeneous networks characterized by mutual positive affect. The actors whose ideas evolved into mobilizing frames were particularly skillful in this. They drew upon validated beliefs and values to reason the value of their ideas (cf. Schildt et al., 2011), transforming silent non-responses (Morrison & Milliken, 2000) into various initial responses. They reacted to this initial emotional ambivalence (Piderit, 2000) by immediately taking the next turn in the conversation and continuing to provide auxiliary evidence which supported their idea. When facing strong negative resistance from particular actors, they used emotionally rich discursive action, e.g. by laughing aloud or using discursive devices such as sarcasm, to confound further negative influence and to secure the audience's continued support for her or his idea.

Emphasizing the underlying emotions of conversations and their development over time (essay III) enables us to reconsider the role that discourse plays in micro-to-macro processes. Whereas many discursive scholars disclaim from making interpretations concerning actors' cognitive and emotional states underlying their language use (e.g. Parker, 1992), this dissertation suggests one cannot understand micro-to-macro processes through conversations by investigating solely the cognitive content of conversations. Though actors' utterances represent the actors' relationship to the ideational content of conversations, utterances are to a large extent guided by "the speaker's attitude towards others' utterances" (Bakhtin, 1986: 92; see also Collins, 1981). Understanding the underlying emotions is especially important when analyzing discursive conflicts. While students of discourse and culture as 'toolkit' often argue actors' ability to use discursive and cultural resources determines their success in conflicts (e.g. Levina & Orlikowski, 2009; Ng & de Cock, 2002; Samra-Fredericks, 2003), my findings suggest that the relationship between the usage of discursive and cultural resources and the outcomes of social interaction is crucially mediated by whether or not discursive action is able to 'homogenize' the cognitive and emotional responses towards the idea (see also Collins, 1981). Hence, the usage of cultural and discursive resources

drives the evolution of ideas into mobilizing frames only to the extent that such action contributes to the formation of supportive conversational 'networks'.

More generally, the third essay highlights how actors' power to influence conversational outcomes in contexts characterized by the lack of pre-existing hierarchies (e.g. Powell, 1990), vague or non-existing goals and means of collaboration (e.g. Lawrence et al., 1999), and fairly equal chances for conversational participation is dependent on the emergent, homogeneous, and explicit support of others (e.g. Clegg, 1989: 160; Maguire et al., 2004). Seeing the social skill of forming supportive conversational 'networks' as the central mechanism driving the evolution of ideas into mobilizing frames could provide a more general explanation for micro-to-macro processes than provided in the existing literature. Bartel and Garud's (2009) recent study, for example, suggested narratives can sustain organizational innovation by enhancing coordination at different phases of the innovation process. Similarly, Lounsbury and Glynn's (2001) research posits narratives can generate legitimacy, enabling entrepreneurial success. The findings of this dissertation suggest narratives, discursive resources, and cultural resources are perhaps best seen as alternative tools for shaping conversational 'networks'. While the tools – 'strategic emotional contagion' in this dissertation and narratives in existing research (Bartel & Garud, 2009; Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001)– vary depending on the case, building supportive conversational 'networks' is the central mechanism for the generation of novel social formations – mobilizing frames or ventures – in various contexts.

Finally, the strategic emotional contagion perspective provides an alternative to studies highlighting the constraining effects of centrally located actors' power (e.g. Everett & Jamal, 2004; Ng & de Cock, 2002; Phillips et al., 2000; Samra-Fredericks, 2003; Vaara et al., 2005). This dissertation shows how actors can use strategic emotional contagion for generative purposes: forming relationships, enabling collaboration, and driving innovation. Though researchers should constantly reflect upon the possible negative aspects of power (e.g. Reed, 2012; Zald & Lounsbury, 2010), paying explicit attention to power as a generative force helps us to understand how actors can foster collaboration in contexts pervaded by unproductive disputes, politics, or even domination.

Implications for managers in health care

To summarize the central findings of this doctoral dissertation, the analysis shows how most novel ideas die in idea development conversations either to lack of responses from others, to the initial resistance towards the idea, or to the lack of wide social support for the idea. I have suggested that the ability to provide reasons for her or his idea and the social skill of forming supportive interpersonal relationships increase the probability that an idea survives and develops through idea development conversations. These findings indicate concrete actions which managers in the health care sector can take when advocating particular ideas. Scientific thinking, interest in the production of evidence in support of the idea, as well as the ability to establish supportive interpersonal relations are all central 'tools' which managers can utilize when acting as change agents in health care

organizations. Though this is a single case study in in a single field, these social skills are likely applicable also in other fields characterized by strong professionalism, such as in the fields of accounting, education, and science.

On a more general level, a central practical question is how the lifetime of ideas could be increased in order to advance institutional changes, which are acutely needed in the public health care field in the western world in order to bear the increasing number of patients and costs of care caused by the ageing of 'baby boomers'[20]. Assuming the findings explain the problems of idea mortality in other contexts as well, an assumption which cannot be fully verified through this dissertation though the informal interviews and meetings with HUS representatives provided support for the generalizability of the findings, there are some possible courses of action through which health care managers could decrease the fragmented nature of the culture and increase probabilities for institutional change.

I suggest managers in health care could improve the living conditions of ideas by: i) increasing cross-professional conversations which are centered on established tangible problems, ii) increasing the cognitive processing capacity of conversations through the utilization of genres, and iii) putting strategic emotional contagion skills and interpersonal relationships with actors from diverse communities as key criteria for selecting managers of organizational change.

Increasing cross-professional problem-centered conversations

The findings of this dissertation suggest that the quality of conversations is more important for the generation of influential ideas than quantity. The findings of the second essay in this dissertation suggest that ideas gain social support when they are clearly linked to an established problem (and norm) in interorganizational domain. Vice versa, many good ideas died as the actors advocating the ideas could not link the idea to a concrete, established problem in the interorganizational domain. These findings suggest that task forces forming ideas for the development of health care organizations should talk extensively not only about novel ideas but also about problems in the organizational and interorganizational domain. These problems are not always self-evident but require the production of data (evidence) through various analyses. Moreover, task forces need to talk about these data in order to form a joint understanding of the most severe problems in the domain that the task force is investigating.

One concrete option is that managers should set problem-centered initial goals for task forces in order to increase the quality of cross-professional conversations. This means that the permanent organizations should reach a common understanding of the most severe problems already before the temporary task forces are formed. If that could be done, then the cross-professional task forces could focus on finding novel solutions to the established problem. If such initial goals cannot be set for the task forces and the task forces need to find simultaneously both the problems that they are solving and the solutions that would solve the problems, another possibility is to make sure that enough conversational attention is paid to discussing the 'facts' concerning treatment in

[20] Citizens born between the late 1940s and early 1960s.

order to form a joint understanding of problems in the treatment before the task forces start discussing about particular solutions.

Increasing the cognitive processing capacity of conversations through the utilization of genres

The findings of the first essay suggest that managers could increase the likelihood that the cross-professional conversations produce influential ideas by making sure that a broad spectrum of genres is utilized in the conversations and that actors shift between the genres frequently. In more concrete terms, this means that managers of organizational change should pay attention to how they seek to manage particular meetings of cross-professional task forces. The findings of this dissertation suggest that the use of a particular facilitation technique, such as brainstorming, might impede the generation of influential ideas as such techniques typically seek to control the attention of the task force. To the contrary, managers of organizational change should seek to diversify how the conversing group approaches the problem and try to increase the cognitive efforts of the group to come up with more and better ideas.

The central question is that how can managers of organizational change increase the processes of group cognition in order to come up with influential ideas. One option is to select diverse participants to the task forces. The findings suggest that sometimes it might be beneficial to select actors to the task forces who prefer different genres. For example, some participants preferring validity conversations could introduce validated beliefs to the conversation while some other actors preferring relevance conversations could provide solutions and link them to particular validated beliefs. The generation of influential ideas is more likely when actors with diverse genre preferences have the possibility to engage in conversations which are not controlled and in which actors can freely select conversations topics and introduce ideas to solve the pre-given problems.

Another option for increasing the cognitive efforts of the group and for increasing the number of discussed ideas is that some participants in the group, e.g. the chairman, would seek to diversify the utilization of genres in the conversations for example by questioning the relevance of particular validity conversations. The actor acting as the "devil's advocate" would criticize ideas which were weakly justified and would prohibit conversations which utilize only one particular genre. He would do these in order to increase the overall quality of conversation by limiting conversational attention on individual ideas in order to give conversational attention to multiple ideas, increasing the likelihood that the conversations produce influential ideas.

Reassessing the criteria for selecting managers of organizational change

Health care managers should pay more attention to which kind of employees are selected as managers of organizational change, or to put it more generally, as change agents. The findings of this dissertation suggest the social skill of forming supportive interpersonal relationships (strategic emotional contagion) should be one key criterion for selecting participants for task forces. In addition, recent studies on organizational changes in the National Healthcare System (NHS) in U.K.

(Battilana & Casciaro, forthcoming, 2012) suggest change agents' social networks influence their abilities to induce organizational change. Organizational changes which diverge little from the status quo are better lead by actors having 'strong' relationships with particular communities whereas changes which diverge a great deal from the status quo need a change agent who has relationships with diverse communities of practice. Therefore, sometimes it might beneficial to select actors to the task forces based on their pre-existing supportive interpersonal relationships rather than based on the knowledge which the potential participants possess (Casciaro & Lobo, 2008).

Implications for policy makers

In addition to the organizational level problems (which can be mitigated through managerial interventions described above), the findings of this dissertation illustrate the more general structural problems hindering institutional change in the public health care sector in Finland. These problems are the structural lack of social skills needed for acting as a change agent and the widely spread method of utilizing cross-professional task forces for solving institutional problems. I next discuss these problems and propose policy changes to increase the probability of an institutional change in the health care sector in Finland.

Including 'intrapreneurial' topics to the higher education of future health care personnel

The empirical finding of the high mortality rate of ideas for institutional change and actors' common inability to gain social support for their ideas and the information gained from the informal interviews provide support for the view that problem of inducing organizational changes is a more general problem in the health care sector. In this dissertation, I have suggested actors' lack of social skills needed to form interpersonal relationships and attain organizational changes is a key constraint for institutional change. These social skills are often referred to as 'intrapreneurial' skills.

State authorities and political actors have the tools at their hand for changing this structural constraint. A cost-efficient but rather slowly efficacious means for increasing intrapreneurial skills is to include intrapreneurial topics to the teaching of future health care personnel. For example, a course on change leadership or change management could be incorporated as an obligatory part of studies for all medical and nursing students. In addition, a focused set of courses on leadership and organizational change could be provided as a part of medical specialization. Teaching intrapreneurial skills for post-graduate students in medicine would provide them the social skills needed for development of treatment and organization of treatment, in addition to the skills related to scientific thinking and argumentation which are already a part of the doctoral education in medicine.

While many earlier policy suggestions recognize the importance of change for health care (e.g. Honkalampi, 2009; STM, 2009), they provide surprisingly few means for inducing changes in the health care sector. Teaching of intrapreneurial skills is one such mean, supported by the findings of this dissertation as well as by some previous comments on leadership in health care (e.g. Linden, 2008).

Replacing some cross-professional task force work with 'system architecture competitions'

The second larger issue in the development of health care in Finland relates to the widespread utilization of cross-professional task forces for making propositions how to develop the health care system. The findings of this dissertation illustrate that cross-professional task forces are better at killing novel ideas than creating them. These findings are supported by existing research on group creativity (for a review, see Kurtzberg & Amabile, 2001), which shows that group brainstorming, for example, produces fewer ideas than the actors would produce if they would be working alone (Paulus, Larey, & Ortega, 1995). Therefore, we need better means for creating ideas which could change the public health care sector more radically.

My suggestion is that some, not all, cross-professional task forces should be replaced with 'system architecture competitions'. Similar to the method of acquiring architectural proposals for building designs through architectural competitions, the state could organize a competition where particular professionals, groups of professionals, organizations, labor unions, and e.g. consulting companies would provide proposals for social system development, within the legal, economic, financial, technical, and political limits set by the state. System architecture competitions would enable individual contributors develop their ideas to their fullest as initial resistance would not wreck the nascent ideas and would enable government servants and politicians to evaluate and compare the proposals in terms of their estimated economic, social, and most importantly, health effects. System architecture competitions would be based on 'open government' thinking, enabling public discussions on the proposals. As such, system architecture competitions would be a more democratic way of developing public health care than closed cross-professional task forces.

Reply to some possible objections

The primary goal in this doctoral dissertation has been to build a model on how micro level discourse in conversations produces social outcomes over time. Given the complexity of the phenomenon, I have adopted a research design in which multiple streams of theory are used to interpret the phenomenon from different 'angles' with the overall aim of producing a more rich and holistic account of the problem of how idea development conversations generate mobilizing frames. In this discussion section, I have integrated the theoretical insights generated in the individual essays through a mode of scientific inference called 'retroduction' (Danermark et al., 1997: 96–106). My theoretical findings detail the types of discursive activities needed for idea development conversations to exist and to develop (essays I and II) and shows the importance of particular conversational conditions (essay I), usage of cultural resources (essay II), and shaping of interpersonal relationships (essay III) for the generation of mobilizing frames to be possible. In my discussion of the microsociology of idea development conversations and the conversational-relational ecology of ideas, I have showed the links between the different types of conditions, mechanisms, and processes identified in my

analysis. In this subsection, I consider some possible objections the critic might raise against my work.

Objection 1

'*You have studied a single case in a single organizational field. While I like your description of the case*', the critic might object, '*I doubt whether the findings tell us anything about the larger development issues in organizations*.' As the primary goal of this dissertation has been to investigate the processes which link idea development conversations to more durable meso and macro level outcomes, focusing especially to the conditions and mechanisms for the generation of mobilizing frames, this dissertation should be evaluated mainly in terms of how it has succeeded in this goal. Researchers more commonly agree that theory-building research should be evaluated in terms of its ability to give insights (e.g. Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000: 277; Weick, 1999), compared to the criteria of measurement, internal, and external validity common in quantitative analysis (e.g. Ruane, 2006: chapter 3). Nevertheless, the generalizability of the findings is a question deserving attention also in studies with a theory-building goal.

My answer to the critique is while the details of the structuration and evolution processes might vary from case to case (e.g. what is discussed, actors' discursive strategies, patterns in genre utilization, and the sequences of discursive conflicts), the identified conversational conditions (essay I) and the shaping of interpersonal relationships as the mechanism driving the selection of ideas (essay III) are likely to be generalizable to creative, non-routine, professional conversations in which actors from functionally dependent but in many other ways autonomous organizations or organizational units collaborate in order to produce new managerial innovations. These contexts include e.g. interorganizational collaboration in other professional fields and strategy development between strategic business units and functions in large matrix or multi-industry firms.

Objection 2

'*You focus your research to the question of how and why the project generated very few mobilizing frames that had only marginal influence to the organizations. I like the way you frame the theoretical puzzle and I agree that this seems to be a central management issue in the empirical case. However, I find it a bit troubling that you do not consider how the larger organizational, political, and institutional contexts influenced the project's ability to generate ideational outcomes. Surely these contexts influenced the project, and perhaps even more than the micro level actions of the collaborators*.' Part of this critique is true. Though I collected secondary data on the larger institutional context of the collaboration project, the essays do not investigate how the larger context influenced actors' actions and interactions in the project. However, my analytical approach of focusing to how actors produce the conditions and mechanisms of micro-to-macro processes through their action is in many ways antithetical to other theoretical approaches in which the factors of the larger context of action are used to explain the central outcomes of action. Scholars favoring mechanism-based explanations often describe the latter as "black-box" explanations (Hedström & Swedberg, 1998: 8).

To the contrary, mechanism-based explanations build on methodological individualism (Coleman, 1986; Udehn, 2002) by requiring the analyst to show the

particular types of actions, i.e. mechanism M, which link the initial situation A to the situation B in the end. Mechanism-based explanations typically take the form: A → M → B. The requirement to open up the "black box" and show how the intended and unintended consequences of actors' actions produce the social outcomes over time "helps us distinguish between genuine causality and coincidental association, and it increases the understanding of why we observe what we observe" (Hedström & Swedberg, 1998: 8–9). Hence, from a mechanism-based explanation perspective, alternative 'explanations', such as 'perhaps the actors just found the particular ideas to be more aligned with their interests' or 'the ideas which died can be explained by the actors' lacking motivation to advance them', would need to be justified through empirical data in order for them to be valid explanations. How to operationalize actors' interests? How would lacking motivation show e.g. in the disputes concerning the validity and relevance of particular ideas?

To come back to the essential part of the critique concerning how the larger context influenced the collaborative project and more importantly, how the larger context influenced the processes of the structuration of culture and the evolution of ideas, my research highlights the following contextual structures influencing the conversations in the collaboration: i) professional code defines the norms how new cultural structures are established (essay II), ii) genres provide diverging purposes for the conversations (essay I), iii) individual collaborators' lack of power to allocate resources across organizations and the dependency on collective action to solve the problem related to patient transfer delays forced the collaborators to form consensus decisions, leading to increased competition between and increased mortality of ideas (essays II and III), and iv) the initial goals set for the collaboration shaped the collaboration by focusing collaborator attention to the problem of patient transfers and possible solutions to it.

I agree with the critic, however, in seeing that it would interesting to study how the larger institutional and organizational context influences action in the studied project, a perspective to which I have paid only marginal interest in this dissertation. As said in the description of the research site, the logistics problems between the secondary care and primary care have been ongoing since the 1960s (Joutsivuo & Laakso, 2008: 80–89). One option for future research would be to collect historical data on how actors have been trying to solve the logistics problem in the metropolitan area, and what types of ideas have been proposed to the problem during the past 50 years. This type of data would have enabled me to link the historical context, including the types of actions which produced the central outcomes earlier, to this latest collaborative project trying to solve the logistics problem. At the moment, I am making some initial plans for such historical/institutional study.

Objection 3

'*You refer some studies on discourse but what is exactly the method you are relying on/drawing from? The things which you observe in your analysis have been studied before, e.g. in research by X, Y, or Z.*' This objection is related to the larger discussion on whether particular discursive methods are mere methods which can be combined creatively in order to shed light on a particular issue, or are

they self-sufficient 'methodologies' which define also ontological entities and their relationships (see e.g. Hammersley, 2003). As I have tried to make clear throughout this dissertation, my way of doing discourse analysis is based on data-driven, rather than theory-driven, analysis of discourse (see particularly Schegloff, 1997; Widdowson, 2004). As I see methods as 'tools' for capturing different aspects of discourse, I have used them quite freely to e.g. highlight how conversations can be characterized by multiple genres (essay I), how particular texts constitute cognitive understandings (essay II), or how utterances constitute cognitive and emotional relationships between actors (essay III). The primary reason for using such variety of methods has been the theory-building goal of this dissertation. Generating new theory often, though not necessary, requires one to use novel methods to depict the types of ontological entities and their relationships which have remained concealed in existing research.

Looking at the methods utilized in the three essays in retrospect, I think the methods utilized in the first and third essay are particularly insightful regarding the conditions and mechanisms supporting the generation of mobilizing frames through idea development conversations. However, there are some issues that could and should be clarified in the future revisions of all of these essays. In terms of the first essay, while I think the analyses conducted in the first essay produced explicit results on the relationship between idea development conversations and the interorganizational effects of ideas generated in the conversations, the essay could be made even better by including more cases to the analysis. At the moment, the limited number of task forces causes potentially a hindrance for the generalizability of the findings.

I think the second essay could be improved by rethinking the relationship between 'cultural structures' and the action outcomes the project generates (mobilizing frames). At the moment, the essay treats shared beliefs, norms, and commitments to action as similar types of cultural entities. The integrated findings from this dissertation, however, suggest local, situated 'culture' and ideas exist on different ontological levels. Hence, I believe the essay should be revised in order to distinguish between the realm of cultural structures, i.e. shared beliefs and norms, and the realm of ideas. Such a revision would require rethinking the role of structuration theory in the essay, conducting new analyses, and rewriting the whole essay. But I think this should be done in order to provide an in-depth understanding of the relationships between construction of situated culture and the generation of mobilizing frames.

Finally, the benefit of the third essay lies in utilizing network analysis to identify how the density of conversational 'networks' and the idea advocate's centrality in them influences idea 'selection'. The third essay complements the first essay by providing an in-depth analysis of the conversations related to particular ideas, and of the discursive means through which actors are able to form supportive relationships. The findings could be made convincing, however, by adding an analysis of the different ideas and how the content of the ideas does not fully explain the conversational outcomes (countering the counterargument to my argument). Another important thing related to essay III would to reconsider the role that data triangulation plays in the essay. While data triangulation is generally recommended in methodological books, such analyses sometimes face problems in the review process. If the triangulation approached would be dropped, there would

two viable options for the analysis of the selection processes. One option would be to build on Hedström and Swedberg's work (1996, 1998) to develop a more general and more formally defined mechanism of group decision making, in which an actor's choice to either give support, be neutral or criticize a particular novel idea depends on the number and social statuses of people that have already signalled their support or critique towards the idea. Another option would be to take a micro-level conversation analysis perspective to investigate the conversational processes through which idea advocates seek to gain support for and diminish resistance towards their idea.

Objection 4

The fourth possible critique could be directed towards the large amount of theories and concepts utilized in this dissertation. The more specific version of this critique would be: '*The concepts you use in the different essays to represent language use in the conversations are inconsistent and somewhat contradictory*.' And the critic might raise a more general concern: '*There are some really nice elements in your research, but your work comprises of too many theories, too many concepts, and in general, too much heterogeneity*.' Though I understand the benefits of using consistent terminology throughout a single research report, in this doctoral dissertation such a terminological homogenization would be contradictory to the research design of utilizing multiple theoretical perspectives to study the complex phenomenon of how discourse in conversations produces social outcomes over time. The choice to utilize different concepts and theories in the different essays was based on two 'pragmatic postmodern methodological principles' discussed by Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000: 186–196).

First, I have purposively used different language and different types of tables and figures to represent the idea development conversations, their dynamics, and especially the talk on the ideas. The different conceptualizations used in the three essays to capture relevant aspects of language use in conversations are not, according to my perspective, mutually incompatible but highlight different aspects of language use, providing depth and robustness to the overall goal of understanding how individuals' discursive action produces cultural and ideational outcomes. The central benefit of alternative representations lie in stimulating "reader's capacity for activity and reinterpretation", making the academic authorship more visible by not hiding behind institutionalized methodologies, and by compelling the reader to become involved in the interpretation process (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000: 192). Second, I have purposively drawn on various theories and metatheories of development (Van de Ven & Poole, 1995) in order to simultaneously avoid "as far as possible the adoption of a definite viewpoint at the theoretical and interpretive level" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000: 185) and to foster a productive play between alternative interpretations (ibid., p. 191).

I had two primary overall goals when utilizing these two 'pragmatic postmodern methodological principles' to make choices concerning e.g. the theories and methods utilized in the three essays. My first goal was to provide a more robust and 'theoretically thick' description (cf. Geertz, 1973) of the relationship between micro level discourse and macro level outcomes. In this vein, I utilized the different concepts, theories, and methods as interpretation 'tools' in order to elaborate our

existing theory on the phenomenon. My second goal was to increase the positive impact of this dissertation on the main audience of this dissertation: future PhD students in our school. This goal was based on the belief that a multi-theoretical perspective on any phenomenon of interest can enable reader imagination better than a more conventional 'mono-theoretical' approach. Though I understand that the theoretical triangulation approach is not perhaps the easiest read and it is subject to concerns of scientific legitimacy, I think it is increasingly important for us social scientists to consider how can produce scientific texts which both produce new knowledge and foster creativity and critical thinking within our audiences. The theoretical triangulation perspective taken in this dissertation is one pragmatic option for the social scientist who is aware of the potential risks that institutionalized methodologies can have for scientific thinking (see e.g. Feyerabend, 1978; Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002). Hence, taking into account how these two overall goals guided my conceptual, theoretical, and methodological choices in the three essays, the utilization of different concepts and different language to describe empirical phenomena can be seen as virtues, not as deficiencies.

However, a potential problem in utilizing theoretical triangulation to elaborate existing theory lies in the underdeveloped professional norms concerning how one should do theoretical triangulation. While theoretical triangulation can possibly generate creative research outcomes and can foster creativity and critical thinking among the readers, justification of the integrated theoretical findings can become a problem during the external review of the study. Moreover, often times it is beneficial to consider whether additional dimensions or aspects increase or decrease a theory's explanatory power. As the different essays in this dissertation draw upon diverse stream of literature to analyze the idea development conversations through different theoretical 'lenses', I have integrated the findings from the three essays in the general discussion section by developing a model of the central ontological dimensions and the two central processes of idea development conversations (see Figure 7) , providing an in-depth understanding of what idea development conversations are and how can they generate new cultural and ideational elements. I have applied the Ozzam's razor to argue that the evolution of ideas is enabled by particular conversational conditions enabling idea disputes and crucially determined by the development of interpersonal relationships supporting a particular idea, cutting out detailed discourse-based process explanations. The conversational-relational ecology of ideas perspective is a significant theoretical contribution, suggesting only particular patterns in discursive interaction are relevant to micro-to-macro processes and challenging our existing theories concerning how micro level discourse produces macro level outcomes. The produced perspective is similar to the outcomes of other studies investigating phenomena of which we have an intermediate (neither nascent nor mature) level of understanding, which is often fragmented into diverse streams of research. Edmondson and McManus suggest such intermediate studies typically "identify key process variables, introduce new constructs, reconceptualize explanatory frameworks, and identify new relationships among variables" (2007: 1167).

Grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), which builds theory through iterative cycles between theory development and data collection, would have been another option for a research design. The benefits of such an approach might have

included: the possibility to triangulate (Jick, 1979) my nascent theoretical findings with multiple sets of empirical data, the possibility to refocus the data collection according to the unanticipated, emergent theoretical insights, and the possibly more clearly defined boundary conditions of the results. Yet the flipside might have been to lose some of the in-depth understanding of the central concepts and their relationships guiding the evolution of ideas through idea development conversations in creative, non-routine, professional contexts. All in all and according to my view, 'theoretical triangulation' (Denzin, 1978: 295; cited in Jick, 1979: 609) and grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) can be seen as complementary methodological approaches for developing theory of phenomena which have been understood or explained inadequately in existing literature.

Future research

I hope this dissertation opens up fresh avenues for future research. First, the conversational-relational ecology of ideas model outlined in this dissertation should be exposed to more detailed theoretical conceptualization and empirical analysis. While in this dissertation I have utilized the model to study face-to-face conversations, I believe that it can be adopted and adapted to the analysis of other types of conversations. Therefore, future research should investigate the conditions, mechanisms, and processes driving the survival of ideas in various contexts and on various levels of analysis. Next I discuss how the model could be applied to the study of idea development through intraorganizational and macro level conversations. That is followed by a discussion of the more general areas of future research that this dissertation hopefully induces.

First, the ecological model developed in this paper could be adapted to the study of innovation in other organizational contexts which are characterized by creativity, non-routineness, and collaboration between semi-independent organizational units or groups. One interesting context for future research would be strategy formation and development conversations between independent strategic business units and functions within large organizations. Researchers could collect ethnographic data on the various nascent ideas that are proposed and discussed in strategic conversations, and on the effects that such conversations have for the strategic directions of the company. Such data could be complemented with various strategy documents that are constructed through conversations and that influence subsequent strategic conversations in order to pinpoint how conversations materialize into series of strategic actions through a recursive relationship between conversations and strategy texts (Spee & Jarzabkowski, 2011). Another highly interesting context for future research would be to investigate the ecology of ideas in email and message board conversations in open source and other online communities, such as activist groups like Anonymous. This data is often readily available in the Internet and can be used to investigate the organizational and institutional effects of the idea development conversations in these communities.

Second, the conversational-relational ecology of ideas model opens up a new approach for the study of institutional change in professional fields. Scholars could collect data on macro level conversations in printed media, blogs, and other public

media platforms in order to investigate the relationship between conversations, ecologies of ideas, and the institutional effects of these ideas. This could provide answers to questions that contemporary institutional theory does not address, including where are ideas for institutional change more likely to arise from? What are the mechanisms driving the survival and selection of nascent ideas in diverse conversations? How do nascent ideas grow and diffuse through conversations on various levels of analysis? Understanding the more general conditions, mechanisms, and processes through which novel ideas emerge, stabilize as 'proto-institutions' (Lawrence et al., 2002), and drive institutional change in professional fields would enable institutional theory to move beyond studies of single positive cases to understanding how fields evolve through institutional creativity, selection, and retention. For critical scholars, the model provides a theoretical perspective to investigate what types of conversational and relational contexts support the maintenance of existing macro ideologies (cf. Thompson, 1990) and the generation of new ones (cf. Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). The vast amount of textual material in the Internet could be utilized to analyze such theoretical questions.

Third, the links between social interaction, conversations, and conversational 'networks' should be investigated in other contexts. The analysis of social interaction from a network perspective could offer new insights for both students of social interaction and networks. For network scholars, the primary benefit of paying more attention to the analysis of social interaction lies in increasing our understanding of the microfoundations of networks. Though all social interaction shapes social networks, researchers could focus to the analysis of key organizational events and their implications to networks. For example, researchers could investigate how organizational layoffs or other forms of 'shocks' and the resulting social interaction shape interpersonal relationships over time. For students of social interaction the conversational networks perspective provides a methodology to study the antecedents of decision making in various contexts. Especially if the conversational networks approach is develop into a more general mechanism of group decision making, in which an actor's choice to either give support, be neutral or criticize a particular novel idea depends on the number and social statuses of people that have already signalled their support or critique towards the idea, it could be utilized to study complex and path dependent large-N decision making processes, such as online shopping.

Finally, I hope this dissertation encourages others scholars of organizational discourse to bring emotions back to their analysis of discourse. The findings of the importance strategic emotional contagion for development processes illustrate how the emotions in discourse could provide us important knowledge about the mechanisms linking discourse and social outcomes of social interaction.

General conclusion

In this doctoral dissertation, I have investigated the conditions, mechanisms, and processes linking individual actors' discourse to the generation of mobilizing frames (Benford & Snow, 2000) through idea development conversations. While institutional scholars often associate mobilizing frames, defined as "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings" (Benford & Snow, 2000: 614), as a central ingredient of collective action driven institutional change (Fligstein, 2001; Lounsbury et al., 2003; Rao, 1998), there is little existing research on the emergence of new mobilizing frames. I have approached the micro-to-macro problem of when and how idea development conversations produce mobilizing frames through 'theoretical triangulation' (Denzin, 1978: 295; cited in Jick, 1979: 609), a research approach in which multiple theoretical 'lenses' are utilized to interpret a particularly complex empirical phenomenon in order to foster reflection and cumulative theory-building. All the three essays in this dissertation have focused to understanding how, when, and why sometimes the talk on particular ideas produces more durable mobilizing frames while most of the times such ideas gain few responses from others and fade into oblivion.

My findings suggest that conversations are more likely to generate influential ideas when actors utilize a broad spectrum of genres, when actors shift between the genres frequently, when the population of conversed ideas is large, and when the average conversational attention per idea is low. While these conversational characteristics increase the likelihood of generating mobilizing frames, the development of particular ideas into mobilizing frames is crucially dependent on the formation of inclusive, dense, and relatively stable conversational 'networks' where the idea advocate is positioned as the most influential 'hub'. In addition to detailing the conversational and relational conditions for the generation of mobilizing frames, the findings suggest actors can secure social support for their ideas by transforming the initial emotional diversity towards their ideas into dense, positive, and supportive conversational 'networks' through goal-driven behavior called 'strategic emotional contagion' (cf. Barsade, 2002). The utilization of established cultural structures, defined as shared cognitive 'content', as strategic resources (Swidler, 1986; cf. Hardy et al., 2000) is a central discursive tool of strategic emotional contagion.

The central theoretical contribution of this dissertation lies in developing a novel theoretical approach for understanding the generation of mobilizing frames as the *conversational-relational ecology of ideas*. Whereas many existing studies in the interorganizational, organizational discourse, organizational culture, and networks and innovations literatures have provided explanations for the processes through

which micro level action produces more durable meso and macro level outcomes, few have tried to elaborate the more general conditions and mechanisms determining idea survival and evolution in organizational and interorganizational contexts (see Burgelman, 1991, 2002). Distinguishing between conversational, relational, and ideational realms in the idea development conversations enabled me to depict the conversational and relational conditions for the generation of mobilizing frames. These conditions complement existing research on the interorganizational level conditions for the generation of 'proto-institutions' (Lawrence et al., 2002).

The ecology of ideas perspective provides a theoretical answer to the important practical question of why public health care in the western world, especially in Europe, is surprisingly resilient to various efforts of trying to transform the field. The findings of this dissertation suggest the field of health care evolves only gradually as actors' most radical ideas die to countering discursive action in conversations. The dissertation suggests a number of organizational and state level interventions which could increase the probability of institutional change in the health care sector.

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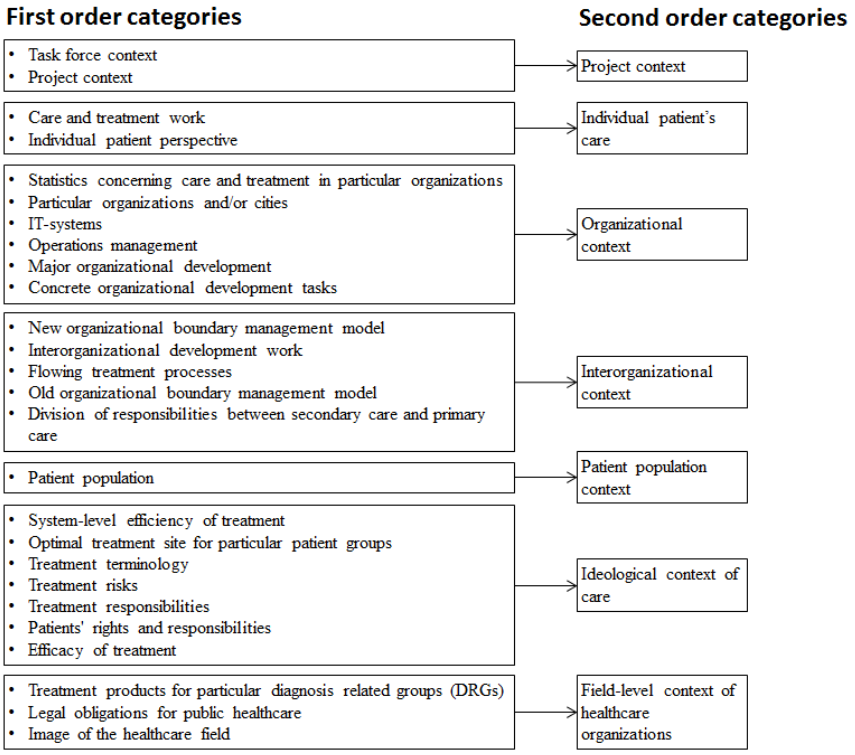
Appendix 1: Data structure related to the analysis of alternative explanations in Essay I



Appendix 2: Transcription symbols

(.)	Signals a brief pause, less than a second
(x)	Signals a pause of x seconds
[	Signals interruption
=	Signals immediate latching on between two lines, i.e. that there is no gap between two lines.
-	Signals a 'cut-off' of a word.
underlining	Signals emphasis (via pitch, amplitude, or some other means)
…	Parts of an utterance or dialogue have been excluded from the excerpt in order to focus on most important parts of the dialogue
((Double brackets))	Contains references to particular municipalities, organizations or persons *or* words added by the analyst to make the dialogue more understandable.

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