Industrial Engineering and Management

Role of individuals and groups in organizational cultural changes

Lasse Granroth

Aalto University

DOCTORAL
THESES

Aalto University publication series
DOCTORAL THESES 180/2022

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Aalto University publication series
DOCTORAL THESES 180/2022

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ISBN 978-952-64-1046-3 (printed)
ISBN 978-952-64-1047-0 (pdf)
ISSN 1799-4934 (printed)
ISSN 1799-4942 (pdf)
http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-64-1047-0

Unigrafia Oy
Helsinki 2022

Finland

NORDIC SWAN ECOLABEL
Printed matter
4041-0619

Aalto University

Aalto University, P.O. Box 11000, FI-00076 Aalto www.aalto.fi

Abstract

Author
Lasse Granroth

Name of the doctoral thesis
Role of individuals and groups in organizational cultural changes

Publisher School of Science

Unit Industrial Engineering and Management

Series Aalto University publication series DOCTORAL THESES 180/2022

Field of research Organizations, management

Date of the defence 15 December 2022

Permission for public defence granted (date) 19 September 2022 **Language** English

☒ **Monograph** ☐ **Article thesis** ☐ **Essay thesis**

Abstract

Contemporary organizations face the need for an increasingly rapid pace of change in the changing environment. Need to transform, adapt and adopt is high, but established practices and beliefs among organizational members may conflict with the drivers of change. Organizational culture has a signifi-cant impact on organizational life; both in terms of the well-being of its members and the performance of the organization.

Prior research of cultural change in organizations has devoted much atten-tion to illuminating the process of cultural change in recent decades. The per-spective of cultural change has changed, and contemporary studies see cul-tural change as an outcome of interaction among multiple parties or internal groups of an organization. This changed perspective highlights a need to un-derstand the role of power and agency in the cultural change process.

This thesis investigates cultural change from the perspective of micro-level change activity within organizations; how in- and inter-group change work transforms cultural features. In particular, this perspective focus on the in-teraction between organizational members that seeks to change and changes the cultural features of the organization. Hence, this perspective is delimited to outcomes and agendas related to cultural change within organizations.

The thesis adopts an inductive research approach. The observed phenome-na and their interrelationships are illuminated by selecting theoretical lenses based on their fit with the phenomena at hand. The thesis includes three sub-studies, each of which investigates the change activity using a chosen theoret-ical frame; the selected frames are negotiation, norm-breaking and re-sistance. Through these sub-studies, the thesis enlightens the underlying so-cial mechanisms of cultural change.

The main findings include observations of the processes through which in-dividual members within organizations handle issues that conflict the domi-nant cultural order in an organization, as well as the outcomes of the pro-cesses that change groups' cultural features. This includes the finding that micro-level change activity resembles social movements activity; members generate resources to mobilize in-group and out-group members for the change activity.

The study contributes to the discourse of cultural change in organizations by shedding new light on the role of organization members in cultural change and continuity. This thesis is also unpacking specific mechanisms through which members may impacts the cultural features of organizations. Finally, the thesis urges both scholars and change management practitioners to con-sider the latent activity that underpins change in the organizational culture, but it is hard to detect.

Keywords organizational culture, cultural change, in-group change activity, inter-group change activity, power, social movements, discursive spaces, change man-agement, norm-breaking

ISBN (printed) 978-952-64-1046-3 **ISBN (pdf)** 978-952-64-1047-0

ISSN (printed) 1799-4934 **ISSN (pdf)** 1799-4942

Location of publisher Helsinki **Location of printing** Helsinki **Year** 2022

Pages 169 **urn** http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-64-1047-0

Aalto-yliopisto

Aalto-yliopisto, PL 11000, 00076 Aalto www.aalto.fi

Tiivistelmä

Tekijä
Lasse Granroth

Väitöskirjan nimi
Yksilöiden ja ryhmien rooli organisaatiokultuurin muutoksessa

Julkaisija Perustieteiden korkeakoulu

Yksikkö Tuotantotalouden laitos

Sarja Aalto University publication series DOCTORAL THESES 180/2022

Tutkimusala Organisaatiot, johtaminen

Väitöspäivä 15.12.2022

Väittelyluvan myöntämispäivä 19.09.2022 **Kieli** Englanti

☒ **Monografia** ☐ **Artikkeliväitöskirja** ☐ **Esseeväitöskirja**

Tiivistelmä

Organisaatioilla on kasvava tarve muuttua yhä nopeammin muuttuvassa toimintaympäristössä. Aiemmin omaksutut toimintamallit ja uskomukset voivat olla ristiriidassa tavoiteltujen muutosten kanssa. Organisaation val-litsevalla kulttuurilla, jaetuilla uskomuksilla ja toimintamalleilla, on keskei-nen vaikutus organisaatioiden jäsenten hyvinvointiin ja organisaation tulok-sentekokykyyn. Organisaatiokulttuurin muutoksen tutkimus on tarkastellut viimeksi kulu-neiden vuosikymmenien aikana kulttuurin muutosta organisaatioissa, mutta usein johdon käynnistämänä prosessina. Viimeaikainen tutkimuksen mu-kaan kulttuurillinen muutos on usein eri organisaatioryhmien välisen vuoro-vaikutuksen tulosta. Tämä muuttunut näkökulma korostaa tarvetta ymmär-tää miten jäsenten toimijuus ja käyttämä valta vaikuttaa muutosprosessissa.

Tässä väitöskirjassa tarkastellaan organisaatiokulttuurin muutosta orga-nisaatioiden sisällä mikrotason muutostoiminnan näkökulmasta; tutkimalla ryhmien sisäistä ja ryhmien välistä muutostoimintaa. Tutkimuksessa analy-soidaan erityisesti jäsenten vuorovaikutusta, joka pyrkii muuttamaan ja muuttaa ryhmän kulttuurillisia piirteitä. Näkökulma rajaa tarkastelun organisaatioiden sisäisiin muutoksiin.

Väitöskirjan tutkimusote on induktiivinen. Havaittuja ilmiötä ja niiden suhteita pyritään ymmärtämään valitsemalla havaintoihin sopivia teo-rianäkökulmia. Väitöskirja muodostuu kolmesta osatutkimuksesta, joista kukin tarkastelee mikrotason toimintaa omasta näkökulmastaan: neuvotte-luna, normien rikkomisena ja vastarintana. Osatutkimusten myötä tarkas-tellaan kulttuurin muutokseen vaikuttavia mikrotason sosiaalisia mekanis-meja.

Keskeiset tulokset sisältävät havaintoja prosesseista, joiden kautta jäsenet käsittelevät vallitsevia käsityksiä haastavia näkemyksiä ja jotka muuttavat organisaation kulttuurillisia piirteitä. Mukaan lukien havainto, että mikrota-son muutostoiminta näyttää seuraavan sosiaalisista liikkeissä tunnistettua mallia, jonka mukaan jäsenet tuottavat resursseja, joita käytetään mobili-soidessa ryhmän sisäisiä ja ulkoisia toimijoita.

Tutkimus osallistuu akateemiseen keskusteluun kulttuurillisesta muutokses-ta avaamalla organisaation jäsenten roolia kulttuurin ylläpitämisessä ja muutoksessa. Tutkimus myös avata tiettyjä mekanismeja, joiden kautta jäse-net voivat vaikuttaa organisaationsa kulttuuriin. Tutkimus suosittelee niin tutkijoita kuin muutosjohtajia tarkastelemaan organisaatioiden piilevää ja vaikeasti havaittavaa jäsenten tekemää muutostyötä.

Avainsanat Organisaatiokulttuuri, kulttuurillinen muutos, muutostoiminta, ryhmän si-säinen muutostoiminta, ryhmien välinen muutostoiminta, valta, sosiaaliset liikkeet, diskursiiviset tilat, muutosjohtaminen, normien rikkominen, vasta-rinta, neuvottelu

ISBN (painettu) 978-952-64-1046-3 **ISBN (pdf)** 978-952-64-1047-0

ISSN (painettu) 1799-4934 **ISSN (pdf)** 1799-4942

Julkaisupaikka Helsinki **Painopaikka** Helsinki **Vuosi** 2022

Sivumäärä 169 **urn** http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-64-1047-0

Acknowledgements

This doctoral study has been about taking three paths. I have been privileged to live four years in two different organizations, breathing their reality and trying to understand their work and organizational life. Long discussions, explorations to the fellow humans' minds' have changed how I see social reality and man's role in it. My gratitude lies with informants who trusted me with their fears, suspicions, and hopes, thus recognizing dramaturgical qualities of organizational life.

This study would not exist without the trust, encouragement, and guidance of my first supervising professor Risto Rajala. I stepped to his office more than five years ago with my idea of seeking to understand the cultural change in organizations without knowing much about it. I have not heard a single word of negative feedback during these years, but plenty of constructive feedback and suggestions. I'm grateful that you have given your time to this project, making it possible. I also want to express my deepest gratitude to Marina Biniari, who helped me finish this journey and elaborate my work and improve the scientific quality of the thesis.

I also wish to thank the pre-examiners, Professor Annalisa Sannino and Professor Andrea Fried, for constructive comments that helped me finalize the manuscript and complete the presentation of my study in a concise and easy-to-read format.

This study has been supported financially by Aalto University and the Jenny and Antti Wihuri Foundation. I want to express my gratitude for their support for my research.

My work has been a lonely one seeking to understand what I see through theoretical perspectives. Through this work, I have found several layers of social interaction. My thanks also belong to dear friends who have been interested in my findings and helped me embed theoretical frames into everyday life via long discussions over some sushi.

Finally, my gratitude goes to my family and friends, who helped me to put this thesis work in the proper place among my priorities.

Helsinki, 2nd June 2021
Lasse Granroth

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CRM	customer relationship management

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List of Key Concepts

Organizational culture is a complex and multi-faceted construct (Giorgi, Lockwood, & Glynn, 2015) that includes several “faces” as practices (Patterson, 2014), norms (e.g., Schein, 2010; Van Maanen & Barley, 1982), internalized beliefs (e.g., Canato, Ravasi, & Phillips, 2013), and available ideas (Swidler, 1986).

Cultural features and repertoire of an organization or a group refer to a combination of practices, norms, internalized beliefs, and ideas that members reproduce.

Cultural change is a process where some cultural characteristics are transformed, abandoned, or become established in an organization. Thereby cultural change is transforming cultural repertoire.

Change activities are organizational members’ actions and interactions when they try to trigger changes or resist a suggested change that contribute to cultural change and actions and interactions that contribute to cultural change.

1. INTRODUCTION

Organizational culture is a complex and multi-faceted construct (Giorgi, Lockwood, & Glynn, 2015) that includes practices, norms, internalized beliefs, and available ideas which organizational members reproduce (Patterson, 2014) with significant implications for organizational life. For example, shared ideas enable new activities (e.g., Kellogg, 2011), norms restrict and guide behavior (e.g., Cameron & Quinn, 2006; Kunda, 1995), internalized beliefs motivate actions, and shared practices reflect a balance between internal and external expectations (e.g., Canato, Ravasi, & Phillips, 2013). Organization scholars have long demonstrated that organizational culture is an essential factor in any organization's success (e.g., Homburg & Pflesser, 2000) and the well-being of its members (e.g., Beauregard, 2011).

Besides the importance of organizational culture, organizations face ever-increasing demands for change as their environment becomes more volatile. Technologies evolve at an accelerating pace and create a need to adopt organizational processes and cultures to the new socio-technical reality. Similarly, societal norms change in response to global changes, such as climate change. In such changing environments, organizations may find their culture unbalanced or misaligned with their aims. As a result, organizations often undergo changes in their organizational culture. An organization's cultural change captures how different "faces" of culture (Giorgi, et. al., 2015), such as practices (Patterson, 2014), experienced norms (Schein, 2010; Vaisey, 2009; Van Maanen & Barley, 1982), internalized beliefs (Canato et. al., 2013) and available ideas (Kellogg, 2011; Swidler, 1986), are transformed and established in an organization. For example, the adoption of Six Sigma practices to foster operational efficiencies may revise an organization's core cultural beliefs (Canato et. al., 2013).

The existing literature recognizes two approaches to organizational cultural change. First, a top-down perspective focuses on the role of managerial members in cultural change, and on how single cultural feature could penetrate an organization's culture (e.g., Peters, Waterman, & Jones, 1982). Here cultural feature refers to practices, norms, internalized beliefs, and ideas that members reproduce. Second, a bottom-up approach to cultural change suggests that low-power members, such as employees, have a more agentic and thus more significant role than previously assumed (e. g., Ogbonna & Harris, 2015). This second perspective aligns with a suggestion that organizations are populated with multiple cultures that members reproduce, and with values that may or may not characterize the managerial view of cultural features (Alvesson, 2002; Alvesson

& Sveningsson, 2008; Meyerson & Martin, 1987). This perspective focuses on the interaction of subgroups that share alternative ideas that may align or may be in conflict with managerial ideas. The bottom-up approach seems to suggest that culture and cultural change are negotiated among organizational members and groups (Hallett, 2003), and such we need to understand better the role of power and how members may employ to facilitate cultural change (Morrill, 2008).

This debate reflects our limited knowledge of the role of members in cultural change, and the extent to which members could trigger the transformation of organizations' cultural features. Morrill (2008:28), concludes with open questions: "How does cultural organization change at the micro, organizational, and broader (e.g., field, institutional) levels? What is the role of collective action and everyday social interaction in shaping these dynamics?" Seeking to understand the role of organizational members in the cultural change process is important because it allows us to understand better how members' actions and interaction folds to be part of groups interaction and how those trigger changes in an organization's cultural features. Even more, it gives managers tools to understand unexpected outcomes of their change initiatives and thus develop better ways to trigger changes, including cultural changes in organizations. This study seeks to contribute to this stream of literature and explore how the organizational members' change activities (i.e., their actions and interactions) when they try to trigger changes or resist a suggested change that contribute to an organization's cultural change and actions and interactions that contribute to an organization's cultural change.

How do members could change an organization's culture through their micro-level change activities? How does this bottom-up change process occur? Recent studies have unpacked members' micro-level change activities through which they could impact an organizations' cultural composition. For example, (Kellogg, 2011:491) described how medical interns sought "to coordinate change efforts with senior reformers, and to overtly and collectively contest ... practices in interactions with defenders." Labianca, Gray, and Brass (2000) observed how management suggested a new participative decision-making schema that was resisted by employees and found that the management actions fed employees evaluations about the schema change. Howard-Grenville and colleagues described how organizational members, by using meetings and workshops, created new cultural resources (Howard-Grenville, 2005). Aligned with these findings, Ogbonna and Harris (2015) suggest that both an in-group activity as well as an inter-group activity may be influential in transforming cultural features. Similarly, institutional work theorists have also used the micro-level perspective to understand agency that seeks to maintain or change institutionalized beliefs and practices (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) which is enabled by using episodic power (Lawrence, 2008).

While the existing research acknowledges members' role in cultural change, their role as group members embedded within an organizational setting remains underexplored. For example, the existing literature on organizational groups' action suggests that activities of resistance that may trigger public change activities remain hidden and often and operate in an infra-political manner (Courpasson, 2017). However, “future research should further explore hidden collectives or communities and new forms of emerging solidarity alongside the infrastructures that allow them” to operate in a way that could generate changes within organizations (Courpasson et al., 2021: 15). Additional theoretical and empirical investigation could improve the current understanding of the mechanisms through which employees’ actions as members of organizational groups transcend from a “hidden and infra-political” status into visible cultural changes that seek to be negotiated and formalized within organizations.

In detail, existing studies have acknowledged that employees collectively as groups could trigger cultural change within organizations, but prior studies have neglected to explain how this could be done. The role of employees’ in-group activity remains understudied and undertheorized. In detail, Kellogg (2011: 491) studied the inter-group change activity of medical interns, who sought “to coordinate change efforts with senior reformers, and to overtly and collectively contest … practices in interactions with defenders.” Similarly, Ogbonna and Harris (2015) studied interaction between groups that had different sub-cultures. However, in both studies, it is unclear how reforming members within their groups engaged in change activities and organized themselves, and how the responses of the defending members impacted them. Ogbonna and Harris (2015) acknowledged that subcultures they studied had intra-culture tensions as well and suggested that future studies of cultural change might benefit from investigating smaller units. Labianca and his colleagues studied how schema change happened during empowerment of employees (2000). They describe the evaluation process that employees engage in and how “[d]uring the schema comparison phase, employees evaluated all of management's ongoing actions” (2000:250). This gives a glimpse of in-group activity how employees interpreted inter-group activity, but only a limited view of how employees became to share and commit this view. Studying members’ in-group activity is important because it allows scholars and practitioners to understand better how and why organizational members engage to change activities and what cultural impacts these activities have. Also, improving understanding of the mechanisms and the limitations of employees’ ability to trigger cultural changes adds value to the existing body of knowledge on cultural change within organizations.

This thesis focuses on exploring how members’ change activities, both at the in-group and inter-group level, could transform the cultural features of organizations. This study adopts a bottom-up -perspective, focusing on how low-power members through their actions and interactions contribute to cultural change. Such a micro-level perspective also limits the analytical scope of the study inside organizations, focusing on activities that seek to change the cultural features of the organization where the member belongs to. Thereby, this thesis excludes activities that focus on causing a change of cultural features at the industry or societal levels. This is done by studying the change activity via three selected theories: negotiated order, norm-breaking, and resistance. Negotiated order (Strauss, 1978) is a framework that suggests that parties shape social order. Negotiations frame directs focus on an interaction between parties, who use means to reach their valued aims leading to a cycle of actions between parties. The norm-breaking perspective suggests that members may trigger normative changes by breaking norms (Asch, 1955), but norm-breaking is risky for the norm-breaker (Tankard & Paluck, 2016) and thereby direct the focus on actions that break norms and why members engage in such change activity. The resistance perspective is a prominent lens to study how low-power members act when facing coercive undesirable settings. The resistance lens recognizes both hidden and public conducts (Scott, 1990) directing the focus on the interplay of in-group and inter-group activities.

The study adopts an interpretivist approach to study how individual and group level activities can contribute to cultural change at the organizational level. The data derived from four years of an ethnographic (Martin, 2002; Schein, 2010) inductive case study of two organizations (Lee & Lee, 1999; Yin, 2003) located in Nordic countries. The study seeks to build "grounded" insight (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013) in the empirical setting where some or several organizational groups sought cultural changes ending to struggles between groups that triggered changes in cultural features.

Data included approximately 130 interviews, 900 hours of observations, and 230 documents to describe two cases. The case data is used in three sub-studies, each of which study change activity drawing on three relevant theoretical approaches; negotiated order, resistance, and norm-breaking, respectively. These theoretical approaches were selected by "matching" - moving in "between empirical observations and theory" (Dubois & Gadde, 2002: 555). Data analyses included within-case and cross cases analysis. Within-case analyses started by identifying events of change activity (Morgeson, Mitchell, & Liu, 2015), which were chronologically organized and grouped to capture episodes of change activity within each case organization. In parallel, key groups of members were identified, which contributed and engaged in these episodes. Cross-case analyses are used to capture similarities and differences of change activity and to draw conclusions.

The study contributes to the literature on cultural change in organizations by shedding new light on the role of organization members in cultural change and continuity. This is done by empirically investigating organization members' in- and inter-group activities in the negotiations of the cultural features in two different but complementary cases. By acknowledging that organizational members exhibit agency through their in and inter-group activities, this study elaborates on how organizational members influence the organizational cultural change process in an organization. By investigating these activities from the perspectives of norm-breaking, negotiated order, and resistance, this study elaborates an understanding of the role of members' in- and inter-group activity in the organizational cultural change process. It allows scholars and practitioners to understand better an organizational cultural change process, as well as how the intended and unintended outcomes of this process may facilitate or inhibit the organizational cultural change process itself.

1.1 Objectives and research questions

The study builds on the well-established literature of cultural change studies (e.g., Ogbonna & Harris, 2015). It aims to add value to the existing studies by exploring how members' in-group and inter-group activities fold together and contribute to organizational cultural change. In particular, the research seeks to improve the current understanding of the cultural change in organizations by empirically investigating the relationship between inter-group activity and the transformation of cultural features in the selected organizations. Hence, the study seeks to extend the current knowledge of how in-group activity and inter-group activity as dynamic processes transform and maintain organizations' cultural features.

The study has one main research question and two sub-question that seek to unfold the role of members in cultural change by studying their in- and inter-group activities. While the main research question bridges the organization members' change activities to changes in the cultural features of the organization, two sub-questions seek to understand the deeper dynamics of the members' in- and inter-group activities in the process. The first sub-question focuses on a member's perspective to engage in the inter-group activity. The second sub-question focuses on understanding the dynamics of in-group activity that triggers inter-group activities.

Research question (RQ): *How do the organizational members' change activities influence an organization's cultural features?*

The main research question is further divided into two more specific sub-questions (SQs):

SQ1: Why members engage in actions that challenge established cultural features within an organization?

The first sub-question is motivated by prior studies that suggest that norm-breaking is a possible way of triggering cultural changes (e.g., Dannals & Miller, 2017; Asch, 1955). However, prior literature suggests that actions that challenge established cultural features are a threat to the norm-breaker as they may become sanctioned (Tankard & Paluck, 2016) and such affect in-group activity. This directs the attention to norm-breakers' motivation that animates inter-group activity that challenges established cultural features. This inquiry seeks to understand members' perspectives to understand the connection of in-group activity when norm-breakers engage in the inter-group change activity.

SQ2: How do the members' in-group change activities feed inter-group change activity in the context of organizational cultural change?

The second sub-question is motivated by the notion that the relationship between the members' in-group and inter-group change activities is undertheorized in the area of organizational cultural change. Labianca and his colleagues' study of schema change hints at how adopted views of a group affect inter-group interaction (2000). There is a limited understanding of how these views are adopted in the first place. Also, the recent findings of resistance studies suggest in-group activity may trigger out-group action (Courpasson, 2017). This sub-question seeks to unfold how this relation may occur to impact the culture of an organization.

1.2 How do the sub-studies address the research questions?

This dissertation consists of three sub-studies (SS1-3) that investigate member's micro-level activity as contributing factors to organizational cultural change. They were conducted in a sequential order, where the findings of the first sub-study guided the empirical inquiry of the second sub-study, the findings of which guided the empirical inquiry of the third sub-study. Each sub-study though adopted a distinctive theoretical approach to address its relevant research question. The linkages among the three sub-studies to the thesis's overarching research questions are illustrated in In summary, collectively the three sub studies address the main question of the thesis by highlighting 1) how in-group activities generate resources for negotiations purposes, mobilizing internal and external agents, 2) how inter-group norm-breaking is triggered by in-group mobilization, and 3) as a side product, activities during negotiation build boundaries between in-group and out-group members by suggesting and establishing norms and practices, as the main mechanisms through which employees' actions as members of organizational groups transcend from "hidden and infra-political" activities into visible cultural changes that seek to be negotiated and formalized within organizations. In this way, the thesis directly addresses recent calls for more research on how organizational members contribute to organizational level changes (Courpasson et al., 2021)

Table 1.

1) Studying members' negotiation activity as contributor to organizational cultural change

The first sub-study sought to build links between members' change activity and changes in the organization's cultural features by observing the members' engagement in the negotiation process of an emergent issue. This research question seeks to find a connection between change activity and organizational level culture. The study is seeking to elaborate on understanding how individuals shape cultural features. The sensemaking approach suggests that group members may introduce new interpretations, try and adopt views to make sense of what is going on (Weick, 1995). Shared ideas, as such, can be seen as cultural tools (e.g., Swidler, 1985). Change of what is seen important can be considered cultural change (Meyerson & Martin, 1987). It also draws from the Negotiated order framework (Strauss, 1978) that members and parties shape their social environment on-going negotiations suggesting, challenging and confirming new ideas and practices via actions, and interaction. Thereby it describes how actions and interaction may transform and maintain organizational culture.

This sub-study addresses the first research question: How do the organizational members' change activities influence an organization's cultural features? It was motivated by observations of how conflicts and struggles were a central part of change work; therefore, the negotiation frame was used to structure how the members' negotiation activity fostered changes in the cultural features of the studied organizations. The finding expands Ogbonna and Harris (2015) suggestion that "intra-subcultural dynamics is just as important as inter-subcultural relations" (2015:228).

2) Changing culture via norm-breaking: exploring why members challenge norms

The first sub-study found that both the negotiation process and its results trigger changes in cultural features. It also highlighted that members had a higher potential to trigger negotiations or steer the outcome of negotiation by breaking norms. This finding with the prior studies of norm-breaking motivated the second sub-study. Studies of norm-breaking suggest that it extends normative boundaries of the group (e.g., Asch, 1955). Literature suggests that breaking norms is risky (Tankard & Paluck, 2016) and thereby focus of this sub-study sought to explore drivers of norm-breaking. This was investigated by analyzing members' inter-group norm-breaking activity and reasonings that were associated with the act. This sub-study addresses the first sub-question: *Why members engage in actions that challenge established cultural features within an organization?* The findings of this study demonstrate members relative power capacity (Hallett, 2003).

3) Generating resources for cultural change: observing hidden resistance

The second sub-study suggests that norm-breaking many times is supported by the member's peer's views. Thus, norm-breaking activity seems to be motivated by collective interest. This directed inquiry to investigate the relation of in-group and inter-group activities. This was done by utilizing concepts of hidden and public resistance (Scott, 1990). The resistance perspective is prominent to understand how low-power members act when they facing coercive undesirable settings. The resistance lens recognizes both hidden and public conducts thereby it is especially fit to study how in- and inter-group change activities fold.

The sub-study was conducted by investigating the activity of resistance. This sub-study addresses the second sub-question; *How do the members' in-group change activities feed inter-group change activity in the context of organizational cultural change?* The findings extend how in-group activity is used in cultural change (Ogbonna and Harris, 2015) by connecting it with members relative power capacity (Hallett, 2003).

In summary, collectively the three sub studies address the main question of the thesis by highlighting 1) how in-group activities generate resources for negotiations purposes, mobilizing internal and external agents, 2) how inter-group norm-breaking is triggered by in-group mobilization, and 3) as a side product, activities during negotiation build boundaries between in-group and out-group members by suggesting and establishing norms and practices, as the main mechanisms through which employees' actions as members of organizational groups transcend from "hidden and infra-political" activities into visible cultural changes that seek to be negotiated and formalized within organizations. In this way, the thesis directly addresses recent calls for more research on how organizational members contribute to organizational level changes (Courpasson et al., 2021)

Table 1 Research questions and sub-studies

	SS1	SS2	SS3
RQ: ***How do the organizational members' change activities influence an organization's cultural features***	X	(X)	(X)
SQ1: Why members engage in actions that challenge established cultural features within an organization?		X	
SQ2: *How do the members' in-group change activities feed inter-group change activity in the context of organizational cultural change?*			X

1.3 Contribution of the author

This study is conducted solely by the author under the supervision and guidance of professors Marina Biniari and Risto Rajala. The author is not part of any research group, and other people have not participated in the research work or reporting of the findings.

1.4 Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation is structured as followed. The theoretical background is introduced first, describing central concepts and used approaches. The methodology section opens the research approach and design. Thereafter, in the findings section three sub-studies are described, including how theoretical concepts are used in particular sub-study and their results. In the discussion section, theoretical and practical implications are described. The final section is conclusions that also express the limitations of this study.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Organizational cultural change has been studied from the top-down perspective (e.g., Peters, Waterman, & Jones, 1982) whereas more recent studies have focused on the role of organizational members highlighting the importance of in-group and inter-group activities (Ogbonna and Harris, 2015). This line of study has studied the interaction between subcultures for example nurses and doctors (Morgan & Ogbonna, 2008). Recently Ogbonna and Harris (2015) found that within subcultures different groups may exist and suggested that cultural analysis might benefit from acknowledging smaller units. Labianca et al. (2000) studies management-driven schema change and found how employees interpreted management actions to establish their beliefs about the suggested change. This perspective suggests that organizational culture should be seen as negotiated order allowing multiple actors to influence organizational culture. Ogbonna and Harris point out: “[w]hile it has been suggested that organisational culture should be viewed as negotiated order that is heavily influenced by the relative power capacities of the various actors (see Hallett, 2003), empirical investigation of this in relation to culture control and subcultural dynamics is limited” (2015:229). This highlights the need to investigate members' in-group and inter-group actions embedded within an organizational setting in the context of cultural change.

This section delineates the theoretical background of this study. It describes how the adopted theoretical lenses were selected in order to respond to the thesis’s research question: ***How do the organizational members’ change activities influence an organization's cultural features***? To this end, this section positions the thesis in the organizational culture literature. It starts by defining organizational culture and reviews the main mechanisms that maintain an organization’s cultural features. It moves on to illustrate the social and psychological mechanisms that force cultural repertoire to be maintained. Drawing on this stream of literature, it is acknowledged that these social and psychological mechanisms may inhibit members from engaging in activities that could change an organization’s cultural features.

This section also positions the thesis within the organizational cultural change literature. In detail, it draws on a stream of literature, which suggests that cultural change may occur as a bottom-up process within organizations (Ogbonna & Harris, 2015). Four theoretical lenses are reviewed to understand the mechanisms through which organizational members’ change activity could impact organizational level constructs, by acknowledging mechanisms at the individual, in-group, and inter-group level of analysis.

First, the sensemaking lens (Weick, 1995) suggests that cultural change could be mobilized by the sensemaking process triggered by and triggering by members of the same group (in-group sensemaking). Second, the negotiated order lens (Strauss, 1978) provides a framework for understanding how conflicts of interest among group members drive in-group interaction and that conflicts among groups drive inter-group interactions. These two lenses provide a possible understanding of how organizational members could facilitate cultural changes within organizations through their in-group and inter-group activities and interactions. Third, the norm-breaking lens (Gomila & Paluck, 2019; Hornsey et al., 2003) is reviewed to direct the analytical attention toward the actions that challenge the existing norms of an organization. Prior studies suggest that norm-breaking liberates others from normative pressure (Asch, 1955) but also may lead to sanctioning a norm-breaker (Tankard & Paluck, 2016). From negotiated order perspective norm-breaking is a mean to use power and others to exercise theirs in a cultural context. Forth, the resistance lens (Mumby, 2005) is also used to reveal how members' change activity from the perspective of power. Resistance studies acknowledged public and hidden forms of resistance (Scott, 1990) connecting the power play in the hidden in-group and public inter-group levels. These two lenses are used to understand in more depth group-level factors that may impact this bottom-up process of cultural change at the organizational level. The section concludes with a synthesis of how the selected theoretical approaches shed light on the thesis's research questions.

2.1 Faces of organizational culture

This study adopts a definition of culture that builds on different streams of culture in organizational studies to give analytical space for capturing different faces of the culture in organizations. The definition used in the analysis describes organizational culture as socially shared practices and beliefs that can promote each other and conflict with each other. This definition directs the attention to the essential areas of cultural features: social practices, internalized beliefs, experienced norms, and available ideas and how they change.

The relevant ideas to study organization members' role in cultural change draw from studies showing how members use cultural repertoires as tools or "toolkits" (Swidler, 1986) that provide conceptualizations and models of action. For example, Kellogg found how medical interns used identities and other cultural toolkits available in public discussion to facilitate cultural change (2011).

Experienced norms are studied in the stream that focuses on values, normative beliefs, what is preferred, and what is not (Cameron & Quinn, 2006; Kunda, 1995; Schein, 2010; Vaisey, 2009; Van Maanen & Barley, 1982). This perspective suggests that culture is a "web of meaning" that gives meaning to actions and thereby constrains behavior and create predictability (Giorgi et al., 2015).

More critical views demonstrate a conflict of what is expected by high powered, conducted and internalized by low powered members (Fleming & Spicer, 2003; Kunda, 1995). This perspective highlights that even some may have internalized cultural beliefs, some members are skeptical, even resistant when expected is conflicting with one's beliefs, creating another layer of cultural activity hidden from high powered, but possibly also from the most who supports dominant ideas. Also, Canato and her colleagues found a conflict between internalized beliefs and maintained practices in the coercive environment (2013). These studies suggest that culture is about internalized shared beliefs.

A meaning orientated view of culture suggests a hierarchical structure of cultural elements. For example, Schein suggests that deep, unconsciously governing assumptions direct member's behavior. Espoused values are a manifestation of those assumptions where routines are a manifestation of those deeper structures. Patterson also suggests an interplay between cultural knowledge and cultural practices (2010). However, their relationships seem to be unclear. Canato and her colleagues used the hierarchical model to understand the effects of the coercive implementation of Six Sigma at 3M and found that coercive cultural change was not able to change the core beliefs of the members even practices were changed (2013). This highlights possibility that cultural beliefs and practices aligned or in the process of aligning, but also this expectation as well can be misleading. Situational factors may allow creative solutions to combine conflicting internal drivers and external pressure or abandon externally regulated behavioral models. For example, when a group is protected from other's views (Gofman, 1978), different conflicting patterns of practices may be established.

Martin suggests that there are several perspectives to investigate organizational culture that affects how culture is recognized (Martin, 1992). By focusing on what is shared, scholars and managers see similarities, and culture looks monolithic entity. This is a very different image compared to one if attention is put into differences of sub-groups or discontinuity of cultural repertoire that may break the impression of a single cultural unit and highlights exceptions and conflicts between cultural repertoires. Many scholars have criticized the idea of monolithic culture, suggesting that there is no single shared meaning (e.g., Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008).

This study follows the suggestion of Giorgi and colleagues (2015) by acknowledging different facets of culture on the analysis. By observing different faces of culture; such as practices, internalized beliefs, experienced norms, and available ideas separately, the study is more likely to maintain an analytical space that allows for recognizing the fragmentation of cultural reproduction in- and inter-group interaction.

Impact of high coherence of the areas of the cultural features can be understood via a lens of dominance. Fleming and Spicer's typology dominance refers to sharing beliefs that direct group members to see the dominant way as natural and inevitable (Fleming & Spicer, 2014). As the group members have internalized these beliefs, it is maintained by the members by self-regulation, and thereby it is a self-fulfilling set of beliefs.

Dominance resonates with Kärreman's and Alvesson's idea of the socio-ideological layer of control that causes members to self-regulate. Kärreman and Alvesson argue that "HRM practices and hierarchical structures are important for the definition of the temporary identities of individuals and reinforce their identity projects” (Kärreman & Alvesson, 2004:171). They describe how consultants adopted beliefs of desirable identities suggested by those systems and self-directed themselves to reach adopted goals. Kärreman and Alvesson argue that “the technocratic and socio-ideological layers of control do not so much complement or supplement, as feed upon and inform each other” (2004: 171). Managerial control modes supported members to adopt beliefs and regulate themselves. Thereby, Kärreman and Alvesson conclude: “[t]he real test of whether the cage is tightened or loosened [by socio-ideological modes of control] seems to depend on to what extent organizational members actually identify with the belief system” (2004: 172).

Next, three streams of literature, social norms, social influence, and social control, are presented. They provide perspectives of how members are guided to maintain the cultural features of an organization.

2.1.1 Social norms

One lens to understand patterns of organizational behavior is norms. Social psychological studies of norms illustrate why patterns maintain. Social norms can be defined as “implicit or explicit rules or principles that are understood by members of a group and that guide and constrain behavior without the course of laws to engender proper conduct” (Van Kleef, Homan, Finkenauer, Blaker, & Heerdink, 2012:25). Several scholars have found that witnessing how others do and what they say has a powerful effect on behavior (for a review, see Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). Also, stories can induce conformity (Martin, 2016).

Scholars recognize two types of social norms; the injunctive norm that describes how things should be and the descriptive norm that explains how things are usually done in a group (Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990; Miller & Prentice, 2016). Norm-breaking that violates descriptive norms are seen odd and are likely to raise attention and surprise. Violation to injunctive norms is seen bad and likely raises anger and blame (Helweg-Larsen & LoMonaco, 2008; Ohbuchi et al., 2004; Stamkou, van Kleef, Homan, & Galinsky, 2016). Van Kleef and colleagues summaries the outcome of norm-breaking: “the majority of (quantitative) studies point to a variety of negative emotional consequences, including feelings of guilt, shame, and disappointment in the self” (Van Kleef, Wanders, Stamkou, & Homan, 2015:26).

Descriptive norms are guides or examples that provide a way of making sense (for example, Cialdini et al., 1990). Sechrist and Stangor found that individuals who found that others shared their internalized stereotypes of out-group members also more likely acted on those stereotypes (Sechrist & Stangor, 2001). They suggest that “[p]articipants whose beliefs had been validated behaved more consistently with their prior positive or negative prejudicial attitudes than did participants whose beliefs had been invalidated” (2001:651). Nolan and colleagues found that descriptive normative information had the most influence on energy conversation even the participant considered the least influential

(2008). Even descriptive norms are not similarly emotionally loaded, and unlikely their violation leads to similar sanction as injunctive norms, they seem to be highly influential just by providing examples.

2.1.2 Social influence

Some scholars argue that the influence of a social norm requires a reference group, seeing other members as a peer, similar enough that others' views' are relevant (Miller & Prentice, 2016; Sechrist & Stangor, 2001). Tankard and Paluck also highlight that people are "especially motivated to understand and to follow the norms of groups that we [they] belong to and care about, known as reference groups." (Tankard & Paluck, 2016:184). Sechrist and Stangor claim that: "individuals likely turn to others [in-group members] for information about appropriate beliefs about and behavior" (2001:646).

Tankard and Paluck suggest: "individuals are motivated to understand what is normative in the communities to which they belong ... to feel that they belong to their community and to avoid social rejection from their community for deviating too far from the norm "(2016:183). Cialdini and Goldstein explain the psychological mechanism that maintains norms: "individuals also maintain positive self-assessments by identifying with and conforming to valued groups ... even when not directly, personally, or publicly the target of others' disapproval, individuals may be driven to conform to restore their sense of belonging and their self-esteem" (2004:611). These studies draw from social identity theories, that suggest that individual has an internal desire to adopt normative behavior and attitudes to belonging to the desired group (Hogg & Terry, 2000; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Thereby, "strongly identified group members do behave, on average, in a manner more consistent with salient group norms than do weakly identified members" (Packer, 2008:51).

One well-known example of social influence is groupthinking (Janis, 1991). Groupthinking may happens when a group members' "share a strong 'we-feeling' of solidarity and desire to maintain relationships within the group at all costs" (p. 237). Thereby they seek to preserve harmony in their actions. Groupthinking leads to seeing the group, its acts and its goals valuable, being unable to recognize biased thinking and conducting acts that supports the shared view.

Social influence highlights organizational members' desire and need to belong and how it directs in- and inter-group change activities.

2.1.3 Social control

Self-determination theory highlights that movement from internal regulation to external one is a continuum (Ryan & Deci, 2000). People conform as they believe that they need to and because they see it important to them, and these do not exclude each other. Social control can also be strongly externally regulated. "[I]ndividuals can also make a norm salient by punishing someone who deviates from it. This punishment can take the form of a social sanction, such as distancing oneself from the deviant individual, or other kinds of physical or material sanctions" (Tankard & Paluck, 2016:188). Several studies suggest that informal sanctions guide group members to avoid norm-breaking (e.g., Smith, Gillespie, Callan, Fitzsimmons, & Paulsen, 2017; Warren, 2019). Parker (2008) suggests that norms are not only followed because seeing internally motivating instead felt beneficial to cope with expected.

A member who identifies with a group more likely he or she intervenes on counter-normative activity (Hornsey, Majkut, Terry, & McKimmie, 2003). When members are highly identified with the group, the group has salient personal meaning for them, leading to taking actions against norm-breakers: “people are obviously quite effective in exerting social control since they simply defend their self-interest“ (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005:1534). Studies also suggest that powerful members more likely intervene in norm-breaking (Hershcovis et al., 2017) because they want to protect the status quo and maintain their social ranking (Stamkou et al., 2016).

Also, other members likely are not pleased with deviant actions or ideas. “Dissent is often described as a disturbing behavior” (Butera, Darnon, & Mugny, 2011:37) because people prefer conforming information (Festinger, 1962) and familiar arguments (Begg, Anas, & Farinacci, 1992). Helweg-Larsen and LoMonaco (2008) found that people witnessing the violation of queuing rules were experienced as disturbing even it did not affect them. Monin and O’Connor suggest that conforming group members do not like deviants because they take “moral high ground” demonstrating that they knew better and because it might make conformist self-evaluation questioned and remind that there is the freedom to do or this otherwise (2011). Turillo and colleagues found that observers were willing to give up their financial benefits to punish those who deviate from moral norms (Turillo, Folger, Lavelle, Umphress, & Gee, 2002).

Social control binds organizational members to shared practices and ideas, leading to situations where members instead raise “facades of conformity” than challenge their group's views (Hewlin, 2003). Risk of being sanctioned because violating dominant ideas or practices effectively reduces public norm-breaking and thus maintains the illusion of shared norms (Prentice & Miller, 1993). Together these two mechanisms feed members’ impression of established cultural features. Tankard and Paluck underline that “subjective perceptions of norms become a reality and a guide” (2016:183). Sechrist and Stangor argue: “stereotypes might be formed or altered purely on the basis of perceptions of other peoples’ stereotypic beliefs (2001:646).

Social control suggests that even members may desire to promote or reject a change initiative, they might feel that they cannot do it to avoid possible harm and shaming. It points out that normative ways of doing and thinking may be dramaturgical, even founded on misinterpretation. Thereby, change activity might be directed by social control but also, if an impression of the social control is demonstrated false members are more likely to engage toward their desired aims.

2.2 Cultural change

Cultural change is one of the challenges in organizational studies (Morrill, 2008). As described above, different focus areas and perspectives give much space for investigators on how to frame the change and observe its factors.

Many approaches still are built on exogenous pressure or "a shock" as the disruption of the established order that demands changes (Morrill, 2008) by disturbing existed order and thereby driving shared meaning to transition. Also, internal members may create pressure that drives members to recalibrate their repertoire as a process of fitting together old and new (Canato et al., 2013; Meyerson & Martin, 1987), leading to diffusion of cultural repertoire (Ansari, Fiss, & Zajac, 2010). More recent studies have demonstrated that members may trigger cultural changes without coercive pressure. Howard-Grenville and her colleagues suggest that "opportunities for significant culture change can be initiated through mundane, not dramatic, conditions, and infused into rather than separated from everyday organizational life" (Howard-Grenville, Golden-Biddle, Irwin, & Mao, 2011:535). Even Howard-Grenville and her colleagues are talking about a mundane setting; they still describe a process where cultural change is facilitated and taken outside the ordinary work setting.

Continuous mundane cultural change may be built on members refocusing their attention (Meyerson & Martin, 1987) and changing everyday interaction meanings. These changes of focus might be triggered by environmental change but also change personal interests or group composition affecting the group's views on what is seen as crucial at a particular moment. According to Patterson, these views likely feed the group's practices (2014), but external pressure to maintain specific practices might be too high, preventing the changes (e.g., Canato et al., 2013). On the other hand, Vaara and Tienari illustrated how stories could be used to legitimize or resist change in merging situations (Vaara & Tienari, 2011), and such emerging views may trigger changes in groups beliefs.

What is missing from the cultural change literature is theorizing how the change happens at the micro-level, through actions and interaction? How cultural repertoires change in the organizational context? What mechanisms affect this process? What is the role of collective action? This micro-level perspective calls a deeper understanding of power and agency. Kellogg found that using "cultural" and "political tools ... allowed Advent interns to reinterpret practices ..., to coordinate change efforts with senior reformers, and to overtly and collectively contest ... practices in interactions with defenders" (2011:491). This finding highlights inter-group relations as well as using resources to trigger changes or inhibit them.

2.2.1 Sensemaking

Sensemaking is one possible mechanism affecting the change of beliefs and becoming aware of new repertoires (Canato et al., 2013). Howard-Grenville and colleagues suggest that mundane cultural change needs liminality experiences that “invoke imagination and “what-if” thinking” (2011:534). Liminality is a space or a situation that allows "heightened reflexivity." They describe "individuals use their human capacity to step back and think about their situation, considering consciously what regulates their behavior" (Howard-Grenville, 2011:525). This reflective process allows "participants put new cultural resources and skills in relation to existing ones" (Howard-Grenville, 2011:534). This argument suggests that cultural change may happen via triggering sensemaking (Weick, 1995) that integrates available resources to a group's repertoire. Weick suggests that "reality is an ongoing accomplishment that emerges from efforts to create order and make retrospective sense of what occurs" (Weick, 1993: 635). "This happens through the production of 'accounts'— discursive constructions of reality" (Maitlis, 2005:21).

Sensemaking may be a collective activity that may lead to the internalization of beliefs. Weick and others highlight that sensemaking is a social process (Maitlis, 2005; Weick, 1995). Group "members interpret their environment in and through interactions with others, constructing accounts that allow them to comprehend the world and act collectively" (Maitlis, 2005:21). Gioia and Chittipeddi argue that members may also "attempting to influence the sensemaking and meaning construction of others toward a preferred redefinition of organizational reality" by Engaging in "sensegiving" (1991:442). This might happen, for example, via "issue selling" (Dutton & Ashford, 1993; Dutton, Ashford, O'neill, Hayes, & Wierba, 1997). Maitlis suggests that collective sensemaking may be a dialectic process where different parties engage in a sensegiving activity (Maitlis, 2005). These studies highlight the importance of interaction as part of sensemaking.

Institutional work and social movement scholars have interested emotions as a means to transfer knowledge. Moisander, Hirsto, Fahy describe that emotions are "an intrinsic part of cognitions, beliefs, and moral judgments" (2016:966) "complex, embodied but socially constructed structures of knowledge, feeling, and ethical reasoning that guide and constrain the social action and interaction that underpins institutions." (2016:980). Also, Jasper argues: "feeling and thinking are parallel, interacting process of evaluating and interacting with our worlds, composed with of similar neurological building blocks" (2011:286). Creed and colleagues suggest that felt emotions trigger sensemaking and animate self-regulation (Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014). Agentic view to emotions suggests that: "emotions can be mobilized to manage meanings, and meanings can be mobilized to manage emotions" (Moisander, Hirsto, & Fahy, 2016:967).

Howard-Grenville and colleagues suggest that mundane cultural change places insiders as a central role (2015). Others see that cultural changes are initiated by outsiders (Argyris, 1977; Schein, 2010) in the case of 3M, where new CEO forced adoption of six sigma (Canato et al., 2013). Howard-Grenville and colleagues show the significance of "role of insiders, and not necessarily those in a position of power, in seeding cultural change" and discuss that "outsiders in introducing or guiding lasting cultural change efforts may lie primarily in their lack of understanding about the existing cultural repertoire" (Howard-Grenville, 2011:535). This comment highlight socially well-established agent's possibilities to trigger cultural change, where others highlight possibilities of high powered individuals as top management (e.g., Peters and Waterman, 1982).

2.2.2 Negotiated order

Maitlis argues: “sensemaking in organizations demands the negotiation of interpretations and explanations among diverse members” (Maitlis, 2005:46). Merkus and colleagues suggest that when members “give different meanings to the same phenomenon,” sense is negotiated (2017:229). Negotiated order perspective suggests that social reality is bargained, negotiated, coerced, or such to settle its current state (Fine, 1984; Strauss, 1978). Thereby, members can affect established cultural features via negotiating with others if their views do not align with others. For example, when they agree with others, they confirm each other’s interpretations. Swidler suggests that cultural change becomes possible when new resources for cultural change becomes available (1986). Sensemaking and negotiations may generate new ideas that work like resources.

Negotiations are not just sharing views and comparing them. Strauss suggests that not all negotiating parties have the same possibilities to affect the outcome. Kellogg describes that “political tools” were needed for change; (Kellogg, 2011). With political tools, Kellogg refers to material resources like access to control “staffing systems, accountability systems, and evaluation systems” (Kellogg, 2011:497). Magee and Galinsky suggest two sources of ranking in the social hierarchy. Power, as “control over valued resources” (Magee & Galinsky, 2008:361) and status that “individual or group is respected or admired by others” (2008:359). Magee and Galinsky suggest that these two may be interconnected as status allow powerful use their resources and resources may grand status. Hallett suggests respect grants “symbolical power” that allow them to frame situations and thus affect their interpretations (Hallett, 2003). This highlight needs to understand power relations, including status in the cultural change process.

Wade-Benzoni and colleagues argue that “[v]alue systems affect the negotiations via self-enchanted, self-identity and self-perception” (2002:42). They suggest ideologically laden negotiations are affected by members’ internalized beliefs as an institutionalized context where negotiations happen. People “seek to advance, protect and maintain” their “fundamental values”; thus, a process is “associated with powerful emotions,” and the outcome is significant to members (Wade-Benzoni et al., 2002:44). Canato et al. argue that “when [organizational members] come to experience the values embodied in the new practice as in sharp contrast with the most deeply internalized and emotionally laden elements of the organizational culture... members will engage in different forms of resistance” (Canato et al., 2013:1745). Members also may see negotiations as reflecting their identity leading to seeing some issues more “sacred” and more valued to be defended (Tetlock, Kristel, Elson, Green, & Lerner, 2000). The process of collective sensemaking may end up being a “framing contest” (Gurses & Ozcan, 2015; Kaplan, 2008a; Merkus, de Heer, & Veenswijk, 2014), a struggle or competition of different interpretations and outcomes that will follow. These views highlight the emotional aspect of cultural change. Change may be more than practical or cognitive as members get new ideas, but also affective, impacting their identities.

One mechanism or cultural change be via identification to coalitions. Maitlis argues that in some cases, members benefit from making coalitions (Maitlis, 2005). These sub-groups may base on shared interest (Polzer, Mannix, & Neale, 1998), cognitive integration as "ability to understand each other's' interpretive frameworks" or affective integration as "trust, respect and liking" (Cronin, Bezrukova, Weingart, & Tinsley, 2011:832). Belonging to a sub-group likely reflects one's social identity (Tajfel, Turner, Austin, & Worchel, 1979) and social categorization of self and others (Turner et al., 1987). Self-categorization theory suggests that members categorize self and others and attach qualities and boundary conditions (Turner et al., 1987). Social identity theory suggests that members are biased with their inner-group members (Tajfel et al., 1979), leading to seeing their own group's actions and desired outcomes fairer in relation to others (Wade-Benzoni et al., 2002).

Negotiated order framework suggests focusing on how different interests are negotiated in normative practices and beliefs within groups and how shared practices and beliefs are negotiated to be reproduced in an inter-group setting. It highlights members' agentic capabilities and power relations in this process. Thereby it is a prominent lens to understand bottom-up cultural change.

2.3 Organizational members' change activities in the cultural context

Presence of both cultural dominance and change activity is a paradox. Where in one end, members are seen as "cultural dopes," and on one end, culture is seen as tools (Swidler, 1986) liberating members from normative pressure. Several sociologists see the relation dualistic. For example, Giddens suggested the concept of structuration (Giddens, 1984). According to it, structures are maintained and adapted through the use of agency. Patterson aligns with this view and argues, "culture as causal agent is always probabilistic, never determinative" (2014:7). He explains relation via knowledge activation theory (Andersen, Moskowitz, Blair, & Nosek, 2007) and argues "[w]hen a knowledge structure is frequently used, it becomes chronic (2014:19)," but that "people are quite capable of inhibiting, replacing, and overriding activated responses" (2014:20). The second mechanism that Patterson suggests builds on cultural configurations. Alvesson argues: "any specific cultural manifestation should be considered in the context of multiple cultural configurations, from local group interactions to occupational/industrial subfield orientations to macro-cultural traditions and meaning patterns" (2002: 190–91). Similarly, Giddens sees that a member's activity is built on a choice from what structural elements to apply in a particular situation (Giddens, 1984). This view resonates with Swidler's idea of "toolkits" that culture provides (1986). However, these ideas poorly reflect in relation to social control in an organizational setting. An organizational member who is not satisfied with established cultural features may not freely decide on what cultural configuration to draw but needs to acknowledge normative expectations of her peers and superiors.

Self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000) suggests that a person value and enjoys some things were some other behavior is based on external regulation. Similarly, Social Cognitive theory recognizes that members have internalized "personal standards" that guide their actions (Bandura, 1989) but also that people "set goals for themselves, and they plan courses of action likely to produce desired outcomes." (1989:1179). These suggest that personally important factors may motivate taking actions that challenge the established cultural features. Even members are directed by social influence and control they might use their creativity to find a way to push their desired aims.

Social Cognitive theory makes another demand, the member must believe the efficacy of her actions before she is ready to engage them (Bandura, 1989). This highlight personal characteristic as well as a history of a actor. Has a person conducted change work before, for example, influence others? Members in a position where their role includes change work as top managers have more experiences and resources, thus higher self-efficacy. Compared to low powered individuals as employees bottom of the hierarchy, their change work needs to be balanced to avoid sanctions of superiors. Also, they likely are low on resources, and they might not have experienced change work. Self-efficacy beliefs may explain why some members are more capable of negotiating changes. Still, low-powered individuals may engage in changing activity when they have access to cultural and political toolkits (Kellogg, 2011).

Bandura suggests three modes of agency, personal, socially mediated, and collective (Bandura, 2006). Personal agency refers to controlling their own actions and such outcome. When members do not have direct control of the outcome, they need to do it via influencing others who have means to influence or control over the desired outcome. The third mode is collective referring aligning aims and mobilize their collective capacity to reach the desired aim. These modes point out that even members directly would not have means to make a difference they may engage in change activity to mobilize others.

This thesis investigates change activities in cultural context via two theoretical lenses, first norm-breaking, and second resistance. Disturbing norm perception by conducting non-confirmative activity (Dannals & Miller, 2017) is a prominent way of triggering negotiations of order as norm-breaking more likely causes sensemaking (Weick, 1995). Breaking norms also liberates others from normative pressure (Asch, 1955) and thus may trigger changes in cultural features. From an individual's perspective, norm-breaking is risky and can be expected, leading sanctioning (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Tankard & Paluck, 2016). Thereby it can expect that norm-breakers have good reasons to do it (Bandura, 1989).

Resistance is a refusal to accept or comply. Resistance is affected by power relations as a resistant member have risk of being sanctioned, leading to public and hidden conducts (Scott, 1990). Resistance can be a political activity of change, reaching a particular individual or shared aims (Mumby, 2005).

Thereby, it is a prominent lens to observe power in change activity in personal and collective modes (Bandura, 2006). Resistance as whistle-blowing (e.g., Miceli, Near, & Schwenk, 1991) or sabotage (e.g., Ambrose, Seabright, & Schminke, 2002) effect to group-level outcomes is mixed (Bashshur & Oc, 2015).

2.3.1 Norm-breaking

In relation to suggestions studies of norms, norm-breaking seems to be very unlikely. Norm-breaking is an act or belief that violates the norms of a reference group (Jetten & Hornsey, 2014). Jetten and Hornsey argue that "[c]onformity is not the default in groups, nor is dissent and deviance the exception." (2014:462). Member break norms sometimes publicly, sometimes privately. Normative conflict model suggests that members that feel that the group's norms are not aligned with internalized standards respond to the conflict in several ways depending on their level of identification with the social group (Packer, 2008). Packer suggests that weakly identified individuals likely conform when there are benefits of it and non-conform when there is no benefit. These individuals do not seek attention to their norm-breaking compared to a highly identified individual that make try to draw attention to the problematic norm to change it. The third option that Packer suggests is disengagement, meaning psychological disengagement of the group or actual exit. These options suggest that much of norm-breaking in the group may stay undetected and maintain a false perception of a norm (Prentice & Miller, 1993).

Several studies have sought to explain why individuals take non-normative actions. Gomila and Paluck studied why Princeton University's upperclassmen decided not to joint the "eating club" even it had been a tradition, and the majority of the students joined in one of the clubs (Gomila & Paluck, 2019). They found that deviants had a history of norm-breaking, and they felt that they were different compared to a typical member of their group. Hornsey and colleagues found that individuals with a strong moral base showed non-conformity both in private and in public behavior (Hornsey et al., 2003). Norm-breaking can also be member's strategy to differentiate herself from the group to provide a sense of uniqueness (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Hornsey & Jetten, 2004), align with another group (Warren, 2003) or distancing self from a group (Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001).

Literature suggests both that norm-breaking is received with hostility, but also that norm-breakers are seen embraced. "Deviants ... were rated the most confident, dynamic and accurate" (Monin & O'Connor, 2011:271). This dual response is a question mark. One suggested reason is personal involvement. More norm-breaking is perceived, causing a treat more likely person responses to it with hostility (Monin & O'Connor, 2011). Van Kleef and colleagues found that norm-breaking that benefited others was more favourable seen (Van Kleef et al., 2012). Norm-breaking is demonstrated to liberate group members from normative pressure. For example, in Asch's study, giving a non-normative response more likely to lead other participants to give a non-conforming response (Asch, 1955). Dannals and Miller (2017) found that moderate deviant behavior was over-weighted by an observer when non-normative behavior was moderate (for example, dressing more casually) but less weight more extreme non-normative behavior became. These findings suggest that moderate norm-breaking members are able to extend the boundaries of a norm and thus make more possibilities for future members. On the other hand, norm-breaking also raise attention to the norm and thus make the norm salient by revealing members what is right and what is wrong (Markova & Folger, 2012) and thus can make existing norms stronger.

Constructive deviance is a form of norm-breaking that seeks the well-being of the reference group (Vadera, Pratt, & Mishra, 2013). Constructive deviance has multiple forms in organizations, for example, expressing voice, whistle-blowing, and prosocial behavior. Vadera, Pratt, and Mishra review the studies and suggest that intrinsic motivation, felt obligation, and psychological empowerment are antecedents of constructive deviance (2013). Intrinsic motivation refers to the interest or joy of conducting the act (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Felt obligation is built on attachment to a group, group culture and norms, and reciprocal obligations. Psychological empowerment is personal strength that “serves as fortification, which provides individuals the resources to engage in constructive deviance“ (Vadera et al., 2013:1256) as being confident of one's ability to gain desired aim (Bandura, 2001). These suggestions highlight, on the one hand, that personal relevance to act is animating norm-breaking, but on the other hand, psychological tools to face the potential negative consequences are making it possible.

Kellogg described how medical interns used cultural and political tools to break norms and how it changed practices. (Kellogg, 2011). Kellogg's findings also raise attention to groups role; not only individuals break-norms but individuals may align their desirable aims with others to coordinate their norm-breaking to reach shared aims (Bandura, 2006). Groups may have other functions in norm-breaking. Landau and colleagues found that individuals may use groups to legitimize their norm-breaking by seeking acceptance (Landau, Drori, & Terjesen, 2014). This interaction is built on the normative conflict that likely triggers learning (Butera et al., 2011) that may have long term effects on a group's cultural repertoire.

2.3.2 Resistance

Resistance is commonly seen as a challenge of control (e.g., Mumby, 2005). Performative theory of resistance suggests that “the resistant emerges within and through material/discursive enactments of resistance.” (Harding, Ford, & Lee, 2017:1224) Furthermore, resistance is “denial of recognition” (1224:1225).

Resistance may be public or hidden. Hidden resistance of individual and collective is framed as infrapolitics, “decaf activity” – “resistance without the acid that can destroy the machine of power.” (Contu, 2008:374). This kind of resistance takes forms of humor, cynicism, irony, and fantasy (Scott, 1990). Fleming and Spicer suggest that members whose beliefs do not align with the managerial order distance themselves, still conducting publicly what is expected but privately or publicly mask their conduct with cynical marks and thereby “give themselves the impression they are autonomous agents" (2003:160). Mumby and colleagues suggest that hidden resistance is seen as ventilation to members whose standards conflict with managerial order (2017). Scott argues that "deference may be highly routinized and shallow" (1990:24). This highlights the dramaturgical nature of hidden resistance that fulfills expected enough to avoid sanctions or gain the rewards, even experiencing conflict with the conduct (Goffman, 1978).

Public resistance takes multiple forms, such as misbehavior (Barnes, 2007), bossnapping (Parsons, 2013), strikes (Taylor & Moore, 2015), or whistleblowing (Weiskopf & Willmott, 2013). Mumby and colleagues suggest that these acts are political by nature and seek changes (Mumby, Thomas, Martí, & Seidl, 2017). Harris and Ogbonna found that service sabotage was motivated by: "a desire to enhance the status of individuals," describing that "sabotage had passed into firm legend, with the perpetrators often depicted as heroes" (Harris & Ogbonna, 2012:2038). Courpasson found that hidden struggle and dissatisfaction of dismissed employees led to more public action. He argues that "public transcript is reinforced by the multiplication of petty anonymous and individualistic transcripts" (Courpasson, 2017:1297). Thereby, hidden resistance may feed public resistance. However, the relation is unclear. Deviance studies suggest that the mechanism here might be psychological discomfort (Dahling & Gutworth, 2017). Hidden resistance may transfer ideas of injustice and emotional states (Van Kleef, Van Doorn, Heerdink, & Koning, 2011) that make psychological discomfort salient, thereby trigger group members to act. These align with findings of Courpasson that noticed that dismissed employees shared emotionally loaded messages that encouraged others. Sechrist and Stangor found that when an individual becomes aware that others share his or her belief, she is more likely to act based on it (2001). On the other hand, Ybema and Horvers found that some resistant members demonstrated resistance in public and privately complied with expected (Ybema & Horvers, 2017).

Studies of resistance have less to say about the dynamics of collective action. Organizational scholars have drawn from social movement studies to understand the dynamics of collective action in organizations. "Social movement theory adds insight into the process by which members translate shared interests into collective action." (Davis & Thompson, 1994: 152). The perspective highlight members' access to resources that they can use and actually using them to create the pressure (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004) compared to dominance; in dominating order access to resources (for example, a possibility to sanction) affects the behavior without the need of demonstrating the access. King found that organizations that had previously experienced movement's effect on their reputation took the boycott more seriously (King, 2008). Edwards and McCarthy suggest a typology of resources that social movement uses (2004). Resources can be seen as cultural as models, moral that ground movements legitimacy, socio-organizational such as organization and networks, human and material resources. These resources are used both to create pressure on the target but also mobilise others to join the movement (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). Similarly, the institutional agency requires "mobilise resources, engage in institutional contests over meanings and practices, develop, support or attack forms of discourse and practice— all involving discrete strategic acts of mobilisation" (Lawrence, 2008:174).

Less is known about how resistant organizational members generate and use resources for their resistance. In the organizational context, Kellogg found that medical interns managed to use cultural toolkits as "zombie" identities to legitimate change in their work practices. She argues: "less powerful members in organizations may not be able to significantly change traditional practices if they have access only to strong cultural toolkits. To create dramatic change, they may also need access to "strong political toolkits" (Kellogg, 2011:496). Medical interns did not have those, but they managed to mobilize others who had access to them.

Students of the social movement have found that movement creates their competing frame that challenges a dominant frame. Frames are "articulation mechanisms in the sense of tying together the various punctuated elements of the scene so that one set of meanings rather than another is conveyed, or, in the language of narrativity, one story rather than another is told. Frames may also perform a transformative function in the sense of altering the meaning of the object(s)" for example: "transformation of routine grievances or misfortunes into injustices or mobilizing grievances in the context of collective action." (Snow, 2004:384). In social movement context frames are political; they suggest an alternative interpretation of the situation to animate collective action. Frames are likely to feed particular emotional arousal that supports internal coherence and inspires others (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2004). This suggests that framing has an important, even central role in resistance Mobilising resistant members.

Kellogg suggests that interaction that feeds the change activity requires "relational spaces—a subset of free spaces that allowed for not only isolation and interaction but also the inclusion of reformers from each of the work positions involved" (2009:685). These spaces allow sharing non-confirmatory ideas without a risk of being sanctioned. They could be seen as "back-stage," where organizational members more freely express their true ideas compared "front-stage," where dominant norms are applied (Goffman, 1978). Howard-Grenville and colleagues suggest that mundane cultural change can happen when reformers have "liminal" spaces where they can test and form their shared understanding of new practices in a safe setting (2011). Need to this private space highlight need to safe interaction where deviant frames can be created and shared.

These studies give cues possible dynamics of hidden resistance. It can be expected that some dynamics of social movements apply, especially when organizational resistance is coordinated. In situations where resistance is unplanned, rather an expression of dissatisfaction, the dynamics of hidden resistance is a question mark. Also, the categorization of public and hidden resistance might be deceptive. Ybema and Horvers raise the issue "[b]y categorizing intentions, actions and effects as either 'real' resistance or 'mere' compliance, researchers fail to gain a perception of the situated performance of subtle resistance and its varying effects on day-to-day work processes." (2017:1236). One possible mechanism of how hidden resistance might affect to a high power individual could be gossip that affects members' reputation and transmits competing frames (Keltner, Van Kleef, Chen, & Kraus, 2008). Beersma and Van Kleef studied prosocial motives of gossip and argue that: "[g]ossip allows people to gather and validate information … and to protect their group against norm violations" (Beersma & Van Kleef, 2012). In organizations where resistance might lead to sanctioning by management and possibly by peers, social movement theories might have limited insight.

2.4 Analytical framework of the study

While the existing research acknowledges members' (e.g. Labianca, Gray, and Brass, 2000) and groups' role in cultural change (Ogbonna & Harris, 2015), organizational members' role as part of hidden collectives or communities remains underexplored (Courpasson et al., 2021). An additional theoretical and empirical investigation is needed to improve the current understanding of the mechanisms through which employees' actions as members of organizational groups trigger cultural changes within organizations.

By acknowledging that members' actions may remain hidden and operate in an infra-political manner, this study acknowledges that transecting from individual based, hidden to group based, more visible activities requires the adoption of different theoretical perspectives. Figure 1 depicts how the selected theoretical perspectives address the intention of this study by locating them in an overarching conceptual framework . First, it is acknowledged that change activity shapes cultural features of the organization and the change activity is expected to consist of two domains of activity in-group and inter-group activities (Ogbonna & Harris, 2015). Activity is studied using different theoretical approaches in each sub-study. . The sub-studies and their theoretical approaches are marked in numbers. Where sub-study one investigates relations of change activity to cultural change, sub-studies two investigates antecedent factors of norm-breaking, and the sub-study three investigates relation of inter-group and in-group activities. Inter-group activity is investigated as negotiation activity, norm-breaking, and public resistance. In-group activity is studies as sensemaking and hidden resistance. In this sub-section, the theoretical approaches ability to inform the research questions is presented.

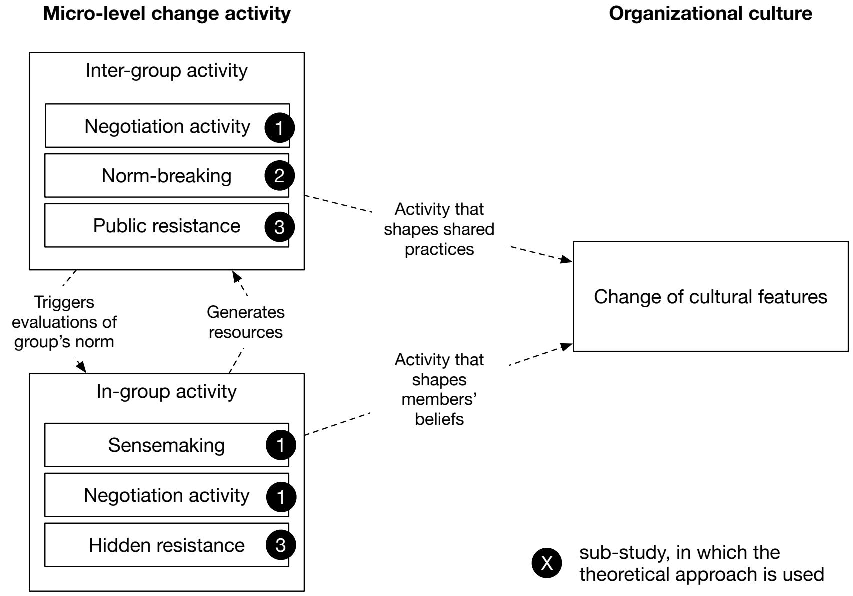

Micro-level change activity
Organizational culture
Inter-group activity
Negotiation activity
1
Norm-breaking
2
Public resistance
3
Activity that shapes shared practices
Change of cultural features
Triggers evaluations of group's norm
Generates resources
Activity that shapes members' beliefs
In-group activity
Sensemaking
1
Negotiation activity
1
Hidden resistance
3
X
sub-study, in which the theoretical approach is used

Figure 1 Overarching conceptual framework and illustration how theoretical approaches are related and used in the study

2.4.1 Link of change activity and cultural change

To answer to the research question: ***How does the organizational members' change activities influence an organization's cultural features?*** the first sub-study uses two approaches to understand cultural change. First, suggested dualism (Patterson, 2014) highlights the importance of understanding cultural change as a process of settling shared practices, internalizing beliefs, and how they feed each other. Canato and her colleagues suggested sensemaking as a process of fitting suggested practices with existing repertoire (2013). Sensemaking lens (Weick, 1995) describes how individuals and groups (Maitlis, 2005) form their understanding of what is going on to coordinate their actions. This means giving and sharing ideas that tested when members are using them. This suggests a possible mechanism of how new situations may feed new interpretations that may become internalized beliefs.

Secondly, when conflicting views are present, and they are expressed publicly, members face a struggle. This may or may not lead to changing existing practices according to the suggested. To understand this interaction, the sub-study adopts the lens of negotiated order (Strauss, 1978). Negotiated order is a framework that suggests that parties influence social engagement via bargaining, negotiating, or using coercive means. Negotiations frame direct focus on an interaction between parties (Ogbonna & Harris, 2015), who use cultural and political 'toolkits' (Kellogg, 2011) to reach their valued aims (Bandura, 1989) leading to a cycle of actions between parties. We can expect that negotiation is transforming and maintaining in-group and inter-group practices.

These two lenses explain how a members' activity could impact the cultural features of a group. Sensemaking to internalized beliefs and negotiation of practice to shared practices and norms. Figure 2 illustrates the used conceptual framework. The change process is expected to be explained by the negotiation of order and sensemaking; however, their inter-relation remains unclear and target of inquiry. Similarly, it is expected that change activity triggers changes in cultural features, but how this relationship works is unclear and investigated by the sub-study.

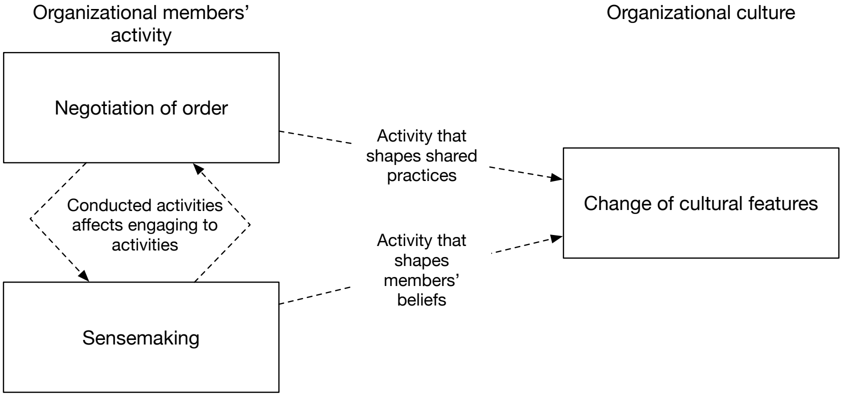

Organizational members' activity
Organizational culture
Negotiation of order
Conducted activities affects engaging to activities
Sensemaking
Activity that shapes shared practices
Activity that shapes members' beliefs
Change of cultural features

Figure 2 Link between change activity and cultural change

Negotiated order approach suggests cultural change is negotiated between members (Fine, 1984; Strauss, 1978). Members reproduce established repertoire by using it and transform it by doing otherwise and such suggesting a new practices and meanings. However, new repertoire might lead to conflicts and struggle between members and groups. In struggles, some members might have more possibilities to define the outcome. Negotiations are a way to transform and maintain shared practices.

Together these two approaches might explain why beliefs and practices might conflicts in some situations. Where some members have possibilities to define or control outcomes of negotiations, this does not mean that others could not influence members with alternative explanations leading conflicts of established practices and beliefs.

Also, these two approaches suggest that members could suggest their interpretations and such change views of their group leading to negotiation at the inter-group level. This individual voice whispering their view could cause a cultural avalanche in an organization by affecting others.

2.4.2 Organizational members' engagements to inter-group change activity

To deepen understanding of the role of organizational members that may transform an organization's cultural features, reasons to engage in a norm-breaking activity are studied. From the negotiated order perspective, each act that challenges established order demand others to respond to it and such redefines what can be expected in the future (Fine, 1984; Strauss, 1978). Asch (1955) found that when a member of a group non-confirmed, it encouraged others to do so also. This highlights role of norm-breakers in the cultural change context. Understanding norm-breaking in the context of cultural change in the organization can explain why some situations are responded with norm-breaking and may trigger cultural changes. Studies of norm-breaking suggest that norm-breaking is risky for the norm-breaker. and such norm-breaking can be expected to be avoided (Tankard & Paluck, 2016). Kellogg (2011) found that low-power interns managed to change content their role by adopting ideas that challenged established understanding of the roles. The bottom-up perspective highlights a need to understand antecedent factors as they animate change activity and as well as activity that resists suggested change.

Studies of norm-breaking suggest that norm-breaking is risky for the norm-breaker, and such can be expected to be avoided (Tankard & Paluck, 2016). However, Jetten and Hornsey argue that "[c]onformity is not the default in groups, nor is dissent and deviance the exception." (2014:462). Social psychological literature suggests that members more likely conform to their own benefit or because they want to do it (Packer, 2008). Risk of being sanctioned, for example, cut off from a group, is a possible outcome of norm-breaking (Smith, et al., 2017; Warren, 2019). Thereby it is more likely that members avoid norm-breaking. On the other hand, some forms of non-conformity are come common (Jetten & Hornsey, 2014) but more likely hidden (Packer, 2008) that less likely is able to trigger cultural changes.

Prior literature of cultural change processes describes norm-breaking as part of the change process, but rarely antecedent factors of norm-breaking of low power members are studied in the cultural change context. This partly because the cultural change process is commonly studied from the top-down perspective, and such management desire to trigger changes can be expected to be motivated by the company's strategy and their activity is motivated by duty. Kellogg (2011) studied bottom-up change and described that interns break-norms of the hospital by using new cultural tools as identities and thus challenged the established role they had. Kellogg discusses: "[b]ecause less powerful organization members have fewer political tools available to them than do more powerful members, their creative use of cultural tools may be critical to allowing them to overturn traditional arrangements" (2011:495). Thereby, motivation to engage in the norm-breaking activities may be caused by members' limited access to established political tools. Labianca and colleagues (2000) studied top-down change and describe how management suggests a new decision-making schema that conflicts with established schemas. They describe the change activity as resistance that was motivated by "the constrains of well-established, integrated schemas" (p. 235). This may suggest that employees' activity was motivated by employees' norm.

High personal relevance motivates breaking norms. Packer (2008) suggests that norm-breakers are motivated by high identification with their group. High identified members break norms because they want to save the group from activity that they see harming the group (Packer, 2008). Packer also suggests that low identified members break norms to disengage from a group. For them, it is important to keep the distance with other group members, and it is done by acting differently than the group members. Constructive deviance perspective suggests that deviance is motivated by personal relevance as felt duty, but also a member that is ready to break norms needs personal strength that "serves as fortification, which provides individuals the resources to engage in constructive deviance" (Vadera et al., 2013:1256).

Figure 2 illustrates the second sub-study's conceptual framework. Personal relevance is expected to be a significant driver of norm-breaking. Group norms such as low tolerance to deviance are expected to be a limiting factor of norm-breaking. However, if norm-breaking happens, it may be able to transform established norms or make them more solid if members sanction norm-breaking. The sub-study seeks to understand how members felts the meaning of his or her norm-breaking, thus contributing to understanding when members are ready to break norms.

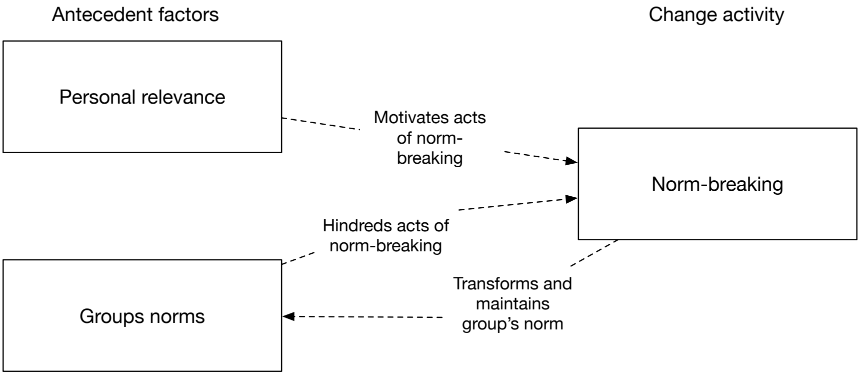

Antecedent factors
Change activity
Personal relevance
Motivates acts of norm-breaking
Norm-breaking
Hindreds acts of norm-breaking
Groups norms
Transforms and maintains group's norm

Figure 2 Norm-breaking in cultural context

The norm-breaking approach suggests several situations and reasons why a member would challenge established cultural features by breaking a group's norms. The personally felt significance of the issue is highlighted. Factor as a need to protect the valued group or keeping distance to an undesirable group might explain norm-breaking. Studies also suggest that aims as gaining power in a group might explain the activity. Some studies suggest that norm-breaking might be enabled by experiencing not belonging to the group as well as psychological strength to face the consequences of one's deviance.

Studies of norm-breaking suggest multiple situations where norm-breaking can happen and possibly harsh consequences of it to the norm-breaker. Rather than answering the first research question, it highlights a need to understand why members are willing to take the risk and break norms of their group.

2.4.3 Connecting in- and inter-group change activities

To answer the sub-question: *How do the members' in-group change activities feed inter-group change activity in the context of organizational cultural change? resistance lens is used.* Commonly scholars acknowledge low power members' capacity to resist (e.g., Labianca, 2000), but more rarely as actors that initiate or steer cultural changes. A rare exception is Kellogg's study, where she described how medical interns managed to trigger changes in their role at the hospital (2011). She suggests that the change was enabled by using cultural tools, including identities, as well as political tools, including alliances with powerful members. Kellogg's study is pointing how low power members interact with powerful members to trigger changes.

Resistance is a prominent theory lens to understand how low power members act when facing coercive undesirable settings. Resistance lens recognizes both hidden and public conducts (Scott, 1990). Hidden resistance refers to activities as complaining, using irony and humor, or actions as sabotages. Public resistance can take forms as a strike, public campaigns, misbehavior, or whistleblowing (Mumby et al., 2017). Were some scholars see that hidden resistance has not "acid that can destroy the machine of power" (Contu, 2008:374), some others highlight that hidden and public resistance are interrelated and reinforcing each other (Courpasson, 2017). Resistance lens suggests observing hidden engagements that challenge established cultural features. Therefore, using the concept of hidden resistance may allow us to better understand the role of in-group change activity that often is hidden from out-group members (Goffman, 1978).

To understand social dynamics of the activity of resistance, the social movement frame is adopted. ”Social movement theory adds insight into the process by which actors translate shared interests into collective action." (Davis & Thompson, 1994: 152). It suggests that members generate resources and mobilize them to generate more resources and pressure key actors (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). Thereby, to some extent, we can expect that change activity is generating resources for change activity. For example, frames that "transformation of routine grievances or misfortunes into injustices or mobilizing grievances in the context of collective action." (Snow, 2004:384).

Figure 3 presents the third sub-study's conceptual framework: how in-group activities feed inter-group activities. The study utilizes concepts of hidden and public resistance and investigates them as parts of a social movement. Thereby, hidden resistance is expected to generate resources that enable members' engagements to public resistance.

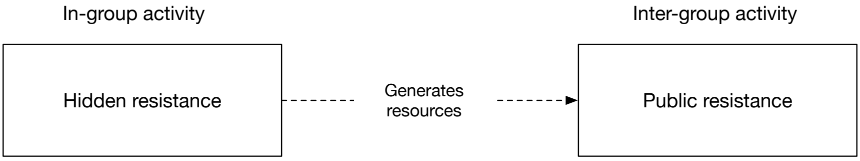


Figure 3 In-group activity generates resources for inter-group activity

Sensemaking and negotiated order approaches suggest that groups are central members in the cultural change process. Groups are forums to share views, negotiate, and struggle. Also, in-group relations can be expected full filling the same function.

The resistance approach observes action and interaction in situations of conflicting views from the perspective of power. The power imbalance between members impacts some members to hide and allow some others to publicly demonstrate their views. Hidden conducts of resistance more likely may appear in the in-group situation with the trusted members. Some resistance scholars suggest that hidden resistance may feed public resistance. Thereby we can expect that also in-group resistance may inter-group resistance.

Social movement literature suggests that power is not a fixed factor, and low power members may gain support among high power and generate other resources that can be used part of their change activity. Thereby, in-group activity may generate resources, for example, frame petty grievance may be framed as an action of injustice to mobilize in- and out-group members.

3. METHODOLOGY

This section describes the used research methods and their motivation to provide transparency of the research. The investigation builds on the interpretivist paradigm. The interpretivist paradigm relays on relativist ontology that assumes that reality is built in interaction through meanings. Interpretivist approach is especially prominent in investigating deeper cultural change. Culture is referred to be a "web of meanings" (Abolafia, Dodge, & Jackson, 2014), and understanding culture and change agents require understanding how cultural agents see the world where they live in. Qualitative methods are well suited for this (Martin, 2002; Schein, 2010). Especially because individuals' and groups' interpretations are sought to be captured (Gioia & Thomas, 1996b; Hinings, 1997). Qualitative approach studies subjects' view, guiding social structures and accounts (e.g., Dutton & Dukerich, 1991). Thereby it is a fruitful means to study interactive processes (Pettigrew, 1992).

The study is based on a multi-case design (Lee & Lee, 1999; Yin, 2003) to investigate a cultural change process for four years. The process unfolds everyday encounters, exceptional events, and construction of their meanings from several perspectives, forming narratives of an agency.

3.1 Methodological approach

The study's goal is to elaborate an understanding of members' change activity's contribution to the cultural change theory building on empirical evidence (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). The study combines two theorizing logics: inductive and abductive. Inductive logic is an exploratory query. Gathered data is used to structure the data forming "grounded" insight into the phenomenon (Suddaby, 2006). This is the first phase of inquiry. This phase is followed by abductive logic, a methodological approach that iterates "between empirical observations and theory" to improve the theory of organizational cultural change by studying the change in the group level (Dubois & Gadde, 2002:555, see also Fisher & Aguinis, 2017).

3.2 Sampling criteria

Case organizations were selected based on prominence of members' micro-level change activity. According to negotiated order (Strauss, 1978), micro-level activity that maintains and transform cultural features can be expected to be happening everywhere and all the time, however some social settings can be expected to be more prominent studying them. From a broad business ecosystem, the two case organizations were selected based on increased the likelihood to capture member's change activities. The organizations were selected based on the members' desire to change cultural features and because of organization's low distance of control of members' practices. Facilitating factors; the small size of the organizations and geographical distance were also used to select the cases.

Nordic organizations are well suited for studying micro-level change activity as they are low in the hierarchy, high on individualism, and they are development orientated in European comparison. In Nordic countries "[h]ierarchical thinking is relatively uncommon" and "characterized as consensus-seeking societies," "[t]he Nordic management style is very decentralized and democratic" (Perlitz & Seger, 2004:11). Lindell and Arvonen claim that "Nordic managers were more likely to encourage their subordinates 'to think along new lines'" and liked "to discuss new ideas" (1996: 82). In this societal setting, organizational members likely have some instituted means, developed skills and experiences to express their views and trigger changes. Thereby, a micro-level change activity that challenges established cultural features is more visible.

Nordic countries are also high in individualism (Perlitz & Seger, 2004). In the Nordic countries, organizational members can be expected to express their views and use established means to affect their organization. Low hierarchy and supporting discussing new ideas feed change activity. Compared to Japan, where collectivity is high, "Japanese employees were described as being hesitant to do anything that might make them stand out and upset group equilibrium" (Peltokorpi, 2007:75). In more individualistic social-settings, members are less likely to limit their actions to follow existing norms. This expression makes members' aspirations noticeable and thus accessible for an investigator.

Main criteria to select organizations were members' expressed desire to transform cultural features. When some members express their desire to change cultural features, they can be expected to engage to change activity. This setting is prominent to capture activity that seeks to transform cultural features but also likely to capture activity that seeks to make sense and resist that change.

Organization's low distance of control of members' practices, facilitate members to engage to change activity. When members know who can change established cultural features, it is more likely that members engage in the activity as they are more likely to expect success (Bandura, 1989). Organizations where decisions are made far from the low power members, the members might avoid engaging in activity as they do not have access to influence key members. Thereby, investigating organizations that where members are able to control their own practices can be expected to be a more prominent venue to capture engagements to change activity.

To study micro-level change activity in cultural change is essential to access activity that likely is hidden to some extent from “front-stages” of an organization. Organizations’ small size allows a more in-depth study of a group, and their sub-groups provide better access to individuals and sub-groups’ perspectives and interaction by establishing trusted relations with informants. A smaller group also allows closer and repeated interaction with the informants that support trusted relation to form. Trusted relations with informants allow access to back-stages of organizational arenas that are critical to understanding the emergence of ideas that challenge established cultural features. This increases likelihood of capturing hidden activities. and capturing multiple views to provide a rich description of how and why activities are conducted. Organizations were picked based on their location, because of intensive data collection, therefore geographically remote locations were excluded.

The two selected organizations are a Public health center (People, pseudonym) and a consulting agency (Freedom, pseudonym). Each organization employed nearly 30 people, including the management. While People is part of a municipality’s health organization, it has extensive liberties to decide its practices and its members can mainly act independently of the municipality’s health organization directives. The main change observed in People related to the desire of some members to change the nurses’ role. Freedom is a member of an international coalition of agencies. While the coalition decides on matters of international strategy, it does not control the practices of national agencies. The main change observed in Freedom related to the belief among some members that a cultural change was needed to make the company profitable again. In the following sub-section, the empirical context of these two cases are described in detail.

3.3 Empirical context

This study is engaged in two organizations forming two cases. The first case is People, a municipality’s health center, and the second case is Freedom, a management consulting agency.

People

The People health center is a municipality health center. It is located in one of the poorer areas of the municipality. People had a history of difficulties in finding staff, especially doctors. It seemed to be poorly resourced in relation to the needs of the patients it was servicing. Thereby, People needed to develop its practices to be able to respond to the needs of patients and staff. History of the center, stories of what was done, and how, highlighted a need to bend the formal rules to find more fit practices. To some extent, People seemed to succeed with their development work as they had developed some practices that later were adopted by all the municipality's health centers.

Data collection started when the center reopened. The municipality had closed the health center for a few years. During this time, the staff was moved to several locations in and outside of the municipality. However, political changes at the municipality level enabled the reopening of the center. The People’s old management team was willing to take their position under a new mid-manager. They build a vision of how new start could be a possibility to test more comprehensive care, provide more specialized professionals also responding to the social needs of the customers. This idea was sold and accepted by the top management and political organs. The center was given money one extra specialist and freedom to develop their idea. However, top management highlighted that the center needed to succeed in providing basic services, meaning an ability to hire and keep doctors.

Almost all old nursing stuff was willing to return the center. Memories of good spirit among peers was a central factor for many of them. On the other hand, almost all the doctors were recently hired, and many of them were recently graduated and had low experience in the local health system as their origins and experience were abroad.

Supervisors had different roles; chief doctor's focus was hiring doctors and developing doctor's know-how, the head nurse was the formal supervisor of nurse staff, but also had had several other duties in the municipality’s health organization, and managerial nurse task was to manage nurses' everyday routines. The managerial nurse was not a formal position acknowledged, but it was established in several municipality’s centers to support the head nurse's managerial duties.

Freedom

The Freedom consulting agency had grown from a few individuals’ groundbreaking company to be a part of an international coalition of national agencies in forty years. Being pioneering on new practices made the company well known in its niche. For a quite long time, there was more request for its services that it could provide. During this time, it was very strict who were allowed to join. It had a history of distributed power and decided that every consultant would be entrepreneurs. In practice, company decisions decided together, but every consultant was responsible for its own success.

Later joining conditions were loosen, the company started to grow fast, and there was not enough work for everybody, even the group of unprosperous consultants was small. The company prospered. It joined to international coalition that gave credibility. The growing company decided to form teams where consultants could share their interests, learn, and develop their know-how among similar minded.

Being on edge did not last, and many established relations with customers faded. When global economic crises hit Freedom many older generation consultants decided to retire. The company responded by recruiting new consultants, but most of these consultants did not manage to build enough income for themselves and left. Some who did not have a need to generate income for themselves stayed. Many were still rather pleased with the company and felt that they were part of a community and felt belonging to "one big family." The orientation of recruits had changed during the years: "old strong [community-oriented] people have left, and new people have come who [were] more in the business side", leading to a situation where the company needed to balance between needs of different groups.

Freedom's culture was development orientated when the company was borne. It was more about understanding psychological mechanisms and later social dynamics. This focus drew the consultants in the company that were interested in people and communities. On the other hand, the consultants were aware of the benefits of diversity, and some strongly business orientated consultants were invited to join. However, the focus of company days was on human development rather than business development. After the recruiting process loosened, diversity grew fast but the culture remained stable.

3.4 Data collection

This study's fieldwork was intensive. It lasted four years and conducted in three observation periods in both organizations. Each observation period was six to twelve months and discontinued in between periods of six to nine months. Sequences of the periods selected depending on change activity at the moment. Thereby in both organizations, change activity is focused on the beginning of four years span, observation periods were longer in that time, and the breaks were shorter.

This pace of observation and break pace was chosen to enable the transition between insider-outsider roles that allowed for the identification of contextual meanings but also to remain a higher-level perspective (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009) and to recognize incremental changes.

Building an insider role inside the group included establishing dyad relations and a group-level role in the group. This sought to make the investigator felt familiar, approachable, and trustworthy. In dyad relation with an informant, the investigator sought to be felt understanding and friendly by using verbal and non-verbal signs confirming informant's views compared to avoiding expressing any views. Secondly, interviews were a place for informants to elaborate on their thinking. Interviewee's questions as "what is important for you at the moment," "what options you have" and "how are you planning to proceed," helped informants to clarify their views and plans. Some informants used interviews as situations of clarifying their problems and finding feasible solutions. In organizational-level forms of participation were multiple. At Freedom during company days, the investigator was expected to participate in all the processes as any consultant or potential recruit would. Also, the investigator's views were actively asked during the group conversation and selectively replied by the investigator. At People, during events like unit development day, the investigator was asked to facilitate group conversation by asking questions as "what is the problem here," and "how could you overcome it?" This activity supported the view that the investigator was not only studying a change in the organization but also helping the organizational members by supporting members' reflections. This gained access directly to some sub-groups' interaction, and indirectly as informants were ready to talk about discussion even, they were seen private or conflict with other's views. Building the insider role also possible affected informants' views on what is important, and such affected their further actions. These shortcomings are presented in section 3.6.

The typical observation rhythm was organization dependent. In both cases, it was part timed. Study access gained via management, followed by presenting the research's goals and approach to the units' members. Data were mainly analyzed after data collection. The data collection process focused on capturing organizational members' in- and inter-group change activities. Thus, the focus was on capturing actions and interactions that challenged one own group's or other groups' established ways of doing and thinking.

Freedom did not share an office, and their coordinated in- and inter-group activity was around task-related dual meetings or coordinated collective events (company days) and via digital tools. Typically, at Freedom meetings and after-meeting gatherings were observed, discussions and interviews were held with consultants, and extensive documentary analysis conducted. At People inter- and in-group meetings and breaks were observed, discussions and interviews were held with healthcare professionals, and documentary analysis conducted.

In total, the collected observation data amounted to around 900 hours (200 with Freedom and 700 with People), and semi-structured interviews were collected with 46 members of Freedom and 95 interviews with members of People. Additionally, several internal documents provided and suggested by the informants were analyzed, including internal group messages that members provided were studied. At People, 47 documents were presented and at Freedom 185 documents. Diverse data enabled the triangulating of findings.

During and after events informal discussions were extensively used to capture participants' ideas about what was going on and what they sought to achieve. These conversations many times included one or several participants that sought to talk about the issue. In some situations, the investigator's role was passive, following an ongoing conversation and sometimes active facilitative and asking questions. These conversations were not transcribed but written to observation notes. Some notes were done during the discussion but mainly written afterward: what was said, by whom. Also, tone and body language were described when feasible.

Transcribed interviews conducted on planned and emergent fashion based on the observed change activity. Transcribed interviews were from half to three hours, on average of one and a half hours. Interviews were semi-structured and transcribed. The plan was to interview active members during their period of activity were interviewed more regularly (approximately every three weeks), focusing on issues that members saw meaningful in their change activity. Employees at the People and consultants at Freedom rarely had possibility find time during the activity; thereby, informal discussions were used to capture ideas during, and more in-depth interviews were conducted later. Members in the leadership position were expected to be active change agents in their units, and thus their interviews ran regular pace during monitoring periods.

Also, other members were selected even if their activity was vague. These members' interviews were focusing on their sensemaking of what was going on in the unit. They were selected mainly by suggestions of others that expected them to have a somehow different perspective to what was going on.

Formal gathering's conversations were mainly recorded depending on the number of participants of ongoing discussion. When two or more conversations were going on at the same time, discussions were written down verbatim: what was said, by whom on during, and complemented afterward. Also, tone and body language were described when feasible. Organizational members became fast used to the investigator writing extensively during the events. People often joked about it and sometimes seemed to forget it. At People, observed gatherings were occupational, unit meetings and training, and development days. At Freedom company days, following evening celebrations and team and management team meetings were monitored.

Table 2 Summary of data sources

Data source	**Freedom**	**People**
Transcribed interviews	46	95
Observations	200 h	700h
Documents	185	47

3.5 Data analysis

The data analysis was conducted in phases. The first phase draws on “matching” theoretical frameworks and data (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). This matching is about analyzing activities that members conducted and theoretical frameworks to find concepts and relations that fit with the captured activities in the data. This matching process suggested theoretical frames of activity. At the first substudy negotiation activity was focused, at the second, norm-breaking and at the third, resistant activity. The selection of theoretical frames is described in section 2.

These theoretical frames defined the focused activity and thus guided within-case analysis. The process is illustrated in Figure 4. The first step of within-case analysis is about identifying events of the focused activity. The second step grouped these events into episodes to help identify 1) the main parties of members participating in activity 2) patterns of conducted activities and 3) interpretations of the situation. The third step focused on narratives of participating parties to help to identify how activities and interpretations of an episode feed activities and interpretations in the following episodes.

Building on this process of within-case analysis, the second phase of analysis moved into a cross cases analysis of these episodes of change between cases to capture similarities and differences of change activity and its outcomes. These phases are presented in detail next.

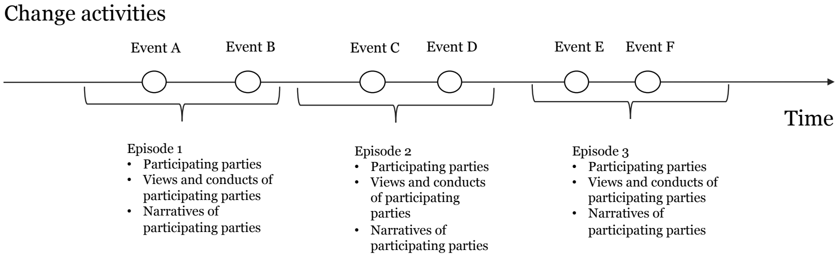

Change activities
Event A
Event B
Event C
Event D
Event E
Event F
Time
Episode 1
• Participating parties
• Views and conducts of participating parties
• Narratives of participating parties
Episode 2
• Participating parties
• Views and conducts of participating parties
• Narratives of participating parties
Episode 3
• Participating parties
• Views and conducts of participating parties
• Narratives of participating parties

Figure 4 The process of within-case analysis

3.5.1 Within-case analyses

The first the theoretical lens was applied to select relevant events from the data. Each sub-study had its own theoretical frame to select particular events. These frames are listed in Table 4. At the first sub-study, events of negotiation activity were analyzed, at the second, events of norm-breaking and at the third, events of resistance. Events refer to "discrete, discontinuous 'happenings,' which diverge from the stable or routine features of the organizational environment" (Morgeson, Mitchell, & Liu, 2015). This definition underlines observable actions that are located in s particular moment and place. In this study, events are moments where organizational members conduct change activity: they act or express challenges in the established ways of thinking and doing or they respond to the expressed challenges. Such events are rather easy to recognize from the mundane flow of activities engaged in an organization. For example, at People, nurses started to challenge the established way of working by initiating conversations about “why [some other nurses] have such a long queue” and what should be done about it, thereby captured as an event of change activity. Events are situations where the in- and inter-group activities are conducted, responded, and can be monitored.

Table 3 Analysis of sub-studies

	Sub-study 1	Sub-study 2	Sub-study 3
Theoretical framework employed to identify and select events of change activity	Negotiation order	Norm-breaking	Resistance
Focus of analysis	How the members’ negotiation activities around emerging issues contribute to cultural change	How the members’ norm-breaking activities were motivated	How the members’ hidden resistance activities contribute to public resistance activities

Number of identified episodes of change activity	12	12	11

This study's methodology locates change activity in episodes. The episode refers to a bracketed flow of events that can be separated from other events based on forms of conducted change activity and views shared during events. Episodes seek to capture the time flow and difference of how people were understanding situations and forms of change activity between two time periods. The dimension of time is essential from two perspectives. The first to understand how change activity forms a fabric of actions and responses and such maintain and transform cultural features (Fine, 1984; Strauss, 1978) and secondly to understand context where this activity happens, how members make sense of it and thus ground their action in the situation (Weick, 1995). For example, connecting events where nurses complained about the long queues and events when they demanded more stricter practices allow to recognize how this activity was linked to a situation of high demand and particular ideas why there was long queues. It was followed by the episode where also supervisors were influenced to take a side and they formed they ideas what was going on.

Episodes were bracketed by first defining timespan. Timespan starts when a first selected event exists in the data and ends when events related to the same issue no longer exists in the data. This period is split into episodes.

The time frame that episodes gave was used to simplify data by grouping individual members to groups, parties that participated in the negotiation process. This is done primarily according to members' views and secondary ways of engaging in interaction. For example, at Freedom, a group of consultants that valued business-oriented practices and aims, expressed those views were considered one party. If there were members who shared the views of business-orientated members, they were considered to be part of the group, even data did not describe he or she is conducting similar activities. On a case where a member conducted similar activities than a group was considered being a part of that party. However, conducting similar activities but expressing conflicting views prevented grouping a member with a party. The views and practices that are used to define parties were ones central to ongoing interaction, drawn from the events. This kind of grouping was strongly supported by how members group each other and observed interaction. Parties were stable groups inside one episode, but members might change between episodes depending on how their views developed and how they participated.

Data is limited and cannot provide several data points of all events, relevant situations, and members' sensemaking of them. However, data provides several data when they are describing an episode. This causes simplification. For example, the event of the meeting of health and safety officer arraigned at People is well described in the data, but different interpretations what the meeting was about, why different parties acted as they acted and how things are after are gathered from multiple interviews, observations of discussions and observations of activity from a two months period. These several sources allow making generalizations of how the situation was interpreted and how it affected practices by different parties.

Episodic observation of the flow of happening of a case help to identify parties of members who participate in the activity but also a way to identify engaged activity and views used by the parties. Episodes group period when similar activities were conducted, and similar beliefs existed among parties highlighting differences and similarities.

The third step of within-case analyses focuses on the narratives of each party of members who participated in these episodes. Narratives of a party described reasons, views, and actions in the social context such as party members experienced it. By focusing on narratives, analyses weaved episodes together. Narratives help to identify how activities of episode feed interpretations and activities of the following episodes by describing how members use previous happenings of previous episodes to explain the current situation and their own activities. By focusing on narratives analyses highlight how members make sense of previous activities and learn from them to take further actions. It helps to identify how parties internalize ideas and activities turn to self-evident routines.

3.5.2 Cross-case analyses

Episodic analyzes of data described the change activity as a narrative. The episodic view of change activity was the source of the cross-case analyses. The cross-case analyzes raised the level of abstraction by comparing change activity inside a single episode and between episodes to find concept and relation from the selected data. This is done by theming findings until new relations are not found. Analyses used a thematic approach (for example, Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The coding process was messy until similarities and differences started to emerge. The process was continued until data seemed to make sense, locking some codes and leading to the iteration of some other codes. Second-order themes were searched by asking questions that highlighted what was going on from the participants' perspectives where aggregate categories were formed by asking questions about how this affected to change process. The process was inductive, but awareness of theoretical background fed the process even systematically use of theoretical sources was not part of the analyses.

3.6 Known shortcomings and their resolution

It is important to acknowledge limitations regarding analyzing, interpreting, and explaining. To systematically consider possible shortcomings of the trustworthiness of this study following areas of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability are evaluated (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). Description of these areas, strategies to improve the areas and stage when the procedures are taken is presented in Table 4. Major issues and their resolutions are presented below.

A big challenge to credibility is the investigator's focus that affects to informants' attention that is especially critical in cultural change studies (Meyerson & Martin, 1987). Credibility refers to the confidence that can be placed in the truth of the research findings. In cultural change study by asking questions researcher suggests new ideas, maintain topics, or make them salient affecting informants view of the world. The investigator's impact is also extended when there is a trust between informant and investigator. From the change perspective, the investigator's attention to a particular issue might create an impression that the issue is more significant than it would be otherwise and changes how the change activity would have been conducted. This effect cannot be totally avoided, but it was minimized by maintaining an informant orientated inquiry and limit targeted questions only for triangulation purposes. Open inquiry directs informants to tell about issues that matter to them, for example asking, "what has been in your mind recently?" and focusing on those topics. Also, other means are used to respond to the credibility challenge as triangulation and prolonged engagements with informants. Prolonged engagements refer to “[l]asting presence during observation of long interviews or long-lasting engagement in the field with participants. Investing sufficient time to become familiar with the setting and context, to test for misinformation, to build trust, and to get to know the data to get rich data” (Korstjens & Moser, 2018:121).

The naturalistic inquiry has risks of falling low on the transferability of its results. This study has two source organizations, including rather a small group of individuals. Transferability can be achieved when the context where the cultural change happens is understood properly, and thus the reader can evaluate if the context is similar and thus, results can be expected to apply. This study utilizes mean to provide the thick description in the form of a narrative to provide an illustration of actions and the context where those actions happen. Secondly, ‘Gioia methodology’ (Gioia et al., 2013) is applied to make the transition from raw empirical data to theoretical concepts, and relations is done as transparent as possible. This allows the reader to evaluate to what extend results can be transferred.

This study responds to the dependability challenges. The dependability refers to the consistency of inquiry processes used. First, the amount of longitudinal data gathered from different sources is extensive, and findings are triangulated (Flick, 2004). Second, confirming descriptions of events by informant audit referring that descriptions acknowledge multiple informants’ narratives, and secondly, key events are confirmed by the key informant afterward. Third, providing a thick description of the events and how empirical data is connected to theoretical concepts enable the reader to evaluate the consistency of the findings and empirical data.

Confirmability issues are essentially present in naturalistic inquire. Confirmability refers to the degree to which the findings of the research study could be confirmed by other researchers focusing on the researcher's neutrality. Researcher’s conceptions of the world are theory-laden (Easton, 2010), and thus, it affects that is seen and identified. Secondly, a researcher is affected by the social interaction that may promote particular observations. Thereby exploring results are always affected to some extent by internalized assumptions and interactions. Three means were used to reduce the confirmability challenge. First, the investigator kept a diary to record and critically evaluate ideas and emotional reactions during data collection. Secondly, Gioia methodology (Gioia et al., 2013). was used to keep close link empirical observation and theoretical findings revealing flaws and biased thinking when assumptions were compared to findings. Third, data gathering was organized such that the investigator was absent from an organization several months before returning. These breaks allow more space to move between insider and outsider perspectives.

Table 4 Areas of trustworthiness of the study. (Modified from Korstjens & Moser, 2018)

Test and description	**Strategy**	**Stage**
Credibility The confidence that can be placed in the truth of the research findings.	Triangulation	Data collection
	Prolonged engagement	Data collection
	Informant orientated inquiry	Data collection
Transferability The degree to which the results of qualitative research can be transferred to other contexts or settings with other respondents.	Thick description	Data collection
	Gioia methodology	Data analyzes
Dependability The consistency of the inquiry processes used over time.	Informant audit	Data analyzes
	Thick description	Data analyzes
	Triangulation	Data collection
Confirmability The degree to which the findings of the research study could be confirmed by other researchers.	Diary	Data collection and analyzes
	Gioia methodology	Data analyzes
	Breaks in data collection	Data collection

4. FINDINGS

This section walks through three sub-studies that are conducted to analyze change activity in the cultural change context. The three sub-studies were used to investigate the phenomenon using different theoretical lenses, thereby answering the research question and sub-questions. Sub-studies were conducted in the presented order, and findings of the previous study directed a focus of following sub-study.

The first sub-study answers to the research question: *How does the organizational members' change activity influence on cultural features of an organization*? This is done by adopting the theoretical frame of negotiations to understand how conflicting views animate interaction that triggers changes in cultural features. It follows Canato and her colleagues (2013) and uses sensemaking lens to understand how activity during the negotiation affects to internalization of beliefs. The findings of this study suggest that negotiation activity itself is a strong source of changes in cultural features, not only the negotiated outcome. Further, the findings also highlight that activity that break-norms is more likely to trigger changes in cultural features of the organization.

The second sub-study builds on the findings of the first sub-study by revealing a deeper understanding of the antecedents of members' behavior in challenging established cultural features. In detail, it aims at answering to the first sub-question: *Why members engage in actions that challenge established cultural features within an organization?* To do so, the study adopts a norm-breaking theoretical lens. This investigation suggests that norm-breaking most likely happens in a social setting where norm-breaker's sub-group supports the action. This finding highlights a need to understand further the contribution of in-group dynamics in explaining the change in the cultural features of an organization.

The third sub-study elaborates on an understanding of in-group dynamics that facilitate cultural changes. It answers to the second sub-question: *How do the members' in-group change activities feed inter-group change activity in the context of organizational cultural change?* This is done by adopting the lens of resistance. The findings suggest that in-group activity generates resources for inter-group change activity.

Sub-studies are structured as following: Each study is motivated by drawing on an established stream of literature and relevant theoretical frameworks. After sub-study specific data analyzing process is described, that is followed by the within-case findings and the cross-case analyses. At last, the short conclusions are presented focusing on the main findings. The synthesis of findings from all the sub-studies and their contributions to the research question is presented in the next section. A comprehensive discussion of the findings is presented in section 6.

4.1 How does the organizational members' change activity influence on cultural features of an organization?

The first sub-study was conducted to understand how change activity may impact the cultural features of an organization. Thereby, it has two aims. First, it intends to find patterns of change activity, and second, to understand how these patterns of change activity lead to changes in cultural features. Thereby the sub-study answers this thesis research question: *How do the organizational members' change activities influence an organization's cultural features?* This study builds on the literature that studies conflicting interests among organizational members and their connection to new or changed cultural features of the organization (Ogbonna & Harris, 2015). Thus, elaborating an understanding of how cultural changes happen (Canato et al., 2013). The framework of negotiated order (Strauss, 1978) is used to understand interaction in a social setting where members interests conflict. Empirically, this is done by analyzing events of negotiation activity; how members take action to take further their desired practices, responses it triggers, and what changes in cultural features emerge from these activities.

4.1.1 Data analysis

Data analyses of this sub-study include two stages. These stages are presented in the method section, and here is illustrated how analyses conducted in this sub-study. This sub-study analyses investigated both change activity and changes in cultural features seeking to find possible relations between these two.

Stage one: Within-case analyses
The analyses started with listing events of negotiation activity, somewhat exceptional situations where organizational members suggested directly or indirectly new practices or ideas. The event refers to "discrete, discontinuous 'happenings,' which diverge from the stable or routine features of the organizational environment" (Morgeson, Mitchell, & Liu, 2015:519).

This followed by data reduction (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) by removing single act issues as they did not trigger negotiation activity. Events were analyzed what they were about to define an issue of an event. Mainly this was done by connecting act to the desired aim of the member; what the member wanted to happen as an outcome. If there was no goal or aim also defect, a problem or a challenge was accepted as an issue of the event. Events that did not lead to change practices, nor the issue was raised more than ones were considered single act issues and events related to them was removed from the listing.

Issues that did not challenge established cultural features were removed as they were not relevant to the research question. Challenge was defined that the suggested needs to conflicting with established beliefs or practice. For example, a suggested practice that supported established cultural features, but added new title or suggestion of using new tools to do the same task was not considered challenging an established cultural feature. This left a list of events where someone had acted against the established cultural features of an organization. Main events of negotiation activity are listed in Table 5

The second step of within-case analyses included identifying timespan of change activity around negotiated issues, recognizing different views and change of those views during a timespan to split the timespan to episodes.

There were two negotiation processes found in both cases around issues. Originally found negotiation issues were at People: screening practice, misbehavior of doctors and at Freedom: adoption of business imperatives and adoption of customer relation system. During some negotiations, these issues elaborated; at People misbehavior of doctors, focus later on the role of chief doctors and at Freedom adoption of business imperatives turned to the question of adoption of minimum invoicing policy. Recognition of negotiation issue allowed to set the beginning of the timespan by locating when an issue emerged at data. The end of the timespan was the last time when the last event related to an issue happened. This is considered the period during negation activity happened and defined the approximate beginning of first and ending of last of episodes. Table 5 lists identified episodes of negotiation activity and negotiating parties.

Analyzing parties' activities and narratives of participating members illustrated how participants' views and conducts changed from one episode to another, revealing how beliefs and practices changed during negotiation activity. Time after the last episode was also analyzed to recognize the outcomes of negotiation activity. The last episode included some weeks to months after the last event, and such gave an impression of what direct were outcomes. To capture established impact latest possible moment that the data provided was selected to analyze how the negotiated issue and related beliefs and practices existed in an organization. When beliefs or practices were different than right after negotiation it was tracked to find out when the change happened and track also possible factors why the change happened to recognize when negotiation had delayed outcomes.

Table 5 Sub-study 1: Investigating members' negotiation activity as contributing mechanism to organizational cultural change

Case Organization	**Main negotiation activity studied**	**Negotiating parties**	**Episodes of negotiation activity**	**Main events of negotiating activity**
People	Struggling about right screening practices	Strict nurses, Non-strict nurses, Supervisors	1. Making issue recognized	- Complaining about others' practices

				- Demanding stricter practice
			2. Taking sides	Influencing supervisors
			3. Supervisors engage in the negotiation	Revealing assessment and condemning the loose practice
	Pressuring the chief doctor adopt a new supervising role	Nurses, Nurse supervisors, and the chief doctor	1. Making issue recognized	Started talking about doctors' problematic practices to nurses' supervisor.
			2. Engaging in negotiation	- Filled danger reports - Contacting a health and safety officer - Mobilizing a patient to write a complaint to top management - Redefining intervening practice to better-responding nurses' needs.
			3. Facing the outcome	- Condemning Health and safety officer's meeting
Freedom	Demanding business imperatives	Business-orientated consultants, community-orientated consultants, Management	1. Making issue recognized	Sending a letter of demands to the board
			2. Engaging in negotiation	- Refusing to make compromises

		team and Indifferent ones		- Deciding on the minimum revenue model
			3. Coping with outcome	Avoiding expressing conflicting views
	Negotiating about adopting of CRM system	Management team and consultants	1. Failed introduction of the issue	Defining CRM as a mandatory system
			2. Making issue recognized	Recruited a pilot group and build mechanisms to make CRM more appealing.
			3. Engaging in negotiation	- Reminding the duty - Convincing peers

Stage two: Cross-case analyses

Episodes were analyzed to recognize different and similar types of conducted activity and changes in cultural features.

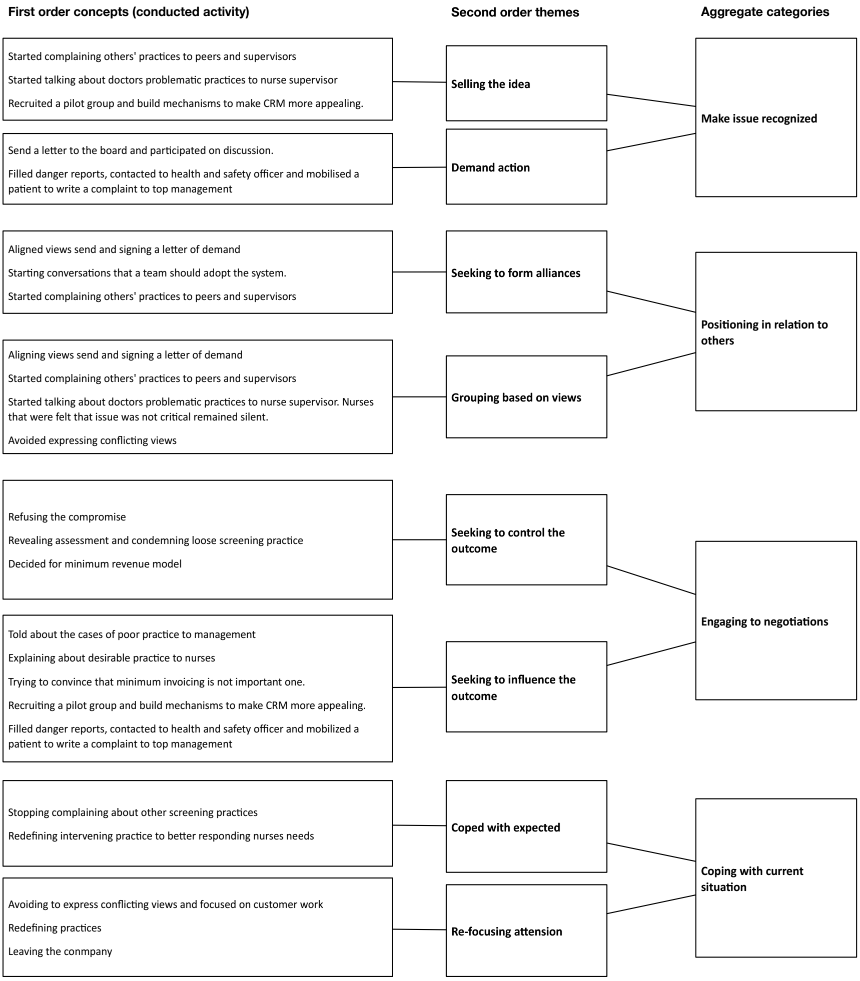
The conducted activity of negotiation was recognized based on its impact on interaction. If other members responded to someone else's action, made interpretations about it, or responded to it, the act was considered affecting negotiations and was coded. This highlights the change activity that had an effect on interaction. This formed first-order concepts where some are presented in Figure 5.

Changes in cultural features were captured by using several means. The primary source was the changes that the participants' recognized. Secondly, shared practices and beliefs were compared before and after the timespan of negotiation. Both participant and comparison suggested outcomes were tracked back to locate when they first time appeared in the data confirm their appearance during negotiation. Outcomes that appeared after negotiation and were related to the issue of negotiation were coded. Third, ideas and acts that emerged during the negotiation and participants felt new or unexpected were coded. This process created the list of first-order concepts were some are presented in Figure 6.

Changes in cultural features and conducted activity were categorized by their theme. The conducted activity was themed based on the activity's function in the negotiation process. This was drawn from the participants' perspective by asking: "what this activity tries to achieve here?" Changes in cultural features were themed by asking: “what this change is about?” These formed second-order themes.

Aggregate categories of conducted activity were formed by asking: “what is the role of this activity in the negotiation process?” Different constellations of second-order themes and aggregate categories were applied until activity made sense in the context of negotiation.

Aggregate categories of changes in cultural features were found by asking: “how these outcomes affect to group’s cultural features?” The list draws from the literature of organizational culture, even this connection was not systematically sought.



First order concepts (conducted activity)	Second order themes	Aggregate categories
Started complaining others' practices to peers and supervisors Started talking about doctors problematic practices to nurse supervisor Recruited a pilot group and build mechanisms to make CRM more appealing.	**Selling the idea**	**Make issue recognized**
Send a letter to the board and participated on discussion. Filled danger reports, contacted to health and safety officer and mobilised a patient to write a complaint to top management	**Demand action**	
Aligned views send and signing a letter of demand Starting conversations that a team should adopt the system. Started complaining others' practices to peers and supervisors	**Seeking to form alliances**	**Positioning in relation to others**
Aligning views send and signing a letter of demand Started complaining others' practices to peers and supervisors Started talking about doctors problematic practices to nurse supervisor. Nurses that were felt that issue was not critical remained silent. Avoided expressing conflicting views	**Grouping based on views**	
Refusing the compromise Revealing assessment and condemning loose screening practice Decided for minimum revenue model	**Seeking to control the outcome**	**Engaging to negotiations**
Told about the cases of poor practice to management Explaining about desirable practice to nurses Trying to convince that minimum invoicing is not important one. Recruiting a pilot group and build mechanisms to make CRM more appealing. Filled danger reports, contacted to health and safety officer and mobilized a patient to write a complaint to top management	**Seeking to influence the outcome**	
Stopping complaining about other screening practices Redefining intervening practice to better responding nurses needs	**Coped with expected**	**Coping with current situation**
Avoiding to express conflicting views and focused on customer work Redefining practices Leaving the conmpany	**Re-focusing attension**	

Figure 5 Sub-study 1: data structure of negotiation activity

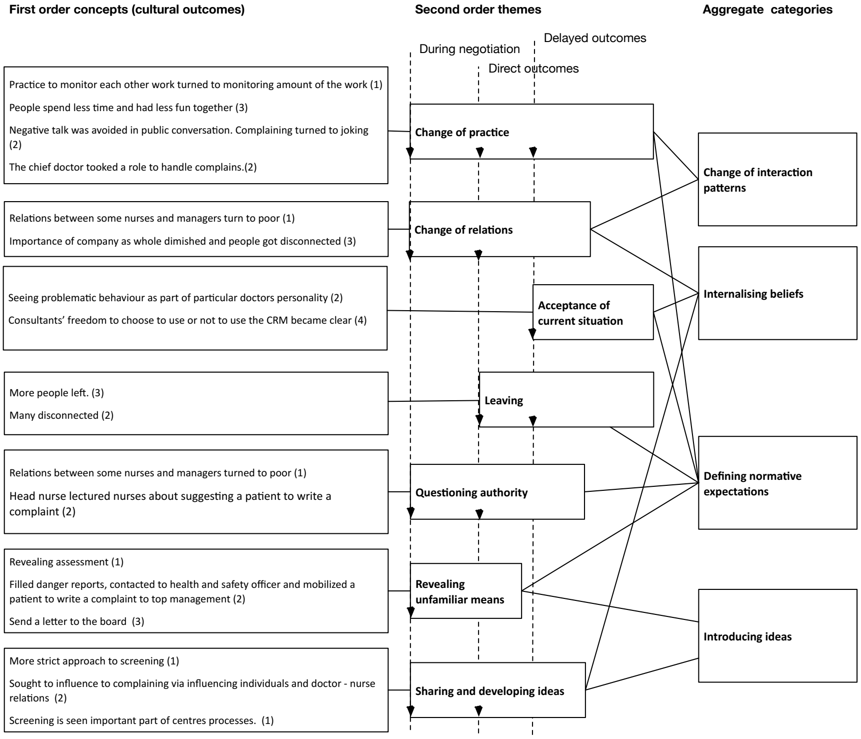

First order concepts (cultural outcomes)
Second order themes
Aggregate categories
During negotiation
Direct outcomes
Delayed outcomes
Practice to monitor each other work turned to monitoring amount of the work (1)
People spend less time and had less fun together (3)
Negative talk was avoided in public conversation. Complaining turned to joking (2)
The chief doctor tooked a role to handle complains.(2)
Relations between some nurses and managers turn to poor (1)
Importance of company as whole dimished and people got disconnected (3)
Seeing problematic behaviour as part of particular doctors personality (2)
Consultants' freedom to choose to use or not to use the CRM became clear (4)
More people left. (3)
Many disconnected (2)
Relations between some nurses and managers turned to poor (1)
Head nurse lectured nurses about suggesting a patient to write a complaint (2)
Revealing assessment (1)
Filled danger reports, contacted to health and safety officer and mobilized a patient to write a complaint to top management (2)
Send a letter to the board (3)
More strict approach to screening (1)
Sought to influence to complaining via influencing individuals and doctor - nurse relations (2)
Screening is seen important part of centres processes. (1)
Change of practice
Change of relations
Acceptance of current situation
Leaving
Questioning authority
Revealing unfamiliar means
Sharing and developing ideas
Change of interaction patterns
Internalising beliefs
Defining normative expectations
Introducing ideas

Figure 6 Sub-study 1: Data structure of changes in cultural features

4.1.2 Findings

This sub-section describes in-case findings. The section presents first the case of People and two prominent negotiation processes how members engaged in the change activity and with what outcomes. At the first one, the negotiation activity defined normative expectations and at the second one, the activity triggered the adoption of a role. Secondly, the case of Freedom is presented with two negotiation processes; the first describes how business imperatives were suggested and the second how consultants' freedom was confirmed. This sub-section is followed by the cross-case analyses and their findings.

People
The data analysis revealed two prominent negotiation processes though which members of the People organization changed the organization's cultural features.

People 1: Struggling about right screening practices
In the first negotiation process, nurses formed two groups (strict and non-strict ones) that disagreed with how the patients' screening practice should be conducted. Supervisors participated in this debate. This interaction triggered several changes in cultural features. Table 6 lists groups and compares the main cultural features before and after the activity. Main cultural changes are related

to the recognition of the groups and normative beliefs on how the screening practice should be conducted. Practical change emerged during the activity when nurses and later supervisors adopted the practice to monitor nurses.

Table 6 Negotiation activity 1 at People: Changes in cultural features

Parties	**In-group cultural features before**	**In-group cultural features after**	**Organizational cultural features before**	**Organizational cultural features after**
Strict nurses	The groups did not exist before	The group members recognized each other to some extent.	Different screening practices were accepted. Nurses monitored each other sometimes, supervisors rarely.	Different screening practices were tolerated, but the right one was recognized. Parties monitored nurses' activities more closely.
Non-strict nurses		Recognizing the group. Believing in that the members' input was undervalued and supervisors were biased		
Supervisors	The screening was not recognized especially important phase	The screening was recognized as an especially important phase.		

The negotiation process unfolds in three episodes. In the first episode, the dissatisfaction of practices grew and led to complaints making the issue recognized. Interaction highlights in-group and inter-group sensemaking. This was followed by an episode were members grouped and sides became more defined. Sense making started to define groups and parties were more grounded behind their views. This resulted in the final episode, during which the head nurse resolved the struggle by exposing the possibility of monitoring of nurses' conduct. This defined the expected norm along with the view of the strict nurses. Non-strict nurses adopted ways to comply or at least maintain the impression that they value expected norms.

The change activity lasted for nine months.

Episode one: making issue recognized

Springtime is extremely busy. At the begging of the year, the municipality reopened the center after renovations, and the center's staff returned to the center after three years working in several locations. Most of the nursing staff and supervisors returned. Unexpectedly many patients contacted the center for the services. There is a constant need for resources, led to working overtime and exhaustion.

Different ways of conducting a nurse's duty were recognized by most working the unit. Nurses were able to monitor shared queues from their computer and observe when a nurse takes a patient leading to wondering "why they have such a long queue" (34). Some nurses were seen rather strict in what issues a patient was allowed to meet a doctor where others followed will of a patient more easily. The stricter nurses used more time to understand a patient's problem and many times found alternative solutions (as giving instructions and sending home) than booking an appointment for a doctor. Other nurses worked faster pace.

Many nurses felt that there were problems to find a common solution. Giving feedback was felt challenging by many: "challenge is to intervene in colleague's practices, ... giving negative feedback ... handling negative feedback" and noticing that: "people talk behind your back but do not say face to face even if you ask" (12). "

Issues turn to be significant for supervisors as it was considered to affect the center's functioning: "there is a big difference which works there [at the screening]" (97). Management instructed: "[s]creening of non-urgent patients should be extremely strict." (57)

Episode two: taking sides

Nurses were categorized in two by the management and themselves.
"[t]here are people who work a bit different mentality" (97), "some perceive that it [screening] is a registration. They just put them in the queue to meet a doctor "(99).

It affected relations among nurses and felt the pressure. Two groups formed around a couple of members and were somewhat in a struggle. "Nurses have split in two, fight with each other" (98). A nurse describes tension: "if you draw a match, this place will explode" (88). Dialogue between groups was minimal. Discuss was aggressively cut down.

Strict group framed non-strict nurses as lazy: "easier it is when they just put everybody to doctor's queue" (99). Describing some nurses degrading as: "trick nurse" (97) referring that they made unnecessary measures to create the impression that a nurse is treating the patient.

Non-strict nurses justified their practice with better customer service. "Even the patient won't die it, I think it is terrible that a patient needs to go home when she is very sick ... some [nurses] are strictly clinical ... cold ... I don't think I can be cold" (174).

They saw that the actual problem is slow doctors. They also saw that their hands were bound: "it is a terrible responsibility to do the diagnose ... and we don't have the right to do it" (231).

Also, the amount of work was seen preventing them from conducting the work as good as they would like to do it. These perspectives were known by supervisors even they rarely were directly expressed at the meetings.

Episode three: supervisors engage in the negotiation

Supervisors did not have practice nor time to popup in nurses' rooms during patient contacts; thus, they had limited means actually to monitor how screening was done. When the managing nurse and some experienced nurses tried to figure out how to find doctor's appointment times when there was none available, they went through next week's bookings and found some non-needed ones. Many cases were not so clear what would be the best conduct based on the records. This assessment of bookings was conducted, but those not publicly addressed.

Again in autumn, then again, there were no doctors' appointment times available head nurse asked one of the experienced nurses to go through given appointments. There were several bookings that were considered unnecessary, and some were clearly against given policies. The head nurse commented on the screening practice at the nurses' meeting: "our times won't ever be enough if you act like this, you must think" (124) and told about assessment openly.

In the following unit's meeting topic was raised again by the chief doctor: "when you do screening, you need to think is a doctor the right member [to take care of a patients issue]." (129). Unexpectedly a doctor suggests: "should we have a [role of] consult doctor that can be reached more easily" (129) to support screening. Some nurses supported this. End of the year, the consulting doctor was piloted.

Epilogue:

After the head nurses talk at nurses' meeting and following conversation at the unit's meeting, the issues of non-strict screening disappeared from most of the meetings and informal discussions. Also, nurses adopted a different attitude towards it: "now people ... are more understanding" (340). Bending screening policy and tolerating it was openly expressed.

Formed groups remained about two years after taking a stand on multiple issues. Monitoring each other's work remained part of nurses' practice but now focused on the amount of work than how it is done. Some nurses strongly felt that their input was undervalued. Also, supervisors started to monitor nurses' activity more closely, which caused tension between supervisors and nurses that accompanied by beliefs that supervisors were biased.

People 2: Pressuring the chief doctor adopt a new supervising role

In the second negotiation process, nurses framed some doctors' misbehavior problematic and expected supervisors to intervene. This process describes negotiation between nurses and the chief doctor about chief doctor's expected role. Nurse supervisors participated in sensemaking and sensegiving even they were not part of initial negotiation. This activity triggered several changes in cultural features that central ones are listed in Table 7. Activity managed to change the role of the chief doctor, but it also had several other outcomes as changing the tone of talk from problem-orientated toward more neutral.

Table 7 Negotiation activity 2 at People: changes in cultural features

Parties / Members	**In-group cultural features before**	**In-group cultural features after**	**Organizational cultural features before**	**Organizational cultural features after**
Nurses	Felt some doctors' practices as misbehaving and that chief doctor was not doing his job. Complaining about the behavior. The tone of the talk was highlighting problems.	Felt that behavior was part of the personality, thus beyond change. They started to joke about the behavior. The tone of talk became more neutral.	Communication between professions was limited. Nurses shared problems with nurse supervisors.	The chief doctor delivered messages between nurses, and doctors and nurses more often raised topics by themselves that improved communication and handling of raising issues.
Nurse supervisors	-	-		
Chief doctor	NOT A GROUP	NOT A GROUP		

The negotiation process has three episodes; in the first one, nurses make their framing recognized by supervisors. In the second episode, as supervisors do not manage to force changes on some doctors' behavior, nurses acted pressuring the chief doctor to adopt changes in his practices. This negotiation activity triggered much sensemaking and reframing of the situation among supervisors and led the adoption of new practices. In the third episodes, taken actions of pressuring leads to painful meeting that turns many nurses to rethink their practices. This sensemaking leads many nurses to adopt new practices. Events of the negotiation process happened during eight months. The description of the negotiation process also has a prologue and epilogue.

Prologue

The group of doctors working in the health center was heterogeneous. Some members had been working in an organization for several years, where some had just graduated. Also, backgrounds and skills of local language varied. Patient cases commonly moved from nurse to doctor and back to nurse for organizing continuation of a treatment plan. Foreign doctors' language skill was seen as one of the big problems from the beginning. Also, the speed of treating a patient was affecting the nurse's duty and was seen as an issue especially with recruits.

Some saw doctor nurse relation non-hierarchical: "we [nurses and doctors] are equals" (174). "if you advise a doctor in their conduct, then it pops up" (173). In breaks, nurses and doctors shared the same table and conversations.

Nurses' dissatisfaction was noticed by supervisors: "it is unpleasant that our doctors are categorized to good and poor ones" (99). However, the situation was not seen problematic: "here you don't hear [blaming] at the staff lounge" (156). Chief doctor's main concern was that doctors had proper senior support them with their medical questions.

Phase one: Making issue recognized

During one autumn, dissatisfaction was formulated to weekly expressions of dissatisfaction at nurses' meetings and mundane complaining at the breaks. Nurses also had private conversations with the managing nurse and the head nurse about doctors' practices. Especially tree foreign doctors were seen unskilled and unable to learn practices. Some were concerned about their slowness at walk-in-clinic. Most of the cases, nurses managed to leave home when their work time ended.

The nurse's supervisors noticed increased dissatisfaction, and issues were introduced to the chief doctor by supervisors. Nurses saw that there was no purpose to talk with the chief doctor: "chief doctor feels kind of collegiality … he doesn't bother nor can't intervene in another doctor's practice" (210). This impression was encouraged that the chief doctor commonly took doctors' perspectives in discussions.

Also, the chief doctor was well-known to be a "fiery personality" (210) and expressing himself in such a way that "there is no doubt that he is really angry" (251). The chief doctor saw that he did not shout, being "strict" about it (246). Nurses and doctors avoid contacting the chief doctor when he was in a bad mood.

Some nurses did not share the severity of the problem with the doctors. "Our doctors are … easy to guide, especially foreign ones" and managed to handle issues with them. "I have written such the text that doctor has easy to just add the drug or some other treatment" (174). Also, some managed to operate with the chief doctor by demanding his attention: "I can say that 'hi, listen now' "(234). However, understanding voices were no impressed in meetings or staff lounge conversations. This led to the impression of consensus: "[nurses] have an idea that cause of all the problems is our unexperienced foreign doctors" (146).

Even nurses acted to mobilize nurse supervisors to intervene in problematic doctors' practices. The nurse supervisors mainly did not act as they did not see any means. "It is made clear that nurses' supervisors cannot intervene how doctors conduct their work (239). The head nurse also saw that her convincing chief doctor was mostly fruitless: "[the chief doctor] got strong criticism that 'a chief doctor cannot intervene … to doctor's self-determination.'… even he is a supervisor. … he just doesn't take the position" (239).

The chief doctor did not see issues vital as it was not directly brought to him: "If they don't bring to me, it doesn't exist [to me]." (143) He saw that doctors had their autonomy and sought ways to build shared practice respecting their autonomy.

As the situation did not solve, nurses kept complaining about the doctors and got supervisors frustrated: "this is like [raising] a one in a negative age. "(232). The head nurse "tried to get [nurses] come down." (227). Negative frame expanded to several topics: "You can hear that 'this is such a shitty place, no one bears it.' "(234). Also, nurses started to see that complaining was fruitless:" [n]o one [supervisors] really reacts to complaints "(233) and some started to suggest that "management is not trustworthy" (227).

Phase two: Engaging in negotiation

Almost at the same time, three separate things happen near Christmas. One nurse reports to a health and safety officer about the chief doctor's behavior, another nurse recommends a patient to send a complaint to top management, and some nurses file danger reports about mundane issues.

Danger and risk report is an official mean to make risk practices or situations visible, and supervisors were trained to handle them with the staff with a positive atmosphere. At People, those were rarely used, mainly in severe cases if even then. Situations tend to be talked about and practices solved without filling the forms. Now reports were about "ridicules mundane things" (228) related to doctors' and nurses' shared practices.

Supervisors also got a complaint that was delivered by top management to be commented on. The complaint tells about one of the three "problematic" doctors: "[a doctor] asked much about my husband's work but understanding in both directions was very hard. Didn't examined much. ... In addition to the doctor's bad language skills, I suspect his competence. I was told by a nurse that others don't understand [the doctor] either or get the needed help, and his supervisor don't seem to respond to complaints. A nurse recommended complaining to higher. "(228)

These acts lead supervisors to share ideas about why this happened and condemning the act. Nurse suggesting complaining to higher was seen as "a racist." (227). Supervisors saw that dissatisfaction was an expression of lack of motivation: "Many of the nurses here hate their job, experience injustice, and low wages. "(228). It also suggested new ideas as: "doctors seem to be [nurses] enemies" (228).

Supervisors had problems to see "what we could do" (228). The chief doctor commented: "I cannot intervene in general grouching" (228).

The head nurse lectured nurses about suggesting a patient write a complaint: "you can think whatever you want in your small minds, but you cannot say it to a patient" (227). Nurses responded by changing a topic to the chief doctor's temper. She saw it as a diversion: "they cooked up so that we can turn it around and they started to blame [the chief doctor]. ... They kept noise and about say that they will resign if [the chief doctor] is not put in line." (227). She also recognized a need to take the issue to mid-manager as the nurses "are so pissed off" (227) with the chief doctor. She promised to nurses to talk with mid-manager but delayed it after Christmas. Before the nurses who were targeted by the chief doctor's aggression contacted the health and safety officer. The officer also asked other nurses to describe the situation and set up a date for a meeting with nurses and supervisors to solve the issue.

These three events affected supervisors but also to nurses' behavior. The chief doctor gave nurses instructions to bring prints of miss-practiced cases to him to evaluate and intervene if necessary, but he also started raising the issues introduced by the nurses with doctors more often. Nurses participated and brought cases, but also started to send copies of their complaints to doctors so the chief doctor could monitor how they proceeded.

The complaining about doctors reduced in the nurses' meeting. Partly because nurses' supervisors controlled the topics be predefined "information sharing" (251). Even complaining moved out from formal meetings, it remained at the staff lounge. The atmosphere was described as "so negative" (230). Nurse supervisors sought to influence mood: "don't ruin your Christmas with this "(231). Nurses changed their actions toward the chief doctor. More nurses avoided direct contact with him.

Supervisors saw that the situation was about mistrust: "[this] tells me that people don't want me to know [about their plan] or want to show [me] that they don't trust that I take care of this" (239)

Phase three: Facing outcome

The chief doctor felt that the issues' public part was handled already. The coming meeting was known: "people hope that we won't have the meeting with the safety and health officer" (246). Some nurses see it troubling: "Why the whole package will be open to all for us" (243) seeing that it should be handled privately between parties.

All the nurses, mid-manages, and the chief doctor participated in the meeting. The health and safety officer lead the conversation. Even several topics were mentioned, only chief doctors' aggression got several responses, and most of the attention. The officer cut out the discussion about the doctors: "many ... told about problems with the doctors. They have passed the tests, and you need to cope with them" (256). While most sit in silence, some nurses who had contacted the officer talked: "I contacted you about the chief doctor's behavior. This has been talked several times in nurses' meetings, but intervening to it has been ineffective." This lead to an emotionally loaded conversation where the chief doctor told that he was unaware of the critic and was insulted that it was publicly treated. Nurses saw that it was a significant problem that information did not pass from their meeting to the chief doctor.

Most, if not all, were displeased by the meeting. "It was seen as the execution of [the chief doctor] and very shameful "(258). Some saw it as supervisors' revenge on complainers to avoid future complaints. Many felt that it was more harmful than beneficial: "it won't lead any changes at least not improvements" (258). A discussion of the meeting was kept in private spaces.

After the meeting, many of the ones that before had raised problems decided to take a positive approach: "to influence others with a positive attitude and example" (259). In general, many saw that complaining was fruitless to even problematic.

Also, supervisors tuned their goals, trying to affect complaining: "if I get silenced one that is most aloud other enthusiasm to complaining dies" (268) and started commenting complaining publicly.

The managing nurse also sought to build a system that could improve nurses' and doctors' relations by setting a fixed doctor- nurse pairs. She explained: "now no one takes responsibility to guide the doctor" (266).

Epilogue

Problematic practices of doctor did not disappear but complaining about it changed its tone. Two years after, particular "problematic" doctors turned to be an endless source of funny stories. In some cases, nurses went to the chief doctor with a print of a case, but mainly nurses saw that complaining would not do any good. The most common idea was that: "it is [doctor's] a personality." (345).

Ruling out negative talk was a shared practice in public discussion: "darker topics are at background" (345). If one raised a topic with "a too dark" tone, someone else tended to find humor from it or otherwise change the topic. Many saw it as key to coping under a heavy workload, but some felt that it is also problematic as people cannot express their worries.

In the following years, many who were active by raising the problematic issues, disconnected with the group; some resigned, and some sought work outside the unit.

Freedom

The data analysis revealed two prominent negotiation processes with changes in cultural features were recognized. Next, these activities and their changes in cultural features as described.

Freedom 1: Demanding business imperatives

In the first negotiation process, business-orientated consultants demand Freedom to adopt more business-orientated practices. Community-orientated consultants resist leading the situation in a deadlock that finally is solved by the management team that makes a decision favoring the business-oriented suggestion. This struggle triggered changes in cultural features that central ones are described in Table 8. It changed the shared time practices toward more selling and marketing, but it also affected how consultants experienced the meaning of the company to them. The consultants felt more important their dyad and team relations than them belonging to Freedom.

Table 8 Negotiation activity 1 at Freedom: changes in cultural features

Parties	**Organizational cultural features before the activity**	**Organizational cultural features after the activity**
Business orientated consultants	Selling activities were not a central part of the company days nor	Marketing and selling talk became a central part of company

Community orientated consultants	other shared time practices or talk. Many felt that Freedom has greater importance for them and spend free time in after-hour activities	level discussion and practices in the company days. Many felt that their relations with teams and individuals were more important to them than belonging to in the company. Rarely people spend after hours with the company level gatherings.
Management team		
Indifferent ones		

The negotiation process has three episodes. In the first episode, a consultant mobilized a group by making public demand and managed to get consultants' attention. This act makes the issue recognized. In the second episode, parties negotiate to try to get the group to adopt their desired model leading to deal lock - finally, the management team makes the decision. Negotiating parties used their means to prevent compromise, and such caused the lockdown. This affected to management team's sensemaking and led them to that participate in negotiation activity even before decided to stay outside. At least episode, negotiation activity stops even conflicting views are present. All parties try to avoid struggle.

Events of the negotiation activity took about a year. The description of the process has prologue and epilogue.

Prologue

Previously conducted fast growth followed by a low economic period and leaving of big sellers caused turbulence in the Freedom. The financial situation had got challenging in the previous four years. Many consultants felt that there was not "enough work and income" (5) and many left because of it that were replaced by recruits. Awareness of crises had grown among some consultants, but "many people didn't recognize a need for change" (283).

Historical growth had led to more heterogenic members. "Some point when more people came ... our principals, creative work, and creative community disappeared" (1). One consultant explained: "old strong [community oriented] people have left and new people have come who are more on the business side ... [before business people] have been a minority" (3).

Episode one: Making issue recognized

Controlling money streams was the duty of the management team. In the challenging situation, the management team had reminded invoicing, talking about strategy, and showed selling figures in company days with low success to change the company's direction. "We are in zero profit level all the time" (231). The management team had a problem. Consultants' role as entrepreneurs and owners made it hard to lead changes: "if you try direct [consultants] even a bit it backfires" (3). Leading to a very negative idea: "everybody does what they want. Regardless would there be shared responsibilities" (231). The company's decision-makers had" always been talking with those who need to understand is that good or bad the decision" (26) and seeing management style as "natural leadership. Others will follow if they follow" (17).

The managing team made a proposal called 'consultant path' that suggested three phases; recruitment, active and retirement, all having different responsibilities and rights. The active phase included a minimum revenue level that an active consultant must generate during a year or pay to the company if failed. The minimum revenue level had been "a topic 25 years" (22). The consultant path was presented at the board. The board had a strategic role, and many who were listened by the consultants were part of the board, including some founding fathers. The board did not respond to the proposal.

There were "several conflicts" (3) going on in the background. Central one seemed to be "a conflict between Mat [management team member] and a board member" (1). The issue was not "only related to Freedom" (1). Some consultants were aware that "operative management quarrels with the board "(283).

After the model was refused, Mat resigned from the management team and brought "together invoicing consultants ... [to] bring [the company] to crises" (231) by demanding actions from the board. Mat and 16 other consultants signed a letter of demand:

> "our freedom value ... is destroying the business and the company, Freedom is in danger to collapse or split. Consultants have a right to insist services from Freedom, but delivery is not required. ... the board is not willing to take the worry of our company future seriously. ... Minimum revenue model for Freedom consultants in active and joining phase must be created. ... We, signers, are not only Freedom consultants, but also representing 60% Freedom's sales success this year. (12)

This letter Mat introduced the letter to the board: "there are several consultants that say that they leave if nothing is done." (231).

The topic was discussed during followed company days even it was not part of the program, and it led "nearly to punch-up" (4). Two groups "became visible" (209: one who valued Freedom as a learning community in Freedom's traditional sense and another that saw that Freedom needs to start focusing on business and adopt business practices.

"Making money splits people" (1). The business side saw that change was about what the company is about "is it a country club or a corporation" (283) referring that the country club was for enjoying social activity, where the corporation was about business. "There is a camp, people who want to do business ... old spirit is wanting to ... just to have fun" (2). Less or non-working consultants started to be called as "free-riders" and leading to categorizing consultants in two: “they who generate money” and ones who do not (1). Community-oriented consultants saw that “abandoning creative approach turn [Freedom] to a regular organization … then growth as a person will leave behind” (1).

By adopting the minimum revenue model would lead to forcing everybody to work as a full-time, not allowing free-riders to exist. Quite many saw that struggle was also about forcing non-invoicing consultants to leave. It was seen as a personal issue. Some were open about the need to rid of some people: “the crap will fall from the carriage … if you cannot sell yourself …then you are at the wrong place.” (2). Forcing some leave jeopardized friendships and working partners.

Most recognized the severity of the struggle. “Freedom is its life’s biggest crises” (3). “We are in the wilderness, and our compass is broken” (2). Struggle leads many to think about “would they do better alone.” (1) and left people to evaluate “what I’m paying for … what [the company] is for me.” (2). Leadership and decision making in the company was seen incapable of responding to crises, the management team, and the board “don’t dare to make [decissions]” (2).

After some months after the letter was given, “management team is bridging the minimum revenue” to company days for decision making. (2)

Episode two: Engaging in negotiation

The management team decided to bring several internal topics on decision making at the same time with the minimum revenue model. The management team saw that: “we are not ready to handle the topic, but I think we should make the decision as we are in this situation” (17).

The discussion process moved back and forth from small groups to all group discussions. Three ideas rise from discussions. Supporters of the minimum revenue model argued that “this is about minimum contribution.” Community orientated suggested that the minimum revenue model is a threat: “if one is doing poorly already, the community will sanction even more” and” some fear that they need to leave even they would like to stay.” The third group suggested to leave the issue as it does not “affect the actual problem,” and it “is only taking us farther from each other.” Some excluded themselves from the public discussion but were against the model in small group conversations. (17)

Also, several alternatives to the minimum revenue model were given. Supported rejected compromises and more people got frustrated: “if we make this decision we will cause a battle” and “the real problem is that we cannot find a solution if we seek consensus.” The management team saw that they could not make the decision “as it involves everybody.” Finally, it is agreed that the topic is finished at the following company days. In the end, Mat makes an announcement: “I have decided to move forward. “(17).

Many saw that decision making “was not properly prepared.” Some told that they were “considering leaving” (19). And some saw that whatever would be done someone will leave. “Internal struggle is wearing out people. … work motivation has suffered” (119). Many were disappointed for several reasons.

A couple of days later, the chairperson of the board sends an email that the board has decided to adopt the minimum revenue model. It is Challenged that the decision will affect shareholders, and thus it must be decided in the shareholders meeting. However, the topic is not added to the shareholder's meeting agenda.

When the discussion starts at the following company days, it seems that the issue is not decided. The same arguments for and against are presented, and both ends remain in their positions. The discussion turns to how the decision can be made and "voting" (21) is suggested. When voting discussed the management team announces that the team has decided that the minimum revenue model will be adopted. "I don't know, is this spiritually okay, but this is how we proceed." (21)

Episode three: Coping with the outcome

After the decision was made, a group is called to formulate needed changes to the consultant agreement. According to the agreement, changes needed 2/3 approval, and they need to be presented in two company days.

Personal and small group reflection of membership remained. "Many has decided to take a retirement phase as their age allows it ... they are not, perhaps, leaving this community (79). The risk of many other leaving was still present as they did not meet the limit or were on the border. One team "had kicked out two [recent recruit]" and "shut down all accounts without telling the person." (59). The management team was well aware of the intense situation: "a risk that people are too annoyed is likely, and it might grow too big "and sought to control interaction.

In the next company days, there is only a short announcement: "new contract will be finalized in the next company days. It means that everybody's contract needs to be renewed. Everybody needs to take a stand, and everybody has six months' time to sign" (59). It does not lead to public conversation. During the days, a consultant presented his cultural survey and concluded: "Freedom is less caring." The result leads to a short conversation and claims: "something is broken" and "it cannot be fixed." (59).

In the second company days after the decision voting mechanism was introduced: "there is a sheet with names and [boxes of] ok and not ok" (79)leaving some wondering aloud and preventing the discussion. Again topic is not talked directly. When the voting ends there are 15 okays, and three not-okays of present 24 members. The change is officially accepted.

Avoidance of raising the topic in "big circle" was recognized by many: "people are avoiding to raise a topic that would cause or return [the struggle] to minds" (88). In the background, it was sharply criticized:" minimum revenue limits with sanctions, in this kind of community, is the final poisoning ... especially as it was forced" (242).

Some have left during the process. A couple of months after contact was changed "value leader" (117) had her farewell speech at company days. She was seen as a spokesperson of "people orientation" (117). More people sought to disconnect with the Freedom. Some sought activities "outside of Freedom" (115) and rarely stayed after formal evening program was over. Some felt that: "culture has already changed a lot" (104)

Epilogue

In the following two years, more people left. The number of Freedom consultants dropped to half compared to the time before the struggle. "Now, all that is on are focusing on doing business for real" (283). Most of the consultants that belonged to community orientation had left, worked abroad, or focusing on projects outside of Freedom. No minimum revenue bill was needed to send.

The management team recruited new consultants with tighter business criteria: "everybody ... is evaluated is one enough selling oriented, commercial, that wants projects and make invoicing." (209) Even leading to exceptional choices. After many had left and some new became: "diversity has significantly diminished." 242

The ability to generate income was established generally an accepted way to value consultants: "people who have most invoicing has the most credibility" (242) and "they use power "(264). Practices as introducing sales status in every company days were established, and more commonly, consultants send emails of "new deals" and received positive responses. Role of the Freedom consultant was a bit more defined as "the border clear" (201), "we are here to work not to spend time (283). However, some felt that "shared aim was not clear [before struggle], but it is less clear now" (242).

Taking distance maintained. "Freedom is like a tray, and people check what there is for them. But nobody put anything in it" (117). Very rarely, consultants from foreign branches participated in the company days. Talk about the need to focus more on community returned after a year.

Freedom 2: Negotiating about adopting of CRM system

The second negotiation process drawn from the case of Freedom describes how the management team tried to implement new customer relationship management (CRM). They managed to get the consultants' attention but failed to negotiate to implement the change. This had a cultural outcome as it confirmed consultants' freedom to choose systems they use.

Table 9 Negotiation activity 2 at Freedom: changes in cultural features

Parties	**Organizational cultural features before the activity**	**Organizational cultural features after the activity**
Management team	Consultants were given a liberty to choose their tools, clients and partners.	Consultants' liberty to choose their systems was confirmed.
Consultants	Rarely anyone used CRM system.	Some used the CRM system.

The negotiation process has three episodes. In the first episode, the management team announces that using the CRM system becomes mandatory. However, they fail to draw the consultants' attention and do not cause sensemaking. In the second episode, the management team manages to make the issue recognizes by inviting some consultants to a pilot group and engaging consultants to training. This triggers sensemaking and monitoring how others adopting the system. Even most consultants try the system it is not adopted. In the third episode, the management team adopts stricter rhetoric reminding that using the system is a duty, but some consultants openly resist. This negotiation activity triggers sensemaking and confirms the consultants' freedom to choose the system he or she wants to use. However, it encourages some consultants to engage negotiation in their teams to convince the team to adopt the system.

Events of negotiation process happened during three years. The process has an epilogue.

Episode one: Failed introduction of the issue

Freedom was phasing severe economic challenges. Many consultants did not have enough work, and the development of the selling process was the aims management team. In the challenging situation management team had limited sight planning the cash flows and saw that CRM as a "forecast" tool for them, "how much contacts we have, how much offerings, how much money we have in the calendar" (28). Freedom had a CRM system, but it was rarely used.

Marketing and sales activities had been initiated several years ago, but with no results. The challenges of marketing had been talked in company days, and the marketing task force sought means to help consultants to "meet the sales target" (15). The task force was tightly in control of the management team.

The marketing task force was working at the same time when the minimum revenue struggle was going on (see the previous narrative). Its agenda was seen as essential but suffered a lack of attention. In one of the company days, the management team published a new budget. They said that "the marketing task force has suggested raising the marketing budget [with 120%]" (17). Raising the budget does not cause any reactions.

End of two company days of intense discussion of minimum revenue model the management team announces that the minimum revenue model will be adopted, but they also introduce tree "must-dos:" "using CRM, fill sales reports, and contribute six days for Freedom's projects" (21). Public discussion is not allowed, but the discussion is directed to small groups. Must-dos do not get any attention at the discussions. The focus is on the outcomes of the minimum revenue. After the management team acts as must-dos are accepted even they are not even talked about.

Episode two: Making issue recognized

Even using the system was framed as mandatory via the must-dos management team saw that adoption of the system "should not be based on that [management team member] is monitoring." They were well aware that not all would adopt the system: "there are people who won't make the records" (61). Adoption would happen via using "our own tools." (28).

This meant recruiting a pilot group that was a third of active consultants. Soon after must-dos were announced in the spring, the task force announced that: "The implementation will start ... The pilot group will teach the other consultants to use the tools. ... The target is that all Freedom consultants will be using the new systems by the end of August" (15).

Pilot group members were given new potential client contacts generated from the client data they submitted in the system. These were seen as a reward for the “the cost” (28) of adopting the CRM. The pilot group responded well to the new system. There “never it had been like this bustle around [new system]” (46).

In the august company days, the training of CRM was a major topic. The management team was actively selling the system: “there is wealth to harvest “(59). Most tested the system, and discussion continued at the evening. Someone suggested moving a team’s “offer pool” to the CRM where others wondered possibilities of “cooperation” that the CRM provided (59).

In the next company days, marketing is talked at a more general level that activates most of the consultants to participate. More skeptical voices starts rising. Aim of adopting the CRM is downgraded to “logging in” (78). Afternoon’s CRM workshop that is half empty. The management team offers more client contacts, but that does not get public attention. Also, the focus of the management team is already turning to the next marketing improvement, “Freedom’s brand strategy “(15).

The management team was monitoring the usage of the system and told about monitoring publicly: “by the end of June, only five persons have not logged in.” (15). They also bind using the CRM to the possibility of gaining sale fees from other’s projects. Teams were asked to add using CRM part of their internal rules, and they did it. The management team saw the adoptien slow but promising: “[CRM system and sales boost] caused some positive vibration, and people are working on it.” (88).

After testing, many did not start to use the system part of their work. Many influential consultants as founding fathers and big sellers did not adopt the system and publicly avoided participating tasks involved using the system. Some felt it was about internal rivalry: “people are jealous of the customers, you don’t give information” (2). Many used their own systems to record client work, and thus there was no need for the new system.

Later in that year, the management team recognizes the low success of the adoption. A plan is “reminding and keeping on the surface” (113), but took approximately one year break when CRM was rarely mentioned.

Phase three: Engaging in negotiation

Members of the management team changed and adopted “a couple of steps bit stricter “approach but still seeing CRM as a question of personal choice: “using CRM is a rational thing. If there is not enough idea why [person] should change [his] practice, what is the benefit, it is insufficient” (197).

Recruits loaded with the expectation of using the system, and they adopted the system just to “figured out that no-one else did anything” (192). As so few used the system, it did not provide the required information: “I haven’t put anything to CRM for a year as I haven’t got anything from it (269). Also, most of the recruited gave up using the system.

CRM returned a topic via a couple of sessions in company days via attaching to be part of tasks conducted during the days. The management team also reminded: “Our contract says that using the CRM is mandatory. “Some influential consultants openly resisted: "I hate this. This is too much. I have my own system. I have promised to try" (187). Only three of consultants publicly "indicated that they use the system weekly" (187) that followed question from a management team member: "should we take your license" (201) and thus prevent using the system. The management team did not expect great results without some actions: "quite few will act ... they [must-dos] are not realized unless they are not intervened (201) and the management team did not intervene.

Even in company days consultants did not openly encourage each other to use the system, in some teams some tried to convince the team to commit using the system and gained support: "if we all decide to use CRM, I'm in." (247). Company level commitment was seen as "idealistic" (247). Even the team decided to adopt the system, no actual change of practice happened.

Epilogue

Management did not manage to trigger the adoption of the system, but the process rather clarified and defined established beliefs. Individual's freedom to choose how to conduct their work remained: "people take distance immediately if they don't feel those fitting their own doing" (209).

4.1.3 Members' negotiation activity as contributor to organizational cultural change

In this sub-section, the findings of the cross-case analyses are presented. First, patterns of change activity are drawn to suggest phases of the negotiation process. Second, phases of the negotiation process are connected with changes in cultural features to reveal possible outcomes of change activity.

Change activity as a negotiation process

Cross-case analyzes suggest that change activity falls to four phases according to identified aggregate categories in Figure 5. In Figure 7, the dynamics of aggregate categories of activity are illustrated as the negotiation process. Antecedent: making issues recognized, during negotiation activity: positioning in relation to others and engaging in negotiations, and after coping with the current situation.

Making issues recognize is an activity that makes key members acknowledge an issue to act on it. If it succeeds, it triggers negotiation activity. The positioning in relation to others is referring to in-group sensemaking and aligning views. In the phase of negotiation activity, engaging in negotiation referring to public actions that seek to influence others or directly steer the outcome. Engagement feeds others' sensemaking and aligning their views. Also, positioning in relation to others facilitates members to take public actions causing multiple cycles of these two parts, forming negotiation activity. This activity formulates a dominant view. When the dominant view is not challenged anymore, parties focus on coping with the current situation. These categories of activity are discussed in the following.

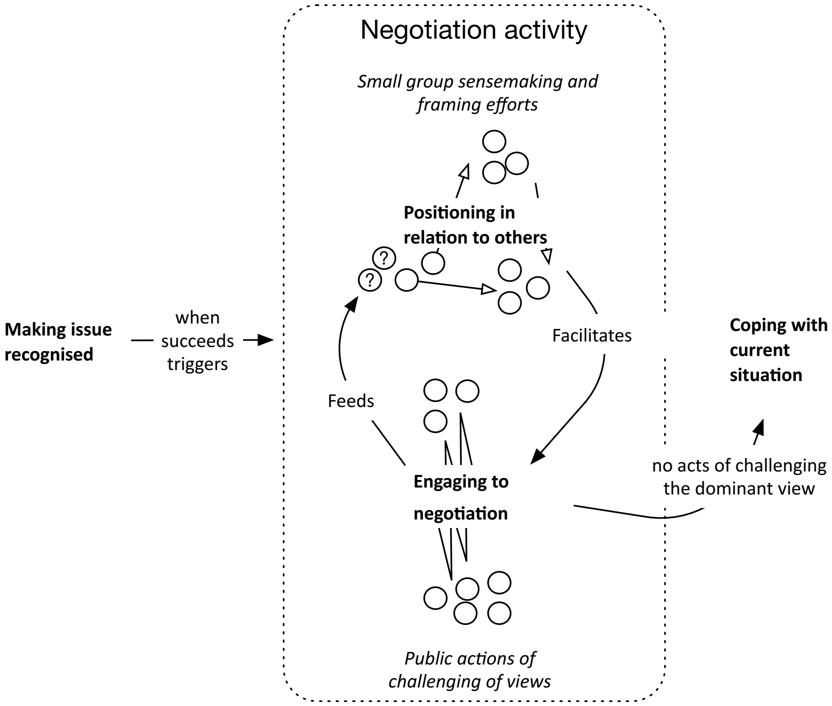

Negotiation activity
Small group sensemaking and framing efforts
Positioning in relation to others
?
?
Making issue recognised
when succeeds triggers
Facilitates
Coping with current situation
Feeds
Engaging to negotiation
no acts of challenging the dominant view
Public actions of challenging of views

Figure 7 Micro-level negotiation process

Making issue recognized – initiation of negotiation of negotiation

Organizational members, in the cases negotiation activities, felt that there were some defects in their organizations. Some members purposely seek to change those defects, and in some cases, they shared stories about them that drew others' attention and triggered negotiation activity. At People, when nurses felt that some doctors were misbehaving, they started to repeat this topic on nurses' meetings that supervisors and other nurses became aware severity of the issue. Making issue recognized can be a first public challenge of established cultural features or hidden discussion that leaks to common awareness.

Making an issue recognized as a topic can happen in several ways. For example, At Freedom, a group of consultants wrote a letter of demand to the board demanding changes, sought to force the board on public discussion of the issue. At People, some nurses started to complain about others' practices and draw supervisors and other nurses' attention to it. In both cases, a defect that a minority noticed captured the awareness of a larger group.

Making an issue recognized might fail. At Freedom, the management team introduced demand that consultants must use the CRM system, but this suggestion passed without getting attention. One reason might be that other issues were more important at that time. The management team kept the change process on and introduced a pilot group and training that triggered sensemaking.

Positioning in relation to others

Positioning in relation to others refers to sharing views and reformulating them. It has two functions for participants. It is an information-sharing that supports members' sensemaking by being able to draw from others' interpretations of what is going on and how to act on it. Secondly, it is a social activity to build and maintain relations between parties. Individual members form parties that some cases look like coalitions that engage in negotiation.

Positioning in relation to others supports members' need to make sense of the situation where someone has introduced an idea or practice. This is especially evident when suggested ideas or used means are seen exceptional. For example, at People in the struggle to get the chief doctor to intervene to misbehavior, nurses mobilized a patient to write a complaint. This triggered managers to use much time to share views on what was going on and how they should act on the situation. Some suggested that "doctors seem to be [nurses] enemies" (228) were other evaluated that the nurse was a "racist" and that was why the nurse mobilized a patient. Similarly at Freedom, when business-orientated consultants wrote the letter of demand this caused sensemaking activity that explained what was going on: "old strong [community oriented] people have left and new people have come who are more on the business side ... [before business people] have been a minority" (3). Established relations seem to be an available source of information for the members trying to understand the situation. Thereby accessible views might dominate how members make sense. Negotiation activity likely establishes new relations and maintain established relations.

Sharing views makes a member aware of others' views and puts him or her to choose her side: to align with close or important members or act otherwise. It might be hard to express non-conforming views if all others share a view thus a member might end to conform with others even not agree with the others. For example, at People, some nurses who managed to cope with the problematic doctors remained silent and thus positioned themselves with the others. At Freedom, suggested minimum invoicing policy defined parties: "There is a camp, people who want to do business ... old spirit is wanting to ... just to have fun" (2). At Freedom, community-orientated and business-orientated groups followed some extend existing groups how they to worked together. Later a consultant wondered, "People were asked to vote publicly for suggested. Perhaps then it was not voted about ... what was asked, do you want to break this community, do you want to break your relations with some people" (242). This also suggests that social relations and proximity of some interpretations likely lead to forming parties based on established social groups, but also inside a social group. At People, when nurses argued about the correct practice of screening, the two competing views spit the nurses in two groups, wherein when nurses sought changes to doctors' behavior, nurses shared a view and negotiation was between supervisors and nurses.

Positioning in relation to others facilitates taking public actions. Sharing views support forming a shared understanding of the importance and desired aim. For example, at People, nurses shared the view that supervisors should intervene in doctors' behavior that legitimized some nurses to mobilize a patient to write a complaint to top management and fill danger reports when the chief doctor did not intervene as expected. Sharing views seemed to motivate members. At Freedom, when negotiating parties refused to compromise and such lead the situation in deadlock, the management team rethought their position and decided to act, even they felt it was problematic: “I don’t know is this spiritually okay but this is how we proceed” (21). The management team was in position where they could use their power to suggest the result when other means seemed to have failed. They felt it was their duty to avoid further conflict. After the decision to adopt the minimum revenue model was made, all consultants conformed that further conflict should be avoided leading to the end of the negotiation activity. In small groups challenging views were still shared but not publicly expressed.

A member that faces exceptional situation may not have the luxury to share views with others before he or she needs to respond to. For example, at People, the chief doctor did not have the possibility to share ideas with other supervisors in the meeting where he was accused of misbehaving. Afterward, supervisors shared their interpretations of what just happened. Thereby it seems that positioning in relation to others is followed by and following by engaging in negotiations.

Engaging in negotiations

Public actions as suggestions of a new policy, condemning an act, or questioning legitimacy take the negotiation further, feed sensemaking, and repositioning. Where some members may have means to control more the outcome of the negotiated issue, others need to use established ways or invent new ways to influence key members that control the outcome. At People, the chief doctor controlled his practice of intervening in doctors’ routines and refused to intervene on doctors’ practices lead nurses to influence other supervisors to get them to act. When this did not lead to the desired outcome, a nurse mobilized a patient to fill a complaint to top management, and some nurses filled patient danger reports to illustrate doctors’ problems. At Freedom, when the management team tried to implement new CRM system they first trained consultants and hoped that they would adopt using the system later adopting more strict rhetoric reminding that it was a “must-do” even it conflicted with the established idea and practice that consultants had freedom to choose systems they use. It seems that members more likely to use established means to trigger desired changes, but if those fail, they might use exceptional means.

Some members may try to avoid public actions, but still, their passivity has an impact on negotiation as their passivity is interpreted by others. At People, nurses who did not see doctors’ behavior as the major problem did not speak publicly their views allowing other nurses to sell the idea that the doctors were the major problem for their work. This supported nurses who pushed the idea and encouraged supervisors to see the doctors’ behavior as a major problem. If the nurses would have stated that they stay out of the discussion, they would already undermine their peers’ actions to frame the doctors’ behavior major defect. At Freedom, after the decision of adopting the minimum invoicing policy was made, all parties avoided raising conflicting views in public discussion. Impression was that the opposing party had given up that directed members of that party find other ways to act. They were mainly thinking about leaving. This may mean that members may not have a possibility to stay outside of negotiation even they would like to when they are seen being a member of a social group with an aim.

Negotiating parties might not have a way to overrule other parties views or demand changes, and thus, they need to find a way to promote their view by convincing others. At People, two groups of nurses did not have means to make other nurses change their routine. Later supervisors took aside and used their authority to define expected practice forming a dominant but not hegemonic view. At Freedom, consultants did not have means to force another party to accept their suggested policy, but they had a mean to prevent compromise from being formed. These acts of low power groups and individuals still have an impact as they trigger sensemaking and may lead other parties to act as in both examples above.

Coping with the current situation – living with the result of the negotiation

At some point, members give up their publicly challenging dominant view, they are happy with an outcome or not, but they rather cope with the dominant view than keep challenging it. The dominant view refers to the view that is unchallenged publicly. Private conversations still may share challenging frames, but as long they are not expressed in public impression of dominant view remain. For example, at Freedom, consultants avoided raising conflicting views and focused on other things that allowed management to implement business-orientated practices without a challenge even though these practices were questioned in small group conversations.

It seems that giving up might be caused by several issues, first that challenging party does not have a means to affect the situation directly or indirectly. Instead of keeping the issue being topic of a struggle, attention is turned to elsewhere, and dissatisfaction remains undersurface. At Freedom, after the minimum invoicing policy was accepted, the opposing consultants focused on their work and their projects outside Freedom. Second, giving up might be caused by seeking to restore relations. Negotiation might be felt like a conflict between parties, especially if negotiation is utilizing means that question authority and rightness of current conduct or identity. A group that needs to work together, likely value to some extent harmony and ability to work together in civilized ways. Thus, a group might want to stop challenging others' views to restore relations. At Freedom, avoidance of conflict after the decision to adopt the minimum invoicing policy was acknowledged by most of the consultants. At People, after the chief doctor was publicly accused of misbehaving and this was strongly condemned by most nurses, several nurses who were actively raised problems decided to stop it. Third, high power members might introduce sanctions if their view is challenged, which reduces members' desire to express public challenges. At People, when the head nurse revealed a possibility of monitoring nurses screening practice conflict ended and nurses at least seemed to adopt suggested practices.

Linking the negotiation process with changes in cultural features

Micro-level change activity triggered several changes in cultural features. Some outcomes emerged during negotiations, where some other directly after and some when the time had passed. The findings of cross-case analyses suggest that negotiations may impact cultural features via changing interaction patterns, introducing new ideas, leading to internalizing beliefs, and changing normative expectations. Particular phases of the negotiation feed particular outcomes. In Figure 8, outcomes are linked to phases of negotiation. Next, changes in cultural features are described and after they are linked to change activity.

Changing interaction patterns

Interaction patterns refer to social practices that most of its members have adopted. For example, at People, nurses adopted an informal practice to monitor each other's work. Informal practices were affected greatly by the changes in relations between members and groups. For example, at Freedom, the struggle affected consultants felt the importance of the company that was manifested via low participation in companywide optional activities.

Introducing new ideas

Ideas refer to ways of interpreting things and situations, new models of action, aims, and identities. Ideas are acknowledged by most of the group members and may be used by some. For example, at People, nurses complaining about doctors and chief doctors framing relation as "enemies" lead also the managing nurse to rethink the problem as a defect in nurse-doctor relations. At Freedom, a party sent a letter of demand; it was recognized by all and was not rejected or framed as impropriate suggesting that this mean could possibly be used later.

Internalizing beliefs

Internalizing beliefs refers to that most group members have adopted an idea. Introducing ideas is becoming aware of the idea, whereas internalizing refers to adopting ideas part of a member's way of interpreting and guiding his or her behavior. For example, at People, nurses adopted the view that complaining about doctors was fruitless, and many started to suggest that doctors' behavior was part of particular doctors' personality, thus unchangeable. At Freedom, during the discussion about the adoption of CRM system, consultants’ freedom to make decisions by themselves became evident, even using the system was mandatory according to company rules.

Defining normative expectations

Defining normative expectations refers to a belief of an expected way of doing or thinking that most group members share. These ideas are acknowledged; thus, members may use them, but they are not necessarily adopted. For example, at People, the chief doctor became aware of the role of being the doctor's supervisor, that nurses expected of him. At Freedom, after the decision to adopt minimum invoicing policy, marketing and selling talk became established and accepted part of company days.

Change activity’s impact on the changes in cultural features

Next, the emerging connection between change activity and changes in cultural features are presented. Figure 8 illustrates found relation of how different phases of negotiations affect to cultural features of the group. As positioning in relation to others and engaging in negotiation activity seemed to happen in cycles, they are presented here as one phase. Next, the suggested relations are discussed more detailed.

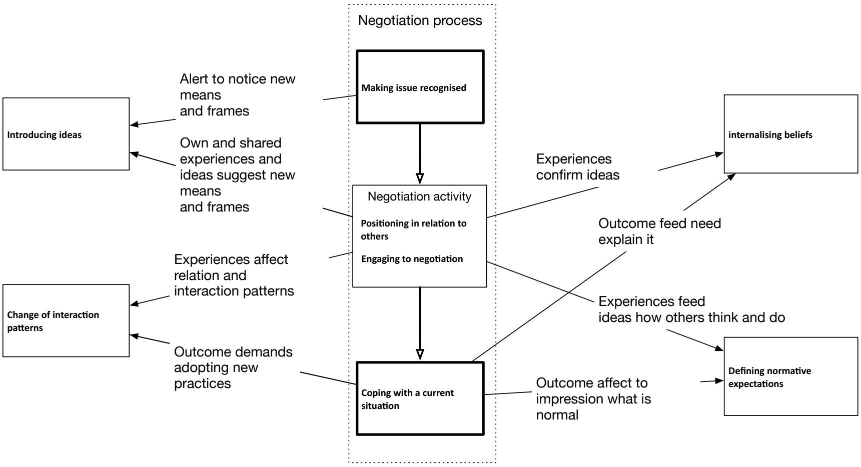

Negotiation process
Making issue recognised
Negotiation activity
Positioning in relation to others
Engaging to negotiation
Coping with a current situation
Introducing ideas
Change of interaction patterns
internalising beliefs
Defining normative expectations
Alert to notice new means and frames
Own and shared experiences and ideas suggest new means and frames
Experiences affect relation and interaction patterns
Outcome demands adopting new practices
Experiences confirm ideas
Outcome feed need explain it
Experiences feed ideas how others think and do
Outcome affect to impression what is normal

Figure 8 Relations of outcomes and negotiation phases

Making issue recognized

As suggested above, the phase of making issue recognized may introduce minority ideas to a majority when an issue is recognized by a larger group. Exceptional means used to draw attention to an issue might draw attention to a mean that was not acknowledged before. However, analyses suggest that introduced ideas tend to be first used during negotiations and thereby reveal their plausibility. For example, at People, nurses complaining turned supervisors' attention to the screening, and later it was used as a lens to analyses how well the center worked.

Negotiation activity

Positioning in relation to others and engaging in negotiation are strongly intertwined that empirically it is hard to separate their effect on cultural features. Theoretical separation is more prominent. Sensemaking is a potential mechanism to internalization of beliefs, including normative ones and such effect also relation and shared interaction. However, individuals' sensemaking if fed by public actions that group members and outsiders make during the negotiation. For example, at People, nurses started to see supervisors as biased during the negotiation and used that idea to understand what was going on during and after negotiation was over. These ideas were shared and more used to understand supervisors' later actions.

Negotiation activity may change long-term interaction patterns when members learn new ways of interacting with each other and what relations between parties mean during the negotiation activity. These activities have some effect already during the negotiation when those ideas are used and after negotiation activity when they have internalized or seen as a normative practice. At People, nurses saw a defect in other's practices and develop a routine to monitor each other that remained after the negotiation was over.

Members internalized some beliefs during the negotiations first when these ideas are used and demonstrated as correct during the negotiation. Second, conflict situations may also make members more aware of their own views when they need to take a position, and third, sharing ideas with others may strengthen views that were uncertain before the negotiation. At People, nurses' conflict about the correct screening practice made, supervisors as well as nurses, make statements about the importance of the proper screening practice. After negotiation was over, screening was still seen as one central process affecting the performance of the center. At Freedom, discussion about the CRM system demonstrated "must-dos" as the management team called were not mandatory. Many consultants observed how influential consultants openly resist the demand and were able to recognize that their peers did not use the system. This confirmed the belief that using the system was voluntary.

Negotiation activity also fed normative expectations when members revealed their views and acted during the negotiation activity. Others' reactions to what is said and done allow members to make assumptions of the group's expectations. For example, at People, many positioned to condemn health and safety officers meeting as a public lynching of the chief doctor that confirmed the norm of avoiding giving direct negative feedback. At Freedom, the management team suggested using the system as mandatory and many new recruits adopted, but later gave up after monitoring how few others were using the system.

Negotiation activity also introduced new ideas when in and out-group interaction suggested new views and models of action. When members are trying to convince others, they may introduce ideas that may be new for the majority or minority. For example, at People, the chief doctor tried to understand what was going on between nurses and doctors and described their relations as being "enemies." This made the managing nurse think about nurse – doctor relations more generally compared to nurses' relations to particular doctors.

Coping with the current situation

Coping with a situation may cause changes in interaction patterns when a group needs to fit their established beliefs and practices with new expectations. For example, At Freedom, after the struggle about minimum invoicing policy was over it followed by adoption several business-orientated practices but also that consultants who found less attached to the company started to spend less free time in company events.

When an outcome is not desirable, members internalized beliefs, making it feel more acceptable. At People, 'problematic' doctors' behavior remained, and later it was explained as it was part of their personality, and thus there was no point in trying to change them. This idea made it easier for nurses to tolerate the behavior rather than try to seek changes.

When new ideas and practices are developed and shared after negotiation, they affect how the group sees what is a normative approach to a current situation. At Freedom, after the failure of implementing the CRM system, the conduct of consultants not using the system also guided recruits to give up using the system as same as others.

4.1.4 Summary of findings related to the change activity's impact on cultural features of the organization

Research question 1: How does the organizational members' change activities influence an organization's cultural features?

Primary finding 1: Both negotiations activity and its results trigger changes in the cultural features of the organization.

In the first sub-study, a negotiation perspective to change activity was applied to understand relations between activity and changes in the cultural features of the organization. The findings indicate that members' negotiation activity itself, besides its outcome, is a strong source of change in an organization's cultural features. During negotiations negotiating parties formulate, test, and internalize beliefs that remain after the negotiation is over. Furthermore, the negotiation activity positions organizational groups or clusters inside the groups on different sides and affects their relations and practices during a negotiation that may become established part of cultural features of the organization.

The result of negotiation defines shared practices. Different parties of negotiation have different means to steer the negotiation, and such have an impact on the outcome of the negotiation. Low power members might need to accept how high power members steer the outcome. However, members have fewer means to influence other group members sensemaking and how they frame situations and activities. The in-group activity introduces and tests interpretation that may be internalized by the group members.

Results of negotiation more likely to benefit one party, but all parties need to live with the result. This has practical outcomes, but also the losing party may need to explain the situation to make it more tolerable leading to introducing and internalizing new beliefs. In the studied organizations losing parties, during negotiation activity were utilizing framing the suggested result of negotiation conflicting with whom they were. After these ideas were introduced and used during negotiations, the losing party had difficulties in living with the undesirable outcome. In some cases, the losing party managed to explain the undesirable outcome by internalizing a new explanation, and in another case a new explanation was not introduced, and many of losing party members left the organization.

Finding 1a: In-group activity is a central enabler of inter-group negotiation activity.

Inter-group negotiation activity seems to be grounded on in-group activity. As both trigger changes in the organization's cultural features, the findings highlight members' in-group activity as a motor of change activity. All the sub-studies highlight importance of the members' in-group activity. During negotiation, members used in-group activity to make sense of what is going on. When group members were unable to understand what was going on, they introduced new explanations that were tested and further developing during the negotiation by sharing them and using them to explain what was going on to other group members. This sensemaking activity supported members to position themselves as reformers or defenders of established cultural features of their organization. The second sub-study suggested that in-group activity encouraged the group members to break norms and such steer inter-group negotiation. The third sub-study suggested that in-group activity was used to frame out-group members as norm-breakers, trigger psychological discomfort, and separate “us from them.” All these activities made more likely that members engaged in the inter-group activity, but as well might lead to internalizing beliefs.

Finding 1a: Unexpected changes in cultural features are likely when conflicting views are publicly expressed part of negotiation activity

The findings from the first sub-study indicate several reasons why negotiations may trigger unexpected changes in the organization's cultural features. The findings suggest that when members take public actions that suggest new ideas or practices, these may be new to other parties and such lead to sensemaking among other party members. This members’ in-group activity may introduce unexpected interpretations of the situation and motives behind the activity. When the members of other parties try to make sense of what is going on, the members have the possibility to introduce new frames that the party may adopt. By using these frames, members alter their practices. The first and the third sub-studies suggest that the member’s in-group activity may change how the group sees themselves in relation to others. Another group might be framed as norm-breakers and even causing harm to the group members. This kind of framing most likely affects how these two groups’ members interact and such introduces new practices that may be established.

Negotiation activity more likely distances adopted meanings of the participating group as in-group sensemaking draws from the parties’ established views that conflict. There seems to be a constant gap of information between negotiating parties. Meaning that one party is seeing in action or situation is not transmitted to another party, even it would have been expressed by another party. This may be because another party interprets activity and situation related to their conflicting views and frames that in-group members have introduced during the negotiation. The findings suggest that when negotiation has turned to a struggle conflict tends to color the interpretations affecting adopting negative frames toward other group members’ motivation that makes transmitting ideas harder. Negotiation may also have multiple parties that all introduce their own view and uses their resources to impact outcomes of the negotiation. Finally, an undesirable result of negotiation may lead to a losing party to find an explanation that makes a situation more tolerable.

Finding 1c: Individual has several ways to affect their organization’s culture

Both sub-studies one and three indicate that members have several ways of how members could trigger and steer the transformation of cultural features of the organization. The first sub-study suggests that the first option is to seek to initiate negotiations by making an issue recognized. Especially if a member uses unexpected means, they more likely drew others' attention, not necessarily to the topic, but the action or a person. The second option is during the negotiation activity; a member can use means that they have or apply new ones to steer negotiation toward the desired end. The first sub-study suggest that low power member may use exceptional actions as norm-breaking to transforms power relations and such steer negotiation even if their established position would not allow it. One option to participate in negotiation is with passivity, taking actions that avoid expressing taking sides. The findings suggest that members' passivity is also interpreted by others. In one of the cases, some nurses remained silent when others suggested that some doctors' practices were a major problem. Those silent ones did not agree with the suggested severity of the problem, but their silence affirmed supervisors' interpretation that nurses as a group felt that those doctors' practices were a central problem.

The third option, a member could also gather a group, introduce and sell frames within their group, or publicly mobilize others to engage in negotiations. The third sub-study indicates that emotionally laden frames may be especially effective in mobilizing others, and such affect outcomes of the negotiation and the in-group's internalized beliefs and relations with other groups. Emotional expressions might be especially effective in transmitting cues of internalized beliefs as what is considered right or wrong. In-group activity may allow members to engage in the change activity among close and trusted and such be a secure way to engage.

The first sub-study also suggest after the negotiation is over, members of the losing party need to find aa way to cope with the outcomes or leave. As members may have introduced and possibly internalized ideas that condemn suggested practice as harmful members might have difficulties to live with the negotiated outcome. In one case nurses that had framed doctors' behavior as a major problem but did not manage to trigger changes to it adopted an interpretation that the behavior was part of the doctors' personality and such is could not be changed. This was used to explain why nurses gave up with change activity. Members also have possibility to leave. If a member of losing party leaves, there is fewer members that have internalized views that challenge established practice. This likely affects the remaining members' desire to challenge established practice, and when left members are not expressing their views, the rest might find it harder to maintain their norms.

4.2 Why members engage in actions that challenge established cultural features within an organization?

The first sub-study found that the cultural features of an organization may be changed by making an issue recognized, engaging in negotiation, and participating in sensemaking. This highlights members possibilities to impact cultural changes. The findings of the first sub-study also suggest that exceptional actions as norm-breaking could be a prominent way to trigger cultural changes. First, as exceptional actions are suggestions of new ways of doing and thinking, making new cultural features available, secondly, they challenge established cultural features and thus draw the attention of others and trigger sensemaking. These observations suggest that norm-breaking maybe especially powerful change activity in the context of cultural change.

Social psychological literature suggests that norm-breaking is risky for the member. Member may break-norm, but it is likely sanctioned by the group (Tankard & Paluck, 2016). This seems to be the cost of using norm-breaking and maintain established cultural features. However, some members are willing to take that risk. Taking a risk highlight role of the motivation of norm-breakers as a driver of cultural change. Social Cognitive Theory suggests that actions are conducted when they are meaningful, but also actors expect success (Bandura, 1989). Understanding how these people see the meaning of the issue and their possibilities to impact a situation could help to understand when and how cultural changes happen. This raises the first sub-question of this thesis: *Why members engage in actions that challenge established cultural features within an organization?* This question seeks to understand how members with deviant ideas become to challenge cultural features even there is a risk of being sanctioned. The study builds on studies of norm-breaking (e.g., Packer, 2008). The study is conducted by analyzing norm-breakers and reasoning behind it in the cases of Freedom and People.

4.2.1 Data analysis

Data analyses of this sub-study include two stages. These stages are presented in the method section, and here is illustrated how analyses conducted in this sub-study. This sub-study analyzed acts of norm-breaking and the reasoning behind norm-breaking to understand why members engaged in challenging established cultural features.

Stage one: within-case analyses
Analyses started with listing events were members took non-normative actions. The listing started with events that broke injunctive norms: what is typically approved or disapproved and second events that broke descriptive norm: what is typically done (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). Because these two may also conflict in the situation that originally was seen mundane, but later was revealed broken a norm, those were listed as an event of norm-breaking. Many of these situations included actions that were contradictory; even the contradiction was not expressed in the first place when the action was conducted. This formed a list of norm-breaking. The main events of norm-breaking are listed in Table 10.

In this sub-study, norm-breaking is located to flow of organizational happenings by observing them in episodes. Episodes were used to describe a context where the norm-breaking happens. Episodic view to the flow of organizational happenings locates norm-breaking to a particular moment where some personal and group-related factors exist. Episodes were bracketed from timespan based on members' views. Episodes are listed in Table 10.

To analyze social context where the norm-breaking happened parties were formed. Views around norm-breaking were used to group parties who supported the act, ones that opposed and indifferent ones. When there were several acts of norm-breaking in an episode, the views were analyzed separately to recognize parties.

The third step of within-case analyses focuses on narratives of participating members. This helped to identify how participants had reasoned flow of actions in an organization with previously suggested ideas actions.

Table 10 Sub-study 2: Investigating members' reasoning as contributing mechanism to norm-breaking activity

Case Organization	**Parties involved with norm-breaking**	**Episodes of norm-breaking activity**	**Main events of norm-breaking and a party**
People	Supervisors, reforming nurses, other nurses	1. Re-defining norms	· Some nurses call mid-manager to solve unfair practices
			· Mid-manager gives a positive response.
		2. Sanctioning norm-breaking	· Some nurses questioning the views and decisions of the managing nurse
		3. Personal freedom	· A supervisor stops development work.
	Supervisors, reforming nurses, radical reforming nurses, other nurses	4.Norm-breaking affect to sub-group relations	· Some nurses started to do "minimum,"
			· Some nurses demanded stricter intervening on peers' work
	Supervisors, reforming nurses, other nurses	5. Targeting a norm-breaker	· Nurses open critique toward nurse supervisors
			· The public response from the managing nurse
		6. Pointing out norm-breaking	· A nurse collects evidence of unbalanced contributions
		7. Norm-breaking as a power struggle	· A nurse suggests a patient complain to top management
			· The public condemning of the act.
		8. Punishing a norm-breaker	· Some nurses complaining about the

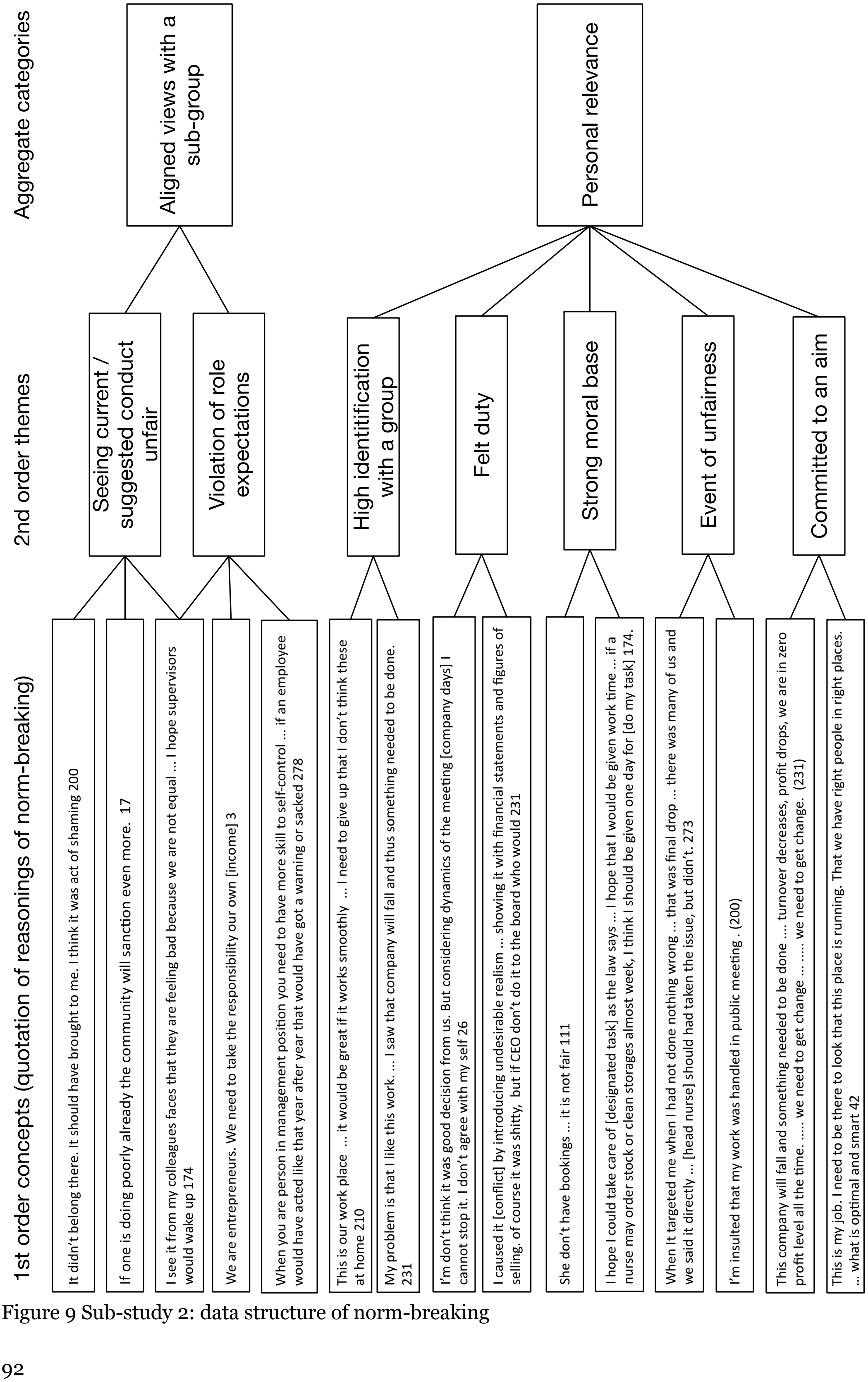
			chief doctor’s behavior to health and safety officer
			· Speaking up publicly.
		9. Suggesting a norm	· Some nurses adopt practice to express positive example
Freedom	Reforming consultants, management team, defending consultants and indifferent consultants	1. Norm-breaking as duty	· Reforming consultants kept challenging the board’s focus
		2. Norm-breaking rising from desperation	· Reforming consultants write the letter of demand
		3. Norm-breaking as a power struggle	· Consultants refused to compromise during negotiations on how to proceed

Stage two: Cross-case analyses

Reasonings of norm-breaking were listed from the episodes. These formed the first-order concepts and bases for further analysis. These form the first-order concept of data structure is presented in Figure 9.

Next, reasonings were categorized by looking at the activity from participants” perspectives and asking: “why was it important to a norm-breaker to break a norm?” Categorization formed the second-order themes.

Aggregate categories were formed by focusing on the role of the reasoning part of the change process and asking:” where these reasonings draw from?” Categorization of second-order themes and aggregate categories was repeated until all the first-order concepts found their places in the data structure.


Aggregate categories
Aligned views with a sub-group
Personal relevance
2nd order themes
Seeing current / suggested conduct unfair
Violation of role expectations
High identitification with a group
Felt duty
Strong moral base
Event of unfairness
Committed to an aim
1st order concepts (quotation of reasonings of norm-breaking)

It didn’t belong there. It should have brought to me. I think it was act of shaming 200

If one is doing poorly already the community will sanction even more. 17

I see it from my colleagues faces that they are feeling bad because we are not equal … I hope supervisors would wake up 174

We are entrepreneurs. We need to take the responsibility our own [income] 3

When you are person in management position you need to have more skill to self-control … if an employee would have acted like that year after year that would have got a warning or sacked 278

This is our work place … it would be great if it works smoothly … I need to give up that I don’t think these at home 210

My problem is that I like this work. … I saw that company will fall and thus something needed to be done. 231

I’m don’t think it was good decision from us. But considering dynamics of the meeting [company days] I cannot stop it. I don’t agree with my self 26

I caused it [conflict] by introducing undesirable realism … showing it with financial statements and figures of selling, of course it was shitty, but if CEO don’t do it to the board who would 231

She don’t have bookings … it is not fair 111

I hope I could take care of [designated task] as the law says … I hope that I would be given work time … if a nurse may order stock or clean storages almost week, I think I should be given one day for [do my task] 174.

When It targeted me when I had not done nothing wrong … that was final drop … there was many of us and we said it directly … [head nurse] should had taken the issue, but didn’t. 273

I’m insulted that my work was handled in public meeting . (200)

This company will fall and something needed to be done …. turnover decreases, profit drops, we are in zero profit level all the time. ….. we need to get change … ... we need to get change. (231)

This is my job. I need to be there to look that this place is running. That we have right people in right places. … what is optimal and smart 42

Figure 9 Sub-study 2: data structure of norm-breaking

4.2.2 Findings

People

The case is about supervisors' and nurses' interaction at People health center. The events of norm-breaking happened during two years. Several acts of norm-breaking folds around the desire of fairness. Norms were broken several times during this period of a struggle. The case illustrates how a small group of nurses via their norm-breaking manages to condemn the supervisor's behavior. Nurses are split in two, ones that support supervisors' acts, and reforming nurses who see it problematic. Framing supervisors' activity as problematic grown from one episode to another and is fed by the actions that supervisors take. It seems that these nurses become even harder to live with the current situation that motivates them to break norms over and over again. This leads to a situation where the group of nurses does not anymore agree with the actions that others have taken, and the shared idea of rightful change activity disappears, leading nurses to accept the unsatisfied situation.

The activity of norm-breaking at People highlights that norm-breaking happens mostly in a situation where different groups frame the situations differently. An act of norm-breaking is mainly supported by member's own sub-group. Table 11 summaries norm-breaking acts; how the action is conflicting with norms and is related to member's sub-group's views, and their personal view.

Table 11 Sub-study 2: summary of norm-breaking at People

Norm-breaking	**Relation to norms**	**Personal relevance**	**Member's sub-group's relevance**
Ingrid tailors special roles for some nurses "they form an unofficial management team" (18)	Nurses expect that everybody has similar duties and possibilities. "I see it from my colleagues' faces that they are feeling bad because we are not equal ... I hope supervisors would wake up" (174)	Task forces input is critical to the success of the center. "I need to put [on a flex-nurse role] these old pros much more as they know how things are done and there is no time to teach" (125)	Support by supervisors: it is crucial to get the center running well. "if we don't succeed it will be my head on a spike" (166)
Some nurses calling mid-manager to solve uneven work distribution	Hierarchy is a central part of the municipality health organization. Jumping over is considered illegitimate and is rarely done. "this must be last time. always return them back, first you	Allowing a nurse to do other tasks than their colleagues will increase their workload. "If someone is away work accumulates to ones who are present (173)	Support by nurses: Unequal distribution tasks is unfair. "it is highly important that staff is equally treated (169)
Mid-manager:		The success of the center is important	Support by supervisors: it is crucial

calling for a meeting to discuss about task distribution	talk with the supervisor" (111)	for the mid-managers career. "if we don't succeed it will be my head on a spike" (166)	to get the center running well. "goal is to make this center running smoothly" (24)
Ingrid: maintaining the role of the task force	Other supervisors had criticized the practice as well as the staff. "if a nurse may order stock or clean storages almost week, I think I should be given one day for [do my task] (174)	Task forces input is critical to the success of the center. "I need to put [on a flex-nurse role] these old pros much more as they know how things are done and there is no time to teach" (125)	Reject by supervisors: Everybody needs a possibility to learn; thus, not only a few can be assigned to special tasks. "participation should be everybody's right (109)
Some nurses openly resistant toward Ingrid's authority "people bring ... negativity toward [nurse supervisors] (243)	Ingrid had been seen as accepted as the authority, and she commonly organized nurses' work. "Ingrid and [the chief doctor] ... take care of thing here" (18)	Ingrid does not give everybody equal possibilities to take care of their work. "if a nurse may order stock or clean storages almost week, I think I should be given one day for [do my task] (174).	Support by nurses: Ingrid favours some nurse: "People very strongly think that there is ... a court" (210)
Ingrid ends active development and focuses on other projects "I have tried not to intervene much on this matter (184)	Development activity is part of the center's history and practice. It is recognized Ingrid's domain as she has been the key member in developing practices. "She feels that she needs to take the responsibility [of the center]. (18)	Questioning her authority and dissatisfaction has made her rethink her role. "This [project] is a possibility at least it is change and enjoyable balance to all [what is happening] (198)	Resist by mid-manager: development work is a key to solve everyday issues. "development is also about thinking how [center] would work better" (193)
Nurses request for strict management. "someone just said that I should start to give warnings" (214)	Supervisors rarely intervened in nurses' breaks, and shared practices were based on shared agreement than control. "you cannot monitor others and guide. it is not possible in that work." (184)	Desire to make the center work and would lower its workload and make it distribution fairer. "There are those who don't care at all they are having as long break as they want (210)	Support by nurses: shared practices do not work when some do not commit to doing their part. "why these people cannot commit to any decision" (214)
Some nurses do only the minimum "now people compete who does the least (273)	Nurses expect all to do their fair share, have high working moral: "piggish should be intervened (194)	Allowing a nurse to do other roles than their colleagues will increase their workload. "If someone is away work accumulates to	Support by nurses: Unequal work roles are a problem. "it is highly important that staff is

		ones who are present (173)	equally treated (169)
Ingrid's public speech after questioning her work	Supervisors nor anyone else rarely shared their emotions on official meetings. Mainly it was seen unprofessional. "[it] cannot go to emotions, ... not in official meeting (197)	The questioning need for her work at the center is a personal insult. "I'm insulted that my work was handled in public meeting ... is this about me personally or about my role." (200)	Support by supervisors: Criticisms should be given privately. "It didn't belong there. It should have brought to me. I think it was the act of shaming (200)
A nurse collecting data other nurses' patient contacts	Monitoring nurses work was seen as a sign of lack of trust. "trust that everybody does as much work and duties dedicated to them (169)	Convincing that her contract should be extended "she monitors [patient contacts] closely and says that we will be in trouble next year when she is not here (214)	Support by nurses: Everybody should be treated similarly. "Does this also include walk-in-clinic nurses? It should." (200)
A nurse suggests a patient contact top management	It is known practice from other centers and but seen as harmful for the unit. "outside we still want to look good" (227)	-	Support by nurses: some doctors' practices are causing more work for nurses and supervisors did not act. "[a doctor] is so slow and cannot do their duty in the walk-in-clinic." (243).
Chief doctor: aggression toward some nurses	Aggression is not seen as part of professional behavior. "When you are a person in a management position you need to have more skill to self-control" (278)	The chief doctor did not see him yelling. "I haven't shouted. I have been strict." (256)	Neutral supervisors: It was hard to work with him when he didn't control his emotions. "I don't know, can you call it shouting ... but there is no doubt that he is really angry" (251).
Nurses Contacting health and safety officer about the chief doctor's behavior	The chief doctor's temper has been well known for long, but external members had contacted before about the issue. "'it is his style' like [nurse supervisors] gave him a promise to do that" (240)	The chief doctor yelled to a nurse in a subordinate position. "he targeted me when I had done nothing wrong ... that was final drop" (273)	Support by nurses: Nurses felt that it was hard to interact with the chief doctor because his temper and supervisors should do something about it. "They ... say that they will resign if [the chief doctor]
Nurses speaking up in the session	Direct feedback, face to face, is mainly avoided and seen that		

about supervisors behavior	it most likely harm the giver and ones who receive it. “it needs to be presented so that it won’t be offended (214)		is not but in line. (227)
Nurses adopted a positive approach	Negative speak was a regular, and ones highlighting perspective were turned down. “they look me like a clown ... [what good] is not allowed to be mentioned” (265)	They started to see that complaining they maintained negativity. “those things don’t change, but talking about them constantly maintains negativity. (278)	Support by nurses there is no point in complaining, things do not change. “I afraid that nothing ever changes (210)

Using non-breaking to introduce frames of injustice

After the center was reopened, there was more demand for the services than expected. Also, the staff had problems aligning their practices. In this busy time, there was a limited time for meetings and thus possibilities to settle about practices. The only one who had to have time to listen, seek information, negotiate and test ideas was Ingrid. She became a hub for solving problems. Ingrid had been working in the center for several years. She had a long and close history with the other supervisors, and they spend some time with each other also outside of their work. She felt proud of the center's history and development practices witch some had become a standard in organizations. Even Ingrid did not have a formal position of power; the staff saw her as an authority. Staff members became with their concerns to her, she prioritized, selected, and took concerns on further processing if she considered when important enough.

Her support came from other supervisors but also some trusted experienced nurses. A small group of nurses who had worked with Ingrid for a long time formed her unofficial task force. Ingrid asked them when she felt that need more input; as to how important the issue was or how the concern should be solved. This group was also her immediate help in guiding nurses in their practices and conducting special tasks like making orders.

The task force's special role did not go unnoticed by other nurses working in walk-in-clinic. Some nurses felt that some of their colleagues were "bossing" (173) and has illegitimate freedoms not to conduct on patient work when they take care of other tasks elsewhere.

Another group of nurses felt that one of their colleagues did not do the same work as they do and felt that the nurse was freed from his tasks and was absent. They became the conclusion that this nurse was "personal friend" to Ingrid and therefore, Ingrid "favors her" (111).

During the summer holidays, when the head nurse was on vacation, some nurses asked the mid-manager to solve the unfair treatment of individual staff members. Mid-manager arraigned a meeting to solve the situation with-out consulting with supervisors. Half of the nursing staff participated as the other half was on holiday. In the session, some nurses questioned why one of the nurses was given special freedoms. Some others talked about task distribution more general. Mid-manager directed nurses to list all the tasks that they could be more evenly distributed. The head nurse complained to the mid-manager that he had intervened without consulting.

Supervisors had been aware of these beliefs of unfairness but mainly ignore it as a minor issue until the session. The head nurse had conversations with most of the nurses and realized that there were "cliques." (145). The head nurse felt that criticism should be directed to her and suggested that nurses talk to her with the problems.

Supervisors agreed to face the issue openly with the staff meeting when all the nurses were present, but this never happened.

Responding norm-breaking with norm-breaking

It took several months before tasks were listed and distributed. Before that, Ingrid saw that before tasks could be distributed, people should learn to conduct them.

> "These newer [nurses] cannot do it, and they feel that they are discriminated, they don't get the flex-nurse role and don't get the tasks. And when you try to give a piece of advice they get angry and are feeling that they are not valued" (146)

However, the head nurse resisted:

> "We just have to [distribute the tasks] ... now they [nurses] feel that [the flex-nurse role] is a reward, showing that they are valued (145).

During autumn criticism toward Ingrid grows. Two dissatisfied groups saw similarities of theirs concerning issues and felt that supervisors favored some nurses in several ways: "They are seen somehow better, they are bouncing other" (111), "get more everything, easier, and they have these positions of trust "(174). Supervisors gave great value to the experienced nurses in Ingrid's task force because of their know-how and attitude; for example, one of the experienced nurses regularly acted as a mentor for recruits.

Some nurses challenged Ingrid's authority. Some nurses questioned her decisions directly and indirectly. Supervisors felt that "whatever Ingrid says, ... it is felt that she says it wrong" (131). Some nurses publicly demanded same rights that the task force members had: "if a nurse may order stock or clean storages almost week, I think I should be given one day for [my tasks]” (174).

Conflict extended between experienced nurses and ones demanded more even practices. Groups questioned each other's know-how and use of work time. Especially defining the correct way to do screening of patients caused tensions between nurses.

End of the year, small bonuses were given to selected members of the staff. Supervisors with mid-manager decided to give the bonuses to all nurses that were seen favored and to Ingrid. This causes a new wave of expression of dissatisfaction. Some nurses leave to a sick leave that supervisors see as "pissed-off leave."

A new year starts with frosty relations were some staff members did not greet others. Some avoided the staff lounge as the atmosphere there was felt unpleasant. The idea that all the supervisors were biased spread and was expressed more often by the staff. Same time supervisors more often felt that some complaining staff members are not trust-worthy, acting improper and raising dissatisfaction. As conflict remained, the supervisors arrange a survey and a session about the working atmosphere.

The survey revealed that all the nursing staff feels that there is a problem with the climate and most expressed the need that "all staff members are equally treated" (169). In the session, a consultant goes through the survey results. At the conversation is focused on horrifying the results. Several suggest that the extensive work load caused a bad atmosphere. No one resists the view. Ingrid explains: "[tasks are given to] those who know how have done tasks ... there has not been a possibility to delegate and teach" and head nurse promises: "now everybody will be taught" (170).

After the session, the conflict seems to calm down nurses "cope with each other and are able to talk with each other in a civilized way" (184). Beliefs remained: "people don't trust, and trust is crumbling, even more, all the time. ... such is talked that supervisors should not be blamed" (210). The experienced nurses controlled their act, avoiding draw attention.

Ingrid starts to refocus her focus. She decided to cut down the development work at the center and focuses on projects outside the center. Mid-manager notices the stop of development work and suggests that the center should participate in facilitated Lean project. Supervisors agreed, but Ingrid sought to keep her distance and participate less as possible.

Shared reasoning cracks up when norm-breaking becomes more extreme

Half a year passed in a relatively calm atmosphere. In autumn top management announced that the center would not be allowed to keep their temporary staff. Supervisors and the staff felt this was a significant threat: "we cannot cope" (196). Staff felt that they were already needed to work over their comfort zone, and the cuts would stretch it even more.

Many nurses felt and shared frustration with others. "I leave this shit -talk [was] daily" (210). The dissatisfaction of unequal management turned to actions. A temporary nurse starts to monitor other's amounts of work and report the findings to supervisors seeking to get an answer to what supervisors expected. The head nurse was confused and disbelieved of significant differences. Supervisors did not take a stand on what was expected. After some nurses decided to reduce their work amount to "minimum" referring to ones who did the least. Some nurses felt that doing just "minimum" was problematic but did not publicly comment on the routine. Supervisors were aware of the policy.

Some started to demand stricter intervening in low work ethics. At the one meeting, a nurse demands: "piggish [do not know how to behave] it should be intervened (194). However, supervisors felt that they "cannot monitor and guide" (184). As supervisors did not act, it encouraged the idea that "supervisors are untrustworthy, unable to make decisions" (227).

Supervisors' main focus was dealing with the cut off temporary staff. They made several suggestions to top management to ease their situation, but nothing was accepted. The only thing that was allowed to do was moving staff temporarily between centers to better respond to low resources caused by the sick leaves. To enable this a hearing of the staff with the union presentative is arraigned. At the session, union preventatives present the idea that the managing nurse's role is misuse resources as the head nurse should handle her managing duties by herself. Staff raises their concern about the wellbeing of understaffed centers and the extensive number of sick leaves that stretch the present staff even more. Supervisors are insulted. Ingrid summaries her view:

> "I have all weekend made a resign announcement, I'm so sick of this. ... I heard that here they discuss my work when I'm not present ... gang don't figure out that they cannot wine and say whatever and whenever. ... I gladly return to my nurse work and leave all this ... there is no point me to continue if I'm not trusted by our staff (197)

Supervisors were frustrated before the session, but after it, expressions became regularly shared behind closed doors: "I just think, god, could I just leave. "(204) Supervisors sought to distance themselves taking things less seriously and seeing that "it doesn't matter what these people think" (246). Also, many staff members tried to disconnect from turmoil:" I try to keep in my room to do patient work" (194)

In the following nurses meeting, Ingrid makes a speech:

> "I'm insulted that my work was handled in public ... is this about me personally or about my role – if this is about me ... It leads me to make my personal decision" (200).

One of the nurses responds that "It is not about you as a person." and another continues: "none of us has contacted union preventatives" (200).

The chief doctor's temper was well known at the center. The topic had been discussed some times during the autumn, and the head nurse had promised to take the issue further. Soon after the session, the chief doctor lectures a nurse, but this time the nurse contacted to health and safety officer. The officer asked others also describe issues to her and got several replies. The officer suggests a session, and supervisors saw it as a possibility to solve social turbulence.

The session was arranged, and all the nurses, supervisors, and the mid-manager were present. Several topics was mentioned, but the main focus turned to the chief doctor's behavior. Two nurses talked openly about their latest experience with the chief doctor. The chief doctor claimed: "I haven't got the feedback. ... I argue that I haven't shouted. I have been strict. ... I take the feedback and hope that in future it will be given directly. ... I'm disappointed that this have not been raised even it has been handled many times before".

After the session, most were displeased. The chief doctors felt insulted. The nurse supervisors felt they were misunderstood and felt that the session was "a public lynching" of the chief doctor. Nurses that spoke were displeased that others did not express their supporting views. Observers felt that the event was horrible.

Some nurses who had displeased decided to stop complaining and sought to change their attitude: "those things don't change. but talking about them constantly maintains negativity. ... This is just a job" (278).

Epilogue

In followed two years, many who acted for fairer management took distance from the group or even left the unit. Also, supervisors took distance, focusing on projects outside the organization or left. In general, rather fast the complaining was reduced, and the norm of complaining turned to avoid complaining about the unit's issues. Some noticed active avoidance of "darker topics" (345). If one raised a topic with "a too dark" tone, someone else tended to find humor from it or otherwise change the tone as changing the topic. Also, tolerance of violation of formal policies increased. Many noticed that "people ... [were] more understanding" (340). In general relation between nurses improved in the absence of supervisors.

Freedom

The case is about reforming consultants, Management team, defending consultants, and indifferent ones. Reformers call their aim to introduce the concept “responsible freedom” which means that the company takes a step toward more business-orientated practices.

From the reformers’ perspective, the company is heading to distinction and therefore, Mat, a reformer, is breaking norms and forcing the board to talk about financial matters. When this does not lead to changes, reformers break norms again by writing a letter of demand that makes the issue public and suggests a minimum invoicing policy. This starts a struggle between defenders and reformers. Both parties reject the established idea of consensus and stop compromises. This situation activates indifferent ones and management teams to break norms to find a solution to the situation.

The case highlights both that members are strongly motivated by their position that direct them to take action, but the same time strong support that their sub-group’s views gave them.

Table 12 presents acts of norm-breaking, their relation to a norm, personal and sub-group’s relevance.

Table 12 Summary of norm-breaking at Freedom

Norm-Breaking	**Relation to norms**	**Personal relevance**	**Member’s sub-group’s relevance**

Mat’s forcing the board to talk about financial issues	Consultants usually sought to maintain good relations between members and such avoided conflicting issues. “we have learned that disagreeing means conflict and conflict is not constructing 4	Mat felt it was his duty to drive the board thinking financial crises. But also relations with some board members were irritated before. ” if CEO don’t do it to the board who would” 231	Support by consultants: Many saw that there were financial problems as there was not enough work. “There is not enough work at the moment and other have worry for future” (1),
Mat’s letter of demand to the board to drive company “on crises ... by making ultimatum” 231	Normally suggestions negotiated with key members and then openly expressed everybody if key members approved it. “here works the natural leadership. Others will follow if they follow. (17)	The company and colleagues were important to him. “my problem is that I like this work. ... I saw that the company will fall and thus something needed to be done. 231	Support by business-orientated: Many felt that something should be done. “Freedom is in danger to collapse or split. We are worried about this. 12
Mat stopping diluting suggestions	Established logic was to seek consensus: “even it would be Freedom’s way, 30 people cannot handle this matter ... the real problem is that we cannot find a solution if we seek consensus.” 17	Believe that only coercive policies would make a difference. “I remember the situation where we have agreed, but promises have not be filled.” 17	Supported by business-orientated: entrepreneur needs to take care of themselves. “we are entrepreneurs. We need to take the responsibility our own [income] 3
Consultants refusing to accept minimum revenue as a requirement		The suggested policy threatened personal relations and the possibility of staying in the company. “Some fear that they need to leave even they would like to stay.” 17	Supported by community-orientated: Belief that majority do not support the model, and it is immoral to sanction those who suffer already: “If one is doing poorly already, the community will sanction even more. 17
Indifferent consultants were suggesting a vote. ”I suggest a vote or we forget this.” 17		Many felt that the struggle caused more harm. “This conversation takes so much energy” 17	Supported by consultants: regardless of what will be the outcome some will leave. “If we do nothing some will leave, if we make changes that are needed to stay in the game, some others will leave 281
Management team decides for the		The management team was only in a	Supported by consultants: Many felt

consultant path model “management team has decided that it can decide for setting minimum revenue 21		position to make the decision. “I’m don’t think it was a good decision from us. But considering the dynamics of [the company days] I cannot stop it. I don’t agree with my self” 26	that the struggle caused more harm and therefore, it should be taken forward. “this conversation takes so much energy” 17

Breaking norms to trigger transformation

When big sellers had left, the company's income had dropped. Some had started to see the need for change also from the company's perspective, but "many people didn't recognize the need for change" (283).

The money streams of the company were a management team's duty. Mat was one of the members in the team. The severity of the situation was apparent for them: "turnover decreases, profit drops, we are in zero profit level all the time." (231). The management team, as many others felt that the problem was the extensive freedom consultants had. They could choose to work or not. Freedom-value also made the management of the company hard; "if you try direct even a bit it backfires" (3) and based on convincing others: "here works natural leadership. Others will follow if they follow" (17). By signing the consultant contract, all had agreed to meet a sufficient level of income. However, sanction policy was not used in practice. Instead, many felt that consultants had multiple ways of contributing to the community. Mat had a formal role as CEO, and he felt that it was his duty to make the board realize the severity of the situation.

Mat had been a member of the board before starting in the management team. He was replaced by the biggest owner who also was a spouse of one of the remaining founders. Mat felt that "we are trying to be owned and is this about someone is seeking to live with shares without working" (231). Conflicting relation between the management team and some board members led to the situation were "operative management quarrels with the board "(283).

The management team proposed a consultant path model that included phases as recruitment, active and retirement and set responsibilities to consultants in the particular phase. One of the responsibilities was generating a minimum level of revenue or pay the missing part. The model was presented to the board, but the board did not take any action.

After the model was refused, Mat resigned from his post as the management team member. With other concerned consultants, he wrote a letter of demand to the board "bring it [company] to crises ... [by] making an ultimatum" (231).

> Today our freedom value ... is destroying the business and the company, Freedom is in danger to collapse or split. .... Consultants have a right to insist on services from Freedom, but delivery is not required. ... We have a feeling that the board is not willing to take the worry of our company future seriously. ... Minimum revenue

> model for Freedom consultants in active and joining phase must be created. ... We signers are not only Freedom consultants, but also representing 60% Freedom's sales success this year. (12)

Mat presented the letter to the board and increased pressure by suggesting: "there are several consultants that say that they leave if nothing is done. (231). If many would leave it would most likely lead to the bankruptcy of the company.

The topic drew consultants' attention. Following company days it ended up conversations about it even it was not part of the official program, and it led "nearly to punch-up" (4). "making money splits people, for some, it is important for some it is not" (1). Business-oriented suggested that question was about "is [the company] a country club or a corporation" (283) referring that country club was for a social time where the corporation was for working. Some suggested that "there are several ways to be useful for the community; everything cannot be measured in money" (4). After a couple of months, the management team decides to bring the minimum revenue issue to decision making.

Breaking norms to stabilize situation

Even the management team was aware that the group was "not ready to handle the topic" (17) the situation did not allow them to delay it. The discussion moved to small groups and back to the big circle. The supporter of the minimum revenue model made their case about getting rid of people who did not work: "We need a limit in company level that makes intervening easier." Community orientated felt that: "minimum revenue model is a threat" and saw that it was problematic that:" If one is doing poorly already, the community will sanction even more." They suggested that not working ones were "lost" rather than being free-riders. Third groups tried to diminish the importance of the topic: "This doesn't affect the actual problem ... this is only taking us farther from each other "(17).

Also, several compromises were suggested. Parties refused to compromise such that the other party would accept. Observers got more frustrated and did not see a possibility to find a common solution: "the real problem is that we cannot find a solution if we seek consensus." Finally, it is agreed that the topic will be decided at the next company days. Before leaving Mat makes the announcement: "I have decided to move forward. ... I have been thinking can I be motivated here and come to the conclusion that I can't. When I know what I will do, I will let you know. "(17).

Only a few days after the company days chairperson of the board sends an email that the board has decided to support the suggested model. This is responded by a demand that issue needs to be decided in the shareholders meeting. In the next company days, the conversation starts as there would not have been the email at all. Similar arguments are presented, and parties remain in their positions. Fast the conversation turns back to question how the decision can be made. Voting is suggested, but then the management team announces: "board has made this suggestion... [and] management team has decided that it can decide for setting minimum revenue ... I don't know, is this spiritually okay, but this is how we proceed." Mat comments this: "now I'm ready to reconsider my staying at Freedom" (21)

After the model was accepted by the management team, opposing consultants avoided raising critical views in the "big circle." Many opposing ones left. Some who would not need to leave because of their invoicing left anyway. Many others who stayed focus on their client work.

Epilogue

Many left after the adoption of the minimum revenue model and rest focused more on their work, seeing less importance in company-level activities. Most who left were community-orientated, and remaining consultants were "focusing on doing business for real" (283). Several business-oriented practices were adopted. In recruiting ability to generate income was heavily underlined, leading to accepting individual that did not fit the previous model of Freedomer and leading to the impression that "diversity has significantly diminished" (242).

4.2.3 Why members challenge norms

This section presents cross-case analyses. It presents motivational factors that antecedent norm-breaking, aligned views with a sub-group and personal relevance. The section also describes them as part of a process where norm-breaking leads to evaluations of what the norm-breaking means that may transform group norms and trigger further aligning views in a sub-group and experiencing personal relevance. Thus, motivate further norm-breaking. Figure 10 illustrates the suggested relations between antecedent factors of norm-breaking.

The findings suggest that norm-breaking is supported by sub-groups norms and is associated with felt dissatisfaction felt in the sub-group and by the norm-breaker. It is likely inhibited by the larger group's norms that increase the likelihood that the norm-breaker is sanctioned even these views were rarely expressed by the norm-breakers. They rather focused their personally relevant reasons that many times were similar to other sub-group members. Aligned views seem to encourage a member with personal relevance to break norms. Norm-breaking often leads to public and private evaluations of the action and framing of potential outcomes. These introduced new ideas or confirmed existing ones both in sub-group and group-levels. In some cases, these evaluations led the member to be targeted that the member felt unjustified and further increased their desire to act.

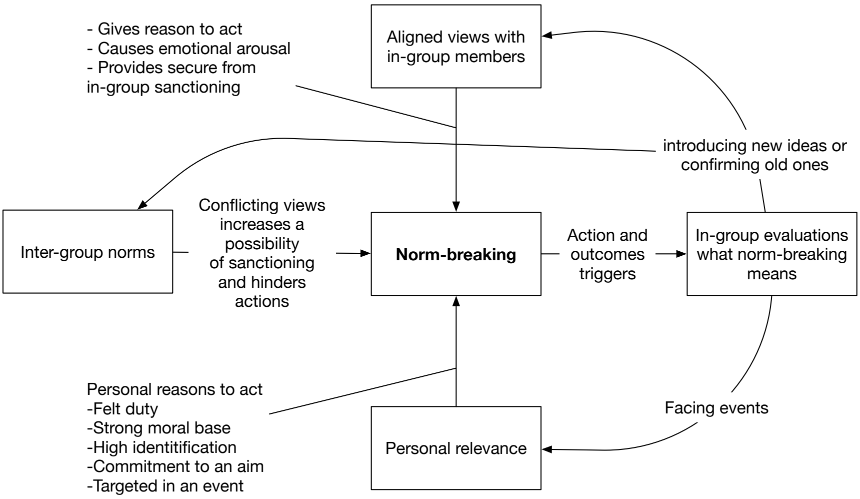

- Gives reason to act
- Causes emotional arousal
- Provides secure from in-group sanctioning
Aligned views with in-group members
introducing new ideas or confirming old ones
Inter-group norms
Conflicting views increases a possibility of sanctioning and hinders actions
Norm-breaking
Action and outcomes triggers
In-group evaluations what norm-breaking means
Personal reasons to act
-Felt duty
-Strong moral base
-High identitification
-Commitment to an aim
-Targeted in an event
Facing events
Personal relevance

Figure 10 Antecedent factors and outcomes of members' norm-breaking activities

Group norms

When a sub-group felt that there was a grievance that needed to be corrected, they mainly used normative means to correct the grievance. At People, a common way of solving problems was to telling about it to supervisors who were expected to solve them. This model was used for very long, even after trust of supervisors was questioned. It seemed that when a possible act violates a group's norm, it is likely avoided. More strongly, some nurses felt distrust more unlikely they told problems to supervisors, and later they started to use non-normative ways to influence grievance. These nurses formed a sub-group, but also they were bound by the norms that the nurses shared. In a situation where the chief doctor yelled to a nurse, most of the nurses framed yelling problematic and unprofessional. But in the session where the issue was handled, only very few were ready to speak openly against the chief doctor. Negative feedback was considered harmful to all parties, especially negative public feedback, was very exceptional. At Freedom, history of avoiding open conflicts was long. Consultants rather coped with expected that were ready to oppose publicly. Reformers suggested changes, but they were not rejected rather not acknowledged. Thereby reformers did not have normative means to push their ideas further. Later they started to pressure the board.

Aligning views in a sub-group

Norm-breaking is likely to happen when it is supported by the member's close by peers' view that encourages norm-breaking. For example, at People a group of nurses felt that their supervisors were not doing their duty, some members challenged their authority to made them notice their biased practice. Three potential mechanisms can affect the relationship. First, shared ideas give a group member a reason to break norms. Second, these ideas cause emotional arousal that animates group members, and third, shared ideas provide secure from in-group sanctioning. Next, these are looked more closely.

Shared ideas of injustice, violated expectations, images of wrong-doing and such provide reasons to group members to break-norms, take a risk to correct that the group frames as a grievance. At People, the chief doctor yelled to a nurse. This aggression had happened before with some other nurses, but they had not acted. That time many nurses shared ideas of felt miss trust to supervisors. Also, the chief doctor's temper was extensively framed as a problem among nurses in that period. These ideas likely affected to a nurse who did not trust that the head nurse would solve the grievance but contacted the health and safety officer directly to solve the issue. Sub-group's shared views generated resources to a sub-group member to legitimate their norm-breaking. Further, the shared belief that the head nurse would not act or be able to cause desired change directed the nurse norm-breaking. At Freedom, when the board refused to act, reformers felt that there was nothing to lose. The board did not seem to take their role to save the company from the economic crises. Even they did not saw a path in how the direction of the company could change, they wrote the letter of demand.

Frames of injustice, wrong-doing, and causing harm likely to cause emotional arousal: frustration and anger that animate group members. Even member would not be highly identified with the sub-group, interaction likely affects the member's framing of the situation and thus felt emotions. At People, a group of nurses that shared stories about how supervisors favored some nurses felt anger and unfairness. At Freedom, reformers framed some consultants as "free riders" who refused to do their part in generating income but used the company's services. Also, defenders suggested that some reformers had a personal agenda to get rid of some consultants, they did not like using the suggested minimum invoicing policy as an instrument. In both parties, consultants felt frustration and anger. It was followed by a refusal to compromise and thus find a solution that everyone could accept.

Interaction among the sub-group members may have created an impression that a sub-group sees a grievance as a major one and thus supports a member adopting an assumption that group supports norm-breaking if it is needed to correct the situation. Very least, it makes norm-breaking look understandable and pro-social, thus decreasing the likelihood that the sub-group members would sanction norm-breaker. At Freedom, framing among reformers suggested that the company will end up to bankruptcy if nothing is done this thereby pressuring the board later writing the letter of demand seemed acceptable, almost a duty. At People, the idea that supervisors did not do their duty grew during months. A normative way to solve issues was to call supervisors' attention, but more rarely, these nurses believed that it would make any difference. Some nurses started to use alternative ways to impact the unpleasant situation, such as writing danger reports that were accessible to mid and top managers and suggesting a patient to send a complaint to top management.

Personal relevance

When a group member also had personal reasons, they were more likely to break norms. Factors such as felt high identification with a group, felt a duty, and a strong moral base were present in norm-breaking. When members felt that the valued group they belong to was harmed, they were more likely to act that links personal relevance to sub-group's interaction that fed supporting views. At Freedom, Mat felt that Freedom was central to him as it allows him to do the job, he loved with people he felt close to him. At People, Ingrid the managing nurse felt that it was most important to get the center operating smoothly and thereby she was felt it was needed to maintain uneven distribution of tasks and liberties.

Similarly, when a group member was in a position where he or she was a key member, for example controlling resources or had an authority member more likely acted compared to other group members. At Freedom, Mat explained that he as a CEO at that moment, it was his duty to force the board to face financial reality even it meant a conflict. Later management team felt that it was their duty to direct the company out of the conflict by making the decision. At People, Ingrid as she was managing nurse and responsible for organizing tasks and duties of nurses, felt that she needed to maintain uneven distribution of the tasks to secure the operations of the center.

When members felt a strong moral base, they were more likely they engaged in norm-breaking. However, many times those ideas were the same as other sub-group members shared, but these members seem to felt them more strongly or more personally relevant. At People, even many nurses felt that supervisors acted unfairly when they distributed tasks, some seemed to be more emotionally affected by these violations of norms and the same individuals' broke norms more openly by challenging managing nurse's authority. At Freedom, during the struggle about minimum invoicing policy, some defenders highlighted that the policy directed consultants' attention to moneymaking that was against what the company was about. For them, the company was about learning and helping others.

The situation-orientated driver was often present when members broke norms. When members were recently faces an event where he or she was miss-judged or unfairly treated by others, they were more likely to break a norm. At People, when a managing nurse felt insulted when her work was publicly evaluated in a meeting. This was followed by her an emotional speech in a nurses' meeting. Later, a nurse yelled at by the chief doctor felt strongly that the chief doctor's act could not be forgotten and needed to act. Also, in a situation where a member had committed to an aim and acted on it previously to reach it but failed, they were ready to break a norm to reach their aim. At People, a nurse who contacted health and safety officer also spoke publicly in the session when most of the nurses remained silent. At Freedom, Mat, who had been challenging the board and participated in writing the letter of demand, was also central one during the struggle rejecting compromises.

Evaluation what norm-breaking means

Norm-breaking when it was noticed triggered evaluations at a group and subgroups that sought to understand what happened and what would be the outcomes. At Freedom, a letter of demand suggested that there was an issue that needed to be solved. Other group members sought to understand why the action was made and what would be outcomes if the suggested would be accepted. Defenders felt that the suggested would make the company normal and losing personal development focus. They also framed the action as an action to solve a personal conflict by forcing some members out and thus acting illegitimately. They also introduced an idea that the suggested would not solve the company's problems but would increase them by triggering conflict. At People, nurses' contacting health and safety officer and some open accusations against the chief doctor triggered much of evaluation, condemning nurses who spoke openly, re-evaluations how dissatisfied nurses felt how the change should be triggered, supervisors' evaluations what the conflict was about. This led to changes in subgroups views, for example, many dissatisfied nurses adopted the view that change needed to be trigger by giving a possible example. These illustrate how evaluations generated new ideas or confirmed existing ones feeding both subgroups and the group. New ideas may act as resources that are used to ground further actions.

Norm-breaking might also lead to events that target norm-breaker. The evaluation may lead to public sanctioning as shaming that when felt unjustified further feeds group members' personal relevance. At People, managing nurse gave a special role to some experienced nurses, which was seen as unfair by a group of nurses. In an event where the managing nurse was absent, her role was strongly challenged that triggered her to take further actions. At Freedom, after the letter of demand was publicly noticed, the defenders framed that minimum invoicing was mainly Mat's agenda, he was publicly accused of blackmailing. Later he openly rejected suggested compromises that would have diluted the suggested minimum invoicing policy.

4.2.4 Summary of findings related to the motivations of challenge activity : *Why members engage in actions that challenge established cultural features within an organization?*

Primary finding 2: Norm-breaking is often grounded on sub-groups' views of organizational problems

The first sub-study illustrated that members tend to act to correct defects that they see in their environment. Members recognized several problems, but only some were seen the worth of acting out. These acknowledged or topics that were framed as problems tented to be drawn from sub-group conversations.

In the second sub-study, situations of norm-breaking were analyzed in relation to views and ideas of members had and was shared in their sub-group. Findings indicate that actions that challenge norms are supported by the ideas shared in the sub-group where the member belongs to. In the studies cases, members who broke norms had both higher personal relevance and their action aligned with the ideas shared in the group. Often, sub-group views gave rational reasoning for action that a norm-breaker used and created the impression that the sub-group would support it. Thereby the support reduced a threat that sub-group would sanction norm-breaker.

Finding 2a: Personal relevance made members more prominent to take action

It seems that members were not ready to engage in the norm-breaking before an issue was personally high in relevance. When the sub-group shared views that supported taking actions, some members utilized established means to influence situations. Reasons as a felt duty, high identification, strong moral base, commitment to an aim, or being targeted in an event recently were reasons that motivated members to engage in the norm-breaking that others sharing the same framing did have not do. Felt duty refers that members were in a position where she had resources that others did not, and thus she felt that it was her duty to act. Members that had high identification to the group were more ready to act to correct problems they had recognized. A strong moral base refers to the internalized belief that the problem is wrong and causes a strong emotional reaction. Some recently happened situation seemed to influence felt personal relevance. First, then members were targeted, as insulted, a misjudged member was more likely to break-norms. Also, when the member already had committed to an aim by acting, they seemed to be more eager to continue and act again even, it meant breaking norms.

Finding 2b: When established means of change activity are not felt feasible members may engage norm-breaking

The first sub-study indicates that those members apply the first established means to try to change the situation more desirable. When those fail, they are not recognized or considered unfeasible norm-breaking may be the next step. Normative means were used in the low threshold. Findings from the second sub-study suggest that, when members did not see their actions to cause results, a group may frame activity inefficient. Some cases group did not recognize any established means to intervene to issue. In that situation, members with high personal relevance were more likely to break-norms to solve the problem.

4.3 How do the members' in-group change activities feed inter-group change activity in the context of organizational cultural change?

The first and the second sub-studies highlighted the role of meanings that group members share that may change cultural features by animating members. These studies suggested that cultural features are transformed by the change activity that is motivated by the sub-groups' members' views. This in-group activity seems to be critical for members to engage non-normative actions and such either make the issue recognize or engage in negotiation way that challenges established power relations and cultural features. It seems that low-power individuals are able to craft positions where they are able to steer changes either by ignoring established cultural features or transforming them within their subgroup. In both situations, they are able to extend their means to trigger changes.

The aim of the third sub-study is to understand in-group dynamics in cultural change from a power perspective. It focuses on how change activity is taking a form of collective agency by building shared aims (Bandura, 2006) and such may mobilize members to change activity. This provides a window to understand how low power members via cooperation may manage to trigger and steer cultural changes within organizations. It answers the second sub-question: *How in-group activity feeds challenging the cultural features within an organization?* Thereby, it elaborates on understanding how change activity animates in-group and inter-group interactions that feed cultural changes in organizations (Ogbonna & Harris, 2015). This is done by analyzing change activity using the lens of resistance (Scott, 1990). Resistance lens provides a framework to understand deviant activity from a power perspective.

4.3.1 Data analyses

Data analyses of this sub-study include two stages. These stages are presented in the method section, and here is illustrated how analyses conducted in this sub-study. This sub-study analyzed the hidden and public resistance.

Stage one: Within-case analyses

Analyses started with listing events where members engaged in public resistance and hidden resistance that was publicly noticed. Resistance here was defined as challenging power-relations as well as norms. Public resistance openly challenged norms and power relations. Hidden resistance expressed the same challenge but members remained anonymous from a majority, or hidden resistance was conducted among a minority such that the majority did not become aware of the challenge (Scott, 1990). Publicly noticed hidden resistance was actions that kept member's anonymity, but the outcome of the action was noticed. For example, sabotage. The situation when public resistance and publicly noticed hidden resistance were conducted listed as events of resistance.

Members conducting public resistance used frames that challenged norms or power relations to justify their acts. The first appearance of these frames was tracked to locate when these challenges appeared. Situations of first appearances were listed as events of hidden resistance. When an event where a particular frame appears the first time was unable to be located, events were assumed to have happened when three or more members used a similar frame. These assumed events were expected to be situations where ideas were introduced and shared. They were listed as events of hidden resistance. These listed events of hidden resistance were added to the list of events of resistance. Main events of resistance are listed in Table 13

The timespan of resistance created based on the first and last event of resistance. The timespan of resistance was analyzed to capture appearance, elaboration, and usage of frames. Also, other views that members had in relation to resistance were collected to form parties. In both cases, events of resistance folded around a single theme. A group that sought the change in the matter were labeled reformers, and if a group that resists this change, they were labeled defenders. Also, other groups that were recognized.

Diversion of usage of frames was primarily used to bracket episodes. Diversion of usage also included emotional expression. For example, at People, between second and third episode, reformers used the frame of inequality, but at third episode, expressions suggested that reformers felt that they were the target of planned undermining and had strong emotional expressions. Secondary diversion of ways of conducting resistant activity separated some periods where similar frames were used in two. Thereby each episode describes how the resistance was conducted at that period. Identified episodes are listed in Table 13.

The third step of within-case analyses focused on the narratives of resisting parties to identify how resistance of a party impacted activities in the following episodes.

Table 13 Sub-study 3: Investigating members’ hidden resistance activity as contributing mechanism to public resistance activity

Case	**Resisting parties**	**Episodes of resistance**	**Main events of resistance**
People	Reforming nurses and supervisors	1. Framing experiences of unfairness	· Reformers shared views of unfairness.
			· Reformers call mid-manager to solve unfair practices
		2. Using the frame of inequality to justify public resistance	· Reformers shared views of inequality
			· Reformers expressed public demands for equal management practices
			· Reformers questioned the managing nurse’s authority
		3. Feeling and expressing unfairness	· Reformers condemning distribution of bonuses to favored individual
			· Reformers are taking sick leaves
		4.Encouraged public resistance	· Nurses and reformers Condemning favoring in survey responses, but not in public discussion.
		5. Engaging in hidden resistance	· Reformers started to do only “minimum” amount of work.

		6. Encouraged public resistance	· Reformers contact health and safety officer
Freedom	Reforming consultants	1. Suggesting frame of financial crises	· Reformers challenges the board's focus
	Management team and reforming and defending consultants	2. Engaging in public resistance	· Reformers write the letter of demand
		3. Resisting resistance	· Consultants sharing frames of injustice and right conduct
			· Consultants refusing to accept compromises
		4. Framing situation unsolvable with normative means	· Consultants suggesting voting
			· Management team decides to adopt the policy
		5. Framing the process unfair	· Defenders are sharing ideas that this was only possible outcome using this process.

Stage two: cross-case analyses

Different forms of resistance were listed from the episodes. This formed first-order concepts. Examples with quotes are listed in Figure 11.

These forms of resistance were categorized by asking: "what this means to participants?" These categories formed the second-order themes. This was followed by asking "how this activity engages in-group members?" to understand how individuals mobilize their group to resistance. This connected in-group mobilization work to inter-group change activity and change process and formed aggregate categories. Second-order themes and aggregate categories are presented in Figure 11.

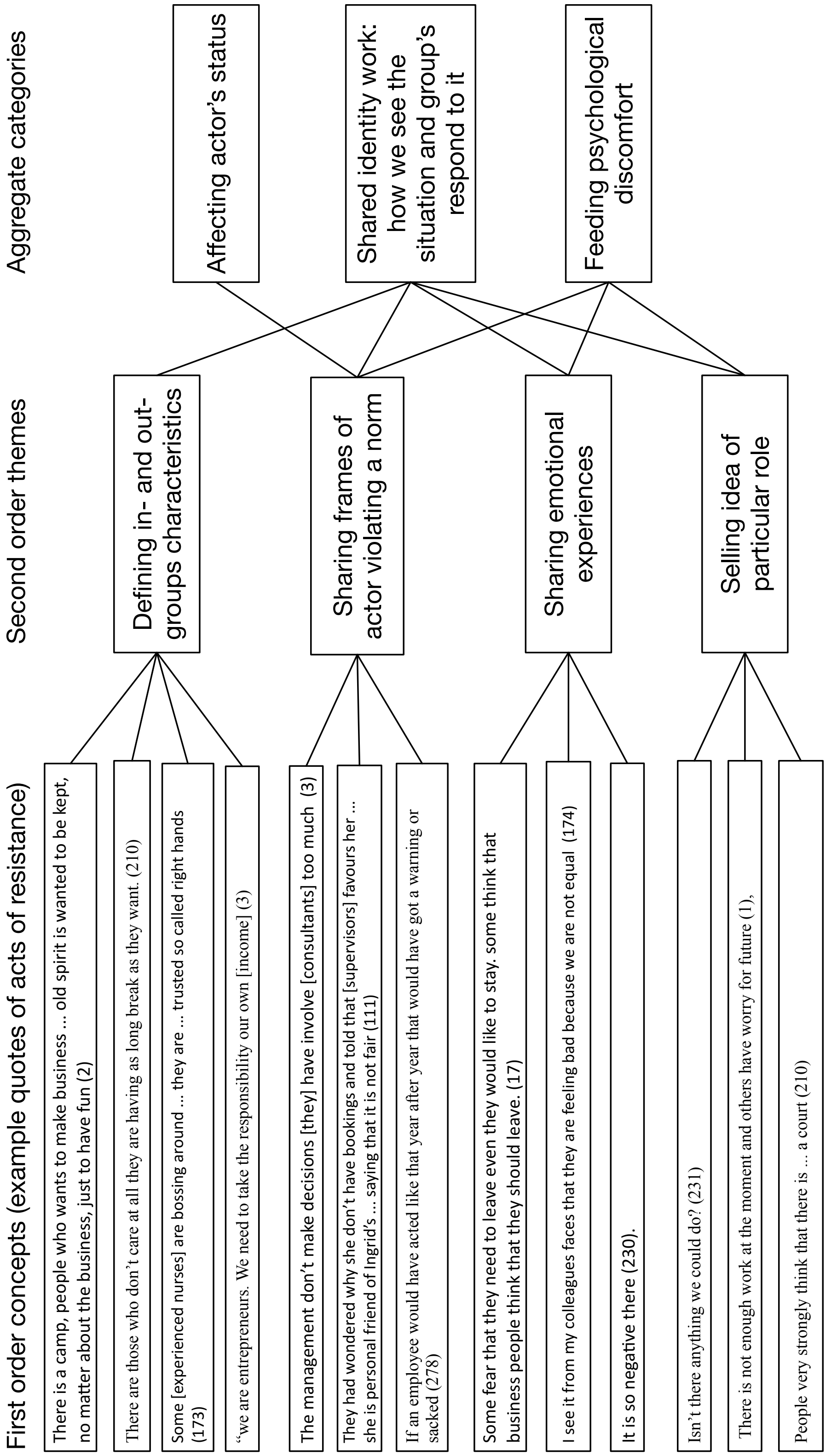

Aggregate categories
Affecting actor's status
Shared identity work: how we see the situation and group's respond to it
Feeding psychological discomfort
Second order themes
Defining in- and out-groups characteristics
Sharing frames of actor violating a norm
Sharing emotional experiences
Selling idea of particular role
First order concepts (example quotes of acts of resistance)
There is a camp, people who wants to make business … old spirit is wanted to be kept, no matter about the business, just to have fun (2)
There are those who don't care at all they are having as long break as they want. (210)
Some [experienced nurses] are bossing around … they are … trusted so called right hands (173)
"we are entrepreneurs. We need to take the responsibility our own [income] (3)
The management don't make decisions [they] have involve [consultants] too much (3)
They had wondered why she don't have bookings and told that [supervisors] favours her … she is personal friend of Ingrid's … saying that it is not fair (111)
If an employee would have acted like that year after year that would have got a warning or sacked (278)
Some fear that they need to leave even they would like to stay. some think that business people think that they should leave. (17)
I see it from my colleagues faces that they are feeling bad because we are not equal (174)
It is so negative there (230).
Isn't there anything we could do? (231)
There is not enough work at the moment and others have worry for future (1),
People very strongly think that there is … a court (210)

Figure 11 Sub-study 3: data structure of resistance

4.3.2 Findings

People

The case is about supervisors who sought to develop the center's practices and a group of nurses that felt that adopted practices were unfair and conducted both hidden and public resistance activities. Figure 12 summarizes this process illustrating how reforming nurses started by developing frames of inequality among themselves and this mobilized them to contact mid-manager to solve supervisors' practices that reformers felt were unfair. Their resistance and ability to mobilize mid-manager made the issue recognized, and the majority seemed to share their idea that tasks and liberties should be evenly distributed. However, supervisors did not apply changes immediately but maintain the roles of some nurses. This fed reformers' framing of favoring that was later used to justify acts questioning a supervisor's authority. The conflict between reformers and supervisors was acknowledged by all. The nurses' dissatisfaction to both directions was expressed via survey. Even public engagements to resistance stopped ideas maintained, and hidden resistance remained strong, leading to engagements as some reforming nurses reduced their workload. However, also reformers started to split in two. Some reformers suggested frames that suggested that reduced workloads as a sign of low morality and asked supervisors to intervene, what they did not do. This is used to enrich the frame among reformers that the supervisors are not trustworthy.

The chief doctor yells to a nurse that is framed impropriate by most of the nurses. This frame, with the previously suggested frame that the supervisors are not trustworthy, is used by the reformers to justify their need to seek help from outside. Reformers started to use new public and hidden means of resistance that utilized outsiders as making contacting health and safety officer. They managed to mobilize a patient and the officer to deliver their message that made the struggle visible and forced the supervisors to respond, partly changing supervisors' behavior more toward reformers' desires. During the meeting of health and safety officer, some reformers criticized the chief dectors behavior openly that after is strongly framed as problematic. Reformers seemed to have lost the support of rest of the nurses and give up.

In this case, hidden resistance seems to feed public resistance by suggesting frames that justify public engagements of resistance. Public resistance may lead to responses that reformers are using to create new or enrich old frames. These frames are also introduced to others.

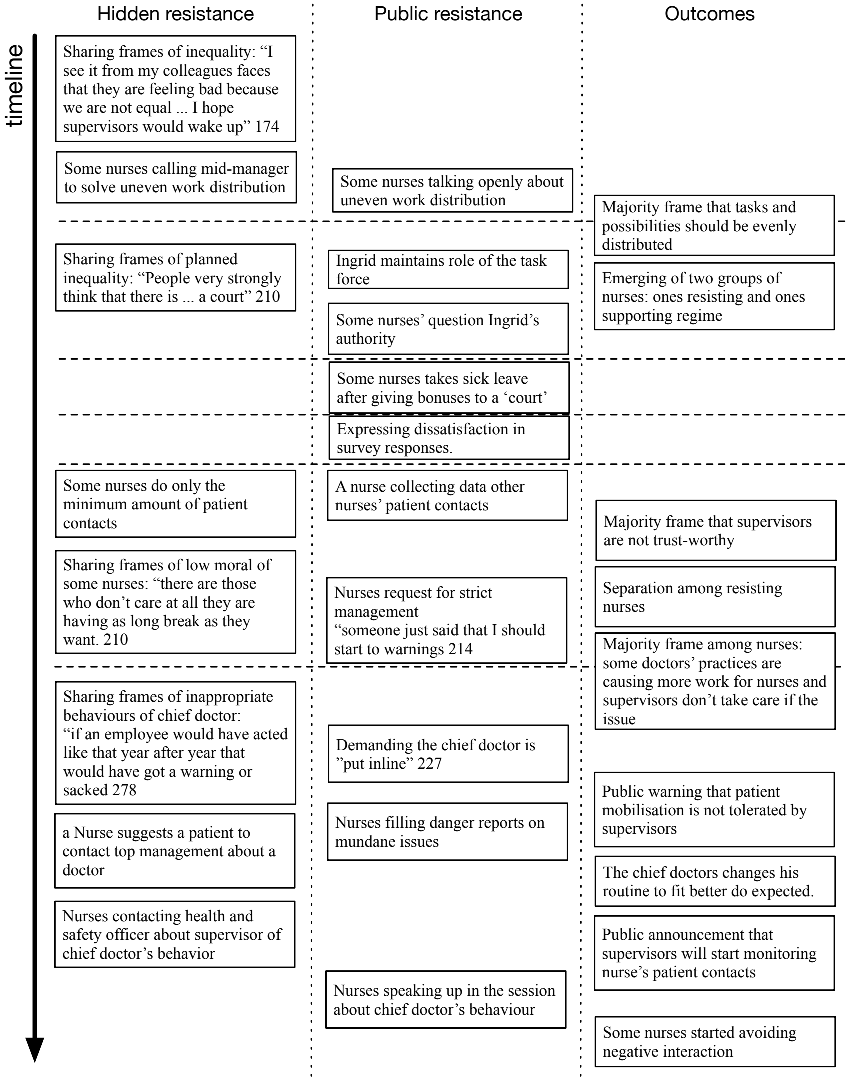

Hidden resistance
Public resistance
Outcomes
timeline
Sharing frames of inequality: "I see it from my colleagues faces that they are feeling bad because we are not equal ... I hope supervisors would wake up" 174
Some nurses calling mid-manager to solve uneven work distribution
Some nurses talking openly about uneven work distribution
Majority frame that tasks and possibilities should be evenly distributed
Sharing frames of planned inequality: "People very strongly think that there is ... a court" 210
Ingrid maintains role of the task force
Some nurses' question Ingrid's authority
Emerging of two groups of nurses: ones resisting and ones supporting regime
Some nurses takes sick leave after giving bonuses to a 'court'
Expressing dissatisfaction in survey responses.
Some nurses do only the minimum amount of patient contacts
A nurse collecting data other nurses' patient contacts
Majority frame that supervisors are not trust-worthy
Sharing frames of low moral of some nurses: "there are those who don't care at all they are having as long break as they want. 210
Nurses request for strict management "someone just said that I should start to warnings 214
Separation among resisting nurses
Majority frame among nurses: some doctors' practices are causing more work for nurses and supervisors don't take care if the issue
Sharing frames of inappropriate behaviours of chief doctor: "if an employee would have acted like that year after year that would have got a warning or sacked 278
Demanding the chief doctor is "put inline" 227
Public warning that patient mobilisation is not tolerated by supervisors
a Nurse suggests a patient to contact top management about a doctor
Nurses filling danger reports on mundane issues
The chief doctors changes his routine to fit better do expected.
Nurses contacting health and safety officer about supervisor of chief doctor's behavior
Public announcement that supervisors will start monitoring nurse's patient contacts
Nurses speaking up in the session about chief doctor's behaviour
Some nurses started avoiding negative interaction

Figure 12 Summary of resistance and outcomes at People

Developing conflicting frames

Soon after the center was reopened it was noticed that residents of the area were waiting for the Soon after the center was reopened, the staff noticed that residents of the area were waiting for it and there was more demand for the services than expected. Also, it was noticed that the staff had problems aligning their practices. In this busy time, there was limited time for meetings and thus possibilities to settle about practices. The pace of the work was high, thereby only one who had to have time to listen, seek information, negotiate, and test ideas were Ingrid, a managing nurse. She became a hub for solving problems. Staff became with their concerns to her, and she prioritized, selected, and took concerns on further processing.

Her support came from other supervisors, but also some trusted experienced nurses. A small group of nurses who had worked with Ingrid for a long time formed her "unofficial management team" (18). These nurses were asked when Ingrid felt that she needed more input; how important an issue was or how the concern should be solved. This group was also her immediate help in guiding nurses in their practices and conducting special tasks as making orders. Their skills and attitude were well-appreciated by the supervisors, who saw "old pros" (125) crucial for survival in "the chaotic" spring (6).

Task force's special role did not go unnoticed by other nurses working in walk-in-clinic. Some nurses felt that some of their colleagues got illegitimate freedoms not to conduct patient work when they take care of other tasks elsewhere. Task forces practices to direct others' work without formal position was seen problematic: "[experienced nurses] are bossing around ... they are ... trusted so-called right hands" (173).

Another group of nurses who worked on booking-based felt that one of their colleagues did not do the same work as they do and felt that the nurse was freed from his tasks and was absent. They became conclusion that also this nurse was "a personal friend of Ingrid's" and seeing that tolerating constant absence was "not fair" (111)

During the summer holidays, when the head nurse was on vacation, some nurses asked mid-manager to solve the unfair treatment of staff. Mid-manager arraigned a meeting to solve the situation with-out consulting with supervisors. Half of the nursing staff participated as the other half was on holiday. In the session, some of the nurses questioned why some of the nurses were given special freedoms. Some others talked about task distribution more general. Mid-manager agreed that the tasks and opportunities should be evenly distributed.

Supervisors had been aware of the ideas of unfair roles but mainly ignore it as a minor issue until the session. After the head nurse had conversations with most of the nurses and understood that nurses had split in two, and Ingrid was seen part and favoring some nurses. Some nurses said to her: "they are not valued as a nurse," some others were "afraid" of Ingrid and some felt that it was not a good time to handle the issue as people were "so emotional at the moment" (145). The head nurse also pressured Ingrid to distribute the tasks and roles more evenly.

Public resistance feeds the struggle

It took several months before tasks were distributed. Before that, Ingrid saw that before tasks could be distributed, people should learn to conduct them.

During autumn, before the tasks were distributed, criticism toward Ingrid grows. Two dissatisfied groups started to see similarities of theirs concerning issues and saw that "the court" (210) "gets more everything, easier, and they have these positions of trust" (174) but also miss used their position as "bouncing others" (111).

Some nurses started to challenge Ingrid's authority. More commonly, some nurses questioned her decisions directly and indirectly. Supervisors felt that whatever was a problem, the nurses' framed that the supervisors' wrong-doings caused it. Some nurses openly demanded the same possibilities that "the court" had.

"The court" and resisting nurses "fight with each other" (98). Groups questioned each other's know-how and use of work time. Especially defining what was the correct way to do the screening of patients caused tensions between nurses.

End of the year, small bonuses are given. Supervisors with mid-manager decided to give the bonuses to "the court" members and to Ingrid. This causes a new wave of expression of dissatisfaction. Some nurses leave to a sick leave that supervisors see as "pissed-off leave," but they do not intervene. Resisting nurses more often expressed "negativity" (243) toward all the supervisors. The supervisors felt that dissatisfaction "really [did not] draw from work" (125).

The new year starts with frosty relations were some staff members do not greet others. Some avoided the staff lounge as the atmosphere there was unpleasant. Same time supervisors more often feel that some resisters are not trust-worthy, acting improperly, and mobilising dissatisfaction. As conflict remains, supervisors arrange a questionnaire and session about the atmosphere. Responses describe expectations: "it is highly important that the staff is equally treated" and current framing among resisters "supervisors' favoring of some staff members" (169). Almost all the nursing staff felt that there is a problem with the atmosphere. Doctors were not aware of the issues. The session with a consultant goes through the results, but no one speaks openly about their feeling of injustice. Several suggest the extensive workload caused that situation. Ingrid explained that "[tasks are given to] those who know how have done tasks ... there has not been a possibility to delegate and teach," and the head nurse promises that "now everybody is taught" (170).

After the session, the conflict seems to calm down and nurses "cope with each other and are able to talk with each other in a civilized way" (184). Even underlying beliefs remained but avoided to expressed. "It is talked that supervisors should not be blamed" (210). "The court" members avoided raising their position. One experienced nurse position is formalized being "a senior" nurse (184) that was a formal role copied from the doctors.

Half a year passed in a relatively calm atmosphere. In autumn, top management announced that centers are not allowed to keep their temporary staff. This was seen as a severe threat by supervisors and the staff. Staff was seen working already over their comfort zone. This cut of resources would stretch staff even more. Some felt that already, "It [was] demanded to do more than one is able to" (231).

Many nurses felt and shared frustration. "I leave this shit" (210)– talk became daily. The dissatisfaction of unequal management turned to actions. One of temporary nurse starts to monitor other's amount of work and report the findings to supervisors. Supervisors did not believe the results, and later some resisting nurses decided to reduce their work amount to "minimum" referring to level ones who did the least. The supervisors knew this, but they felt that they did not have the means to intervene.

Some other resisting nurses felt that other resisting nurses went too far and started openly campaigning for more "strict" (227) management: "if piggish [one do not behave] it should be intervened (194). Resisting nurses split in two where some condemned low morality were others saw it as mean to pressure supervisors to act.

Supervisors' focus was dealing with the cut off temporary staff. They made several suggestions to top management to ease their situation. The only thing that they were allowed to do was moving temporary staff between the centers to better respond to low resources caused by the sick leaves. To enable this a hearing of the staff with the union presentative is arraigned. At the session, union preventatives present the idea that managing the nurse role is misusing resources as a head nurse should handle her duties by herself, and the managing nurse's role is not needed. Staff raises their concern about understaffed center well-being and the extensive number of sick leaves that stretch the present staff even more.

Supervisors felt that the municipality had failed its promises as "what was supposed to be developed is demolished" by top management (207), which meant that most of the resources granted by the pilot project were removed. After the critics from the union preventatives, supervisors wanted to "leave" (204) the center and just waited to "see what will be the outcome" (184). Also, many staff members tried to disconnect from turmoil and "focus on [their] own work" (205).

Soon after the session, supervisors introduced a new policy of a minimum number of slots for booking-based nurses. The suggestion is supported publicly by a booking-based nurse if it is "it includes everybody" (200). Also, some nurses at the walk-in-clinic as for the limits, but this is refused. Ingrid interprets this support as a resistance: "It means that as it doesn't include [a nurse who had been tailored role because of sickness], it doesn't include them either" (200).

During the autumn topic of misbehaving doctor raised a major topic expressed in the meeting and the staff lounge. Three doctors were seen "so slow and cannot do their duty in the walk-in-clinic" (243) that nurses needed to find alternative solutions for needing patients to be able to leave home on time. All nurses shared the topic; even so, some felt that the issue was a minor one. Mainly nurses avoided talking about the issue with the chief doctor as he took the doctors' side strongly and was felt feeling "collegiality ... he doesn't bother nor can't intervene in another doctors' practice (210). This was also because the chief doctor was known as "fiery personality" (210). His behavior had been discussed some times during the autumn in a demanding tone. Nurses "will resign if [the chief doctor] is not but inline" (227). Some nurses started to fill danger and risk reports about "ridicules mundane" (228) issues related to doctors' issues when earlier it was used only in major issues. Reports registered, but it was also required that the chief doctor comments them. In one event chief doctor raised his voice to lecture a nurse. The nurse contacted a health and safety officer. The officer asked other nurses to also describe issues to her.

After these events, the chief doctor suggests a new practice to nurses. Instead of general complaining about the doctors, they should bring a print of a problematic case so the chief doctor could evaluate the case by himself. This also encouraged nurses to send him a copy of their inquiries to doctors related to their incomplete tasks or strange plans.

After the health and safety officer had got back several responses, she suggests a wrap-up session, and supervisors saw it as a possibility to solve social turbulence. In the session, supervisors, including the chief doctor and all the nurses were present. The officer encouraged nurses to talk about the issues. Issues with doctors mentioned but mainly focus turned to the chief doctor's aggression when two nurses explained their view. They also mentioned that the topic was shared at the nurses' meeting several times. This made the chief doctor to oppose: "I haven't got the feedback. ... I argue that I haven shouted. I have been strict." Nurses who were speaking up also tried to mobilise others, but others did not take a personal approach but rather condemned unprofessional behavior at the general level. Also, some nurses raised a point that the criticism they gave to the nurse supervisors was not delivered to the chief doctor. The managing nurse opposed and claimed that the message was delivered, but they did not "use the same words" (256).

After the session, the most was displeased. Many felt that it was a public lynching of the chief doctor. Spoken nurses that spoke were displeased that others did not share their supporting views. Some resisting nurses decided to stop complaining and distancing themselves from the issue. The new approach was to "influence others with a positive attitude and example" (259). Supervisors seek to intervene in complaining by personal discussions with a complaining nurse and sought new practices to support nurse – doctor relations.

Epilogue

Many who resisted took distance to the group or even left the unit in the following two years. Also, supervisors took a distance, focusing on projects outside the organization or left. In general, a rather fast complaining was reduced, and the norm of complaining turned to avoid complaining or unit's issues. Some noticed active avoidance of some topics: "darker topics are at background" (345). If one raised a topic with "a too dark" tone, someone else tended to find humor from it or otherwise change the tone as changing the topic. Also, tolerance of counter normative behavior increased. Many noticed that "now people ... are more understanding" (340).

Freedom

The case is about a struggle between business-orientated reformers and community-orientated defenders. Reformers consultants were a minority but generated most of the income of the company sought that everybody should be more responsible and do their part by engaging in resistance. The summary of this interaction is presented in Figure 13.

Reformers develop a frame that suggested that the company was on the edge of bankruptcy. This idea was used by a reformer that forced the board to talk about the financial situation. However, this act was not triggering chance. Reformers framed situation desperate as the last option they decided to engage in the public resistance by making an ultimatum, writing a letter of demand to the board. This act of demanding the change also mobilized the defenders. Both sides developed their own frames that suggested that the other party was conducting an illegitimate act. Parties did not manage to prevent each other but managed to stop making a compromise that would have ended the struggle. Further, a frame is introduced that suggests that there is no possible solution that could be accepted by all. Thereby, exceptional measures are needed, and many consultants suggest voting. This is an act of public resistance as it challenges established rule that everybody needs to accept the decision that involves all. The management team makes the decision, and defenders resistance remains but mainly hidden.

The case illustrates how frames are used to justify acts as public resistance, and those acts are further feeding creation and elaboration of frames.

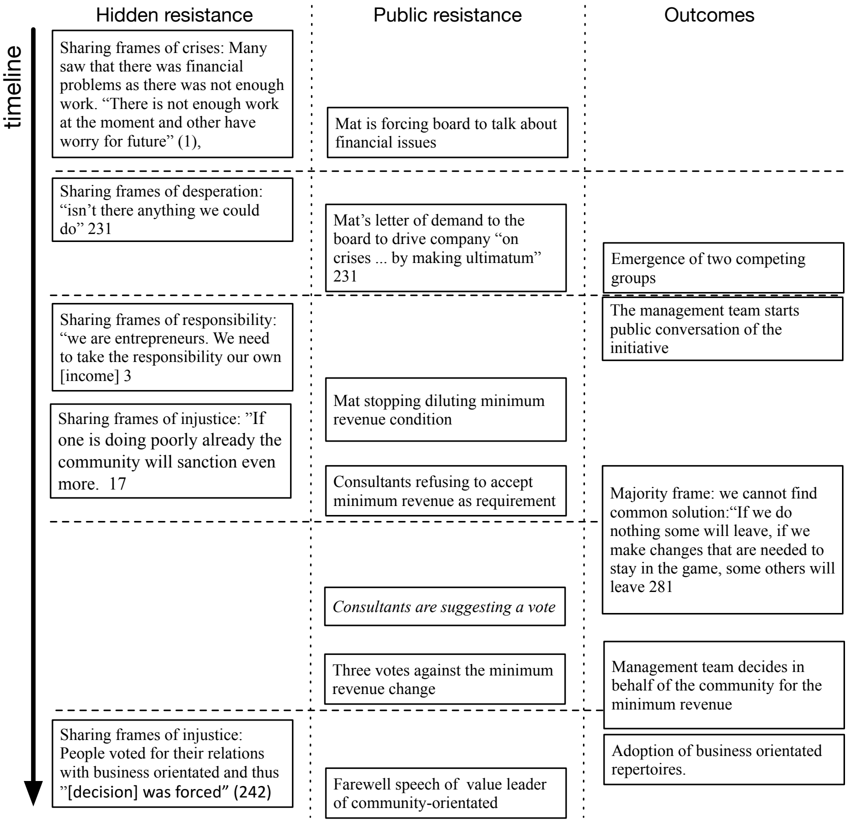

Hidden resistance
Public resistance
Outcomes
timeline
Sharing frames of crises: Many saw that there was financial problems as there was not enough work. "There is not enough work at the moment and other have worry for future" (1),
Mat is forcing board to talk about financial issues
Sharing frames of desperation: "isn't there anything we could do" 231
Mat's letter of demand to the board to drive company "on crises ... by making ultimatum" 231
Emergence of two competing groups
Sharing frames of responsibility: "we are entrepreneurs. We need to take the responsibility our own [income] 3
The management team starts public conversation of the initiative
Sharing frames of injustice: "If one is doing poorly already the community will sanction even more. 17
Mat stopping diluting minimum revenue condition
Consultants refusing to accept minimum revenue as requirement
Majority frame: we cannot find common solution:"If we do nothing some will leave, if we make changes that are needed to stay in the game, some others will leave 281
Consultants are suggesting a vote
Three votes against the minimum revenue change
Management team decides in behalf of the community for the minimum revenue
Sharing frames of injustice: People voted for their relations with business orientated and thus "[decision] was forced" (242)
Adoption of business orientated repertoires.
Farewell speech of value leader of community-orientated

Figure 13 summary of resistance at Freedom

Developing frames

The money streams of the company were the management team's duty. Mat was one of the members of the team. The severity of the situation was in front of them in numbers: "turnover decreases, profit drops, we are in zero profit level all the time" (231). The management team, as many others saw that issue was the extensive freedom consultants had. They could work or not to if they wished so. Freedom-value also made the management of the company hard; "if you try direct even a bit it backfires" (3) and based on convincing others: "here works for natural leadership. Others will follow if they follow" (17). By signing the consultant contract, all had agreed to meet a sufficient level of income. However, the sanction policy was not used in practice. Instead, many felt that consultants had multiple ways of contributing to the community.

Mat had a formal role as CEO, and he felt that it was his duty to make the board realize the severity of the situation. He had been a member of the board before starting in the management team. This new role and his agenda led the "operative management quarrels with the board "(283). Most of the consultants were unaware of this.

The management team proposed a 'consultant path' model that included phases as recruitment, active and retirement and set responsibilities to consultants in a particular phase. One of the responsibilities was generating a minimum level of revenue or pay the missing part. The model was presented to the board, but it rejected it.

After the model was refused, Mat resigns from his post of the management team member. Resisting consultants saw that there was nothing that could be done to save the company. With some others who shared his concerns, they wrote a letter of demand to the board "bring [the company] to crises ... [by] making ultimatum" (231). The letter stated that: "freedom value ... is destroying the business and the company, Freedom is in danger to collapse or split. ... We have a feeling that the board is not willing to take the worry of our company future seriously, is not ready to take the problems up in company days, and not ready for running for real changes. ... Minimum revenue model for Freedom consultants in active and joining phase must be created. ... We signers are ... representing 60% Freedom's sales success this year" (12).

Mat presented the letter to the board and increased pressure by suggesting: "there are several consultants that say that they leave if nothing is done. (231). If so many would leave it would most likely lead to bankruptcy.

The topic draws consultants' attention. Following company days, it ended up a conversation, even it was not part of the official program, and it led "nearly to punch-up" (4). "Making money [splited] people" (1) and led to emerging groups of business-orientated and community-orientated. Business-oriented suggested that change would be about "is [the company about] a country club or a corporation" (283) referring that country club was for spending time where a corporation was for professionals. "Some felt that "there are several ways to be useful for the community, everything cannot be measured in money (4). In the end, the management team announces that the minimum revenue issue will be decided at the company days.

Cycle of resistance

Even the management team was aware that they were "not ready to handle [the minimum revenue]" they saw that the decision should be made "as we are in this situation" (17). The discussion moved to small groups and back to the big circle. The supporter of the minimum revenue model made their case about getting rid of people who did not work: "We need a limit in company level that makes intervening easier." Community orientated felt that: "minimum revenue model is a threat" and saw that it was problematic that:" If one is doing poorly already, the community will sanction even more." They suggested that not working ones were "lost" rather than being free-riders. Third groups tried to diminish the importance of the topic: "This doesn't affect the actual problem ... this is only taking us farther from each other "(17).

Also, several compromises were suggested. The company had a norm to make decisions based on consensus, and thus the management team and several others sought to find a middle ground that both groups could accept. Parties refused to compromise. Observers got more frustrated and did not see a possibility to find a shared solution: "the real problem is that we cannot find a solution if we seek consensus." Finally, it is agreed that the topic will be decided at the next company days. Before leaving Mat makes the announcement: "I have decided to move forward. ... I have been thinking can I be motivated here and come to the conclusion that I can't." (17).

All the parties were disappointed and sharing ideas that sounding consensus was impossible: there will not be "end to [internal] battles" (281) and whatever will be done "either side will leave" (201).

Only a few days after the company days, the chairperson of the board sends an email that the board has decided to support the suggested model. This is responded with a demand that issue needs to be decided in shareholders meeting that is in the next company days.

In the next company days, a conversation starts as there would not have been the email at all. Similar arguments are presented and parties on their positions. Fast the conversation turns back to question how the decision is made. Voting is suggested, but then the management team announces: "the board has made this suggestion... [and] management team has decided that it can decide for setting the minimum revenue ... I don't know is this spiritually okay but this is how we proceed. ... we will renew our contract to add the possibility to invoice." Mat comments this: "now I'm ready to reconsider my staying at Freedom" (21)

After the model was accepted by the management team opposing consultants avoided raising critical views in the "big circle." When the contract change was voted only three publicly opposed. Many opposing ones left. Some who would not need to leave because of their invoicing left anyway. Many others who stayed focused "on client work." (61).

Avoidance of raising the topic in "big circle" was recognized by many: "people are avoiding to raise a topic that would cause or return [the struggle] to minds" (88). In the background, the decision was sharply criticized:" minimum revenue limits with sanctions, in this kind of community, is the final poisoning ... especially as it was forced" (242). Several months later, the "value leader" (117) had a farewell speech describing that the company had turned to disharmonious.

Epilogue

Many left after the adoption of the minimum revenue model and rest focused more on their work seeing less importance in company-level activities. Most who left were community-orientated and remaining consultants were more focused on the work "now all that are on are focusing on doing business for real" (283). Several business-oriented practices were adopted. Recruits ability to generate income was heavily underlined, leading to accepting individual that did not fit the previous model of a Freedomer and leading to an impression that "diversity has significantly diminished." 242.

4.3.3 Generating resources for cultural change

Cross-case analyses present how resistant activity mobilized in-group members to reform and defend established cultural features. From the resistance perspective, the investigated dynamics focus on hidden resistance and how it feeds public engagements. This relation is presented in Figure 14.

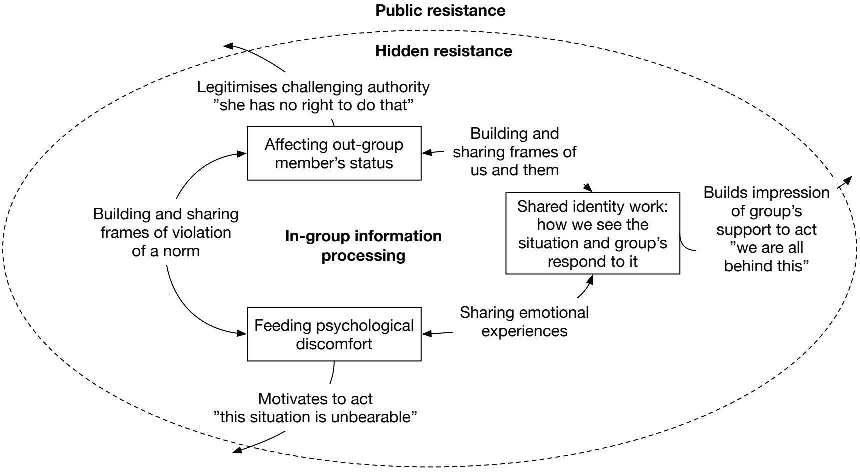

Public resistance
Hidden resistance
Legitimises challenging authority
"she has no right to do that"
Affecting out-group member's status
Building and sharing frames of us and them
Builds impression of group's support to act "we are all behind this"
Shared identity work: how we see the situation and group's respond to it
Building and sharing frames of violation of a norm
In-group information processing
Sharing emotional experiences
Feeding psychological discomfort
Motivates to act
"this situation is unbearable"

Figure 14 Dynamics of hidden resistance and relation to public resistance

In-group activity in both cases illustrated how members shared narratives of behavior others and expressions of emotions. The change activity took a form of gossiping and such sharing and validating information. Commonly it had a strong emotional component, expressing and triggering expression of anger and frustration. Gossiping was used frames that challenged established order was a significant part of group members' interaction. Findings suggest that hidden resistance has three mechanisms for how it supports group members to engage in public resistance. First, members create, elaborate, and confirm frames that separate them from out-group members. Second, members create, elaborate, and confirm frames that affect out-group member's status. Third, interaction feeds psychological discomfort.

Shared identity work

When stories of a group have a strong tone of separating "us from them," they built boundaries and defined what the group is about compared to others. For example, at People, the reformers who framed that the supervisors favored some nurses started to call the favored nurses as "the court" and described how they got more and easily "everything" compared to the in-group who were "undervalued" by the supervisors. These stories included elements of injustice, wrong-doing and causing harm to in-group members and such mobilized emotions among group members. At Freedom, reformers framed that they were doing their part for the company but others, mainly defenders, were not doing their part.

These stories and observing shared emotional experiences gave group members tools to make assumptions of group views. When these views align, they support the impression that the group would support change actions as public resistance. At Freedom, reformers shared frames that they were a minority, and there was no way to change the direction of the company. These frames that suggested desperation encouraged rethinking options and later writing a letter of demand. At People, the frame that suggested that there was "a court" and reformers were not valued were used to interpret events as distribution of bonuses. This injustice was felt very strongly by some reformers and expressed to others via actions as refusing to talk with the court members.

Affecting member's status

Stories that separated "us from them" often framed an out-group member as a breaker of norms. These members were high-power individuals as supervisors (at People) and management team (at Freedom), but also other out-group members as "business-orientated" (at Freedom) or "the court" (at People). These stories illustrate how the target of the story, individual or a group, caused harm to the in-group members or violated in-group expectations. At People, the chief doctor's yelling to a nurse was framed as unprofessional and harmful to the whole center. At Freedom, Mat of the reformers was suggested to be driven by his personal agenda against some other consultant. Thereby, the minimum invoicing policy was seen as an instrument of that agenda and not benefiting the company.

When these stories were shared, they affected to the status of the target and seemed to make it easier to challenge their authority. At People, a group of nurses felt that the managing nurse was favoring some nurses. These stories described the managing nurse and later other supervisors biased and later untrustworthy. Some nurses started to openly challenge the managing nurse's decisions. At Freedom, questioning Mat's agenda was followed by public criticizing his actions.

Feeding psychological discomfort

When the stories had elements of causing harm, injustice, or wrong-doing, they caused emotional reactions as frustration and anger. Thereby, interaction caused members to feel psychological discomfort, the anxiety of conflict between how things should be and how they are. At People, after supervisors had given bonuses to a group that a sub-group saw as "the court" atmosphere at the center turned so strongly to negative that some nurses started to avoid staff lounge to avoid the interaction with others. At Freedom, reformers framing that the company will fall and other consultants do not do their part fed frustration to the situation.

4.3.4 Summary of findings related role of in-group activity*: How does the members' in-group change activities feed inter-group change activity in the context of organizational cultural change?*

Primary finding 3: In-group activity feeds public change activity

The third sub-study observed change activity as resistance by observing the relationship between hidden and public resistance, in-group and inter-group change activity. The findings indicate that in-group activity generated frames that challenge outsiders' authority, build group identity, and triggers emotional reactions. This activity triggered the group members to engage in public change activity. Frames of injustice were applied to an out-group member creating a view that they were norm-breakers, triggering reaction as "she has no right to do that." This talk also separated out-group members from in-group members by comparing and giving names. This activity created the impression that the group shared views, and such acting to solve the problem was important to the group. Finally, this interaction triggered emotional responses, frustration, and anger, making in-group members feeling and expressing that "situation is unbearable." Together these gave an aim, legitimate reason to act and made members harder not to act.

Finding 3a: In-group activity generates discursive resources for change activity

In the case organization, in-group activity seemed to be a central source of discursive resources that members used to legitimate their own actions, motivate others, and pressure key members. As suggested above, frames were introduced, elaborated, and confirmed in in-group interaction. This activity created strong discursive tools. For example, a group of nurses created an identity of "the court" that was given to nurses that had got special roles, thus framing themselves undervalued by the supervisors. These discursive resources were used in in-group activity to question the status of out-group members, separate in-group members from out-group members, and trigger emotional reactions. Discursive resources were also used in inter-group interaction. In-group members used the resources to explain why another group's aim was illegitimate or harmful, and such may have influenced neutral members to share their views and agenda.

Finding 3b: In-group activity trigger emotional arousal

The findings of the third sub-study indicate that the emotional dimension of interaction was a significant factor in animating change activity. Some members felt strongly that something needs to be done, were angry and frustrated. Emotional arousal was related to used frames. Some frames directly described how an outsider was causing harm for a group member or a group or was violating the group's norms. These situations made some group members so angry that they needed to escape the situation to cool down to be able to continue their normal tasks.

Finding 3c: In-group activity establish group boundaries

Framing also builds boundaries between groups and defined the group's views of norms. Findings indicate that this activity allowed making a distinction between members and such supported forming to groups. For example, framing a group of nurses as "the court" nurses made a distinction between "them and us." Frames that a group created and used also separated them from the others, making them more distinctive. Also, adopting frames separated a group from another group making it more distinctive as adopted frames started to define the group more.

5. DISCUSSION

While the existing research acknowledges members' (e.g. Labianca, Gray, and Brass, 2000) and groups' role in cultural change (Ogbonna & Harris, 2015), organizational members' role as part of hidden collectives or communities remains underexplored (Courpasson et al., 2021). This study sought to investigate the role of members' in-group and inter-group activity in organizational cultural change by conducting three sub-studies. Each study draws on different theoretical lenses and thus investigates different features of members' change activity in the organizational cultural change process. This thesis's main contribution lies in, in contrast to the existing literature on organizational cultural change, unpacking how via in-group hidden intra-political interaction members trigger changes in organizational culture. It suggests that members' in-group and inter-group change activity appears to follow the logic of a social movement: members take sides as reformers and defenders of established cultural features, who work continuously to mobilize and persuade in-group members to put pressure on out-group members in order to gain important resources to promote and resist change, accordingly. This finding departs from the existing notion that cultural change can be managed (e.g., Peters, Waterman, & Jones, 1982). Especially in-group sensemaking seems to be a potential source of beliefs and may become an established part of an organization's cultural repertoire. It also challenges commonly used definitions of organizational culture. Both toolkit (Swidler, 1986) and value-based (e.g., Schein, 2010) views on organizational culture are unable to frame shared features that guide members conducts. It also suggests that the process through which negotiations unfold impacts the change of an organization's cultural features over and above the outcomes of the negotiation activity itself.

This section discusses mechanism how members via group level is able to transform organizational culture to make several contributions to the relevant literature. First, it suggests how in-group and inter-group activities transform culture. Second, it discusses the role of members' change activity in the cultural change process. Third, theoretical implications are discussed. This section concludes with a discussion of the thesis's practical implications.

5.1 How in-group and inter-group activities transform culture

The findings of this study illustrate that cultural change is seen as a messy process, including in-group and inter-group activities (Ogbonna & Harris, 2015) that form negotiation cycles (Strauss, 1978). This process is illustrated in Figure 15. The framework describes how members' change activity in inter-group level appears to resemble the interaction between three groups: defender of established cultural features, reformers, and members who are indifferent of the suggested change. Findings illustrate how members take sides to support the change and such act as reformers, whereas some other members see the suggested change undesirable and resist the suggested. There are members that do not take a side, and such can be categorized to indifferent ones.

Each group has two domains in their activities: in-group and inter-group activities. As negotiation activity happens in cycles when different parties interact and thus impact their own and other groups' in-group activities as well as inter-group activities. Inter-group activities are public interaction that supports or resists suggested changes. In their in-group activity, each group develops their own understanding of what is going on and may become their "truth" during the negotiation process. The figure also establishes propositions based on the found relations.

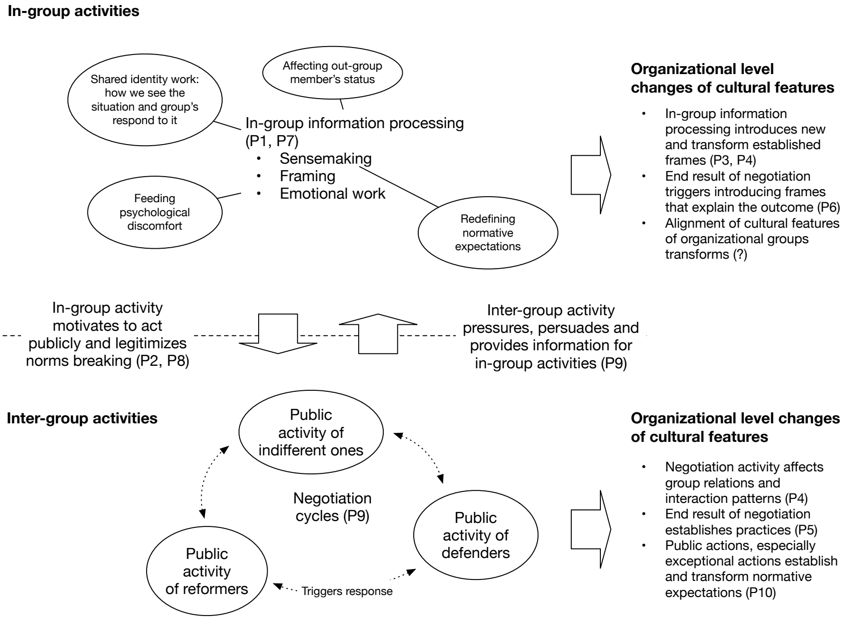

In-group activities
Shared identity work: how we see the situation and group's respond to it
Affecting out-group member's status
In-group information processing (P1, P7)
• Sensemaking
• Framing
• Emotional work
Feeding psychological discomfort
Redefining normative expectations
Organizational level changes of cultural features
• In-group information processing introduces new and transform established frames (P3, P4)
• End result of negotiation triggers introducing frames that explain the outcome (P6)
• Alignment of cultural features of organizational groups transforms (?)
In-group activity motivates to act publicly and legitimizes norms breaking (P2, P8)
Inter-group activity pressures, persuades and provides information for in-group activities (P9)
Inter-group activities
Public activity of indifferent ones
Negotiation cycles (P9)
Public activity of defenders
Public activity of reformers
Triggers response
Organizational level changes of cultural features
• Negotiation activity affects group relations and interaction patterns (P4)
• End result of negotiation establishes practices (P5)
• Public actions, especially exceptional actions establish and transform normative expectations (P10)

Figure 15 Framework of micro-level change activity in cultural change and propositions

Canato and her colleagues (2013) suggested that sensemaking is a mechanism to integrate established views to new ones. Building on this notion, the present study underlines sensemaking's social dimension as a process to introduce, align, confirm, and develop frames as an understanding of situations (Maitlis, 2005). The findings highlight that new ideas and interpretations tend to emerge within groups. Negotiation situations with conflicting views may provide members with more extended space for expressing views. Ideas and actions that challenge established ways of doing and thinking call for sensemaking, but also make the situation more prominent for “what-if” -thinking (Howard-Grenville, 2005:533) and to some extent, encourage members to suggest new interpretations. Especially if a group’s existing repertoire is unable to explain what is going on, new interpretations are sought, making space to suggest exceptional interpretations. I call this a discursive space where in-group information processing happens. This is mainly back-stage activity, hidden from out-group members and such provides a safe place to seek understanding and develop frames that explain what is going on (Snow, 2004). This resonates with Kellogg’s suggestion that reformers need a safe place were to develop their ideas (2009).

Proposition 1: Negotiation situations activate private discursive spaces for organizational members to introduce, elaborate, and test new cultural resources.

Discursive spaces enable the creation of new discursive recourses. Social movement studies suggest that movements need to be able to mobilize supporters and gain supporters and pressuring key members (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). Similarly, in an organizational context, reformers need resources to mobilize in-group members to pressure key members, but also gain more support from indifferent-ones or get key members backing the change. Some cases reformers already control key resources, but they may not be ready to use them before it is seen legitimate. The findings of this thesis describe that in-group narratives are a way to legitimize a particular goal or state (Vaara & Tienari, 2011) via framing. Thereby in-group framing creates explanations of what is going on, highlighting a group’s norms and their violation (Snow, 2004), and thereby, it is a potential measure to mobilize members to use their means.

This study’s findings suggest that created frames were arousing strong emotional reactions that are one demonstration of the power of these discursive resources. By telling stories with a particular perspective, group members were able to mobilize in-group members. This suggestion resonates with Dahling and Gutworth suggestion (2017) that psychological discomfort mobilizes members to act as well as findings of social movement scholars that underline the role of emotions as a motivational factor and information processing (Jacobsson & Lindblom, 2013; Jasper, 2011). Also, defenders of the established order utilized discursive space to confirm and elaborate their frames. This is especially evident when reformers take exceptional actions to challenge established order, and defenders needed to make sense of what was going on. Findings suggest that further negotiation cycles happened, more actions were taking more the frames elaborated to respond need to explain the situation. These frames were also used in in-group interaction as a way to persuade neutral parties and pressure opposition.

Proposition 2: In-group activity cultivates cultural resources for negotiations that members could employ when trying to mobilize other in-group members to take actions to challenge established order.

Frames are seen as cultural repertoire (Kaplan, 2008b; Leonardi, 2011; Polletta, 2008; Rao et al., 2003; Rao & Giorgi, 2006). Thereby, in-group information processing creates cultural products, tests them inaction, and may provide them for out-group members if expressed publicly. Framing potentially extends the cultural repertoire of the group (Swidler, 1986), and the findings suggest that some cases those ideas are established in the group and live after the negotiation are over. For example, at People, a group of nurses started to share a frame that tasks were distributed unfairly. Later this frame was elaborated and suggested that supervisors were biased. The frame was used by the group of nurses after negotiation about the distribution of tasks was over. In-group information processing also generated a frame that suggested that another group of nurses was a "court" the privileged ones where the first group of nurses framed themselves as undervalued by the supervisors. The concept of "court" was used in the organization after the negotiation was over.

Proposition 3: In-group information processing among group members triggers changes in the cultural features of their group, which can trigger changes in the cultural features of the organization.

Inter-group activity may be able to define groups and their relations. Frames that are created and used affected how in-group members saw outsiders and self (Turner et al., 1987). Comparing "us to them" was effective in building boundaries and describing qualities of "us" and "them." The findings indicate that these ideas were also lived in interactions that changed the relations between parties and led to adopting practices that supported those views. The relations between parties that framed each other harming shared interest, made constructive interaction harder. The findings suggest that members adopt new practices during the negotiations. New practices may trigger introducing or confirming frames that affect inter-group relations. For example, at People, the reforming nurses framed a group of nurses as a "court." During negotiation, the reformers avoided sharing information with the court members and maintained somewhat hostile relations or were trying to avoid the interaction. After the negotiation was over, relations with reforming nurses and the court members remained poor.

Proposition 4: Inter-group activities during negotiations are likely to give rise to in-group practices and frames, and establish these practices and frames as new cultural repertoires of inter-group interaction.

The findings describe that members sought to change defects that the group had framed as problems. When a result of negotiation was not as desirable, the losing party (reformers or defenders) needed to cope with it. This might be theatrical conduct, and private conducts are still using a group's cultural repertoire (Rosenfeld, Giacalone, & Riordan, 1994; Younes, Courpasson, & Jacob, 2018). This dual-layer can be seen in Canato and her colleagues' findings in 3M, where organizational members maintain core beliefs even, they conflict with the adopted new repertoire (2013). The findings suggest that negotiations tend to end to a situation where one of the parties gives up and stops publicly challenging negotiated outcomes. Negotiated outcome defines how practices should be conducted. For example, at Freedom, the reformers suggested business imperatives were accepted by the leadership team and the defenders stopped their public change activity. This was followed by adopting business practices even they were not agreed with by the defenders. Many of these practices were conducted in inter-group situations and the defenders had limited means to avoid reproducing them.

Proposition 5: The result of inter-group negotiations may transform or maintain shared practices of inter-group interaction.

The findings suggest that the party that did not succeed to achieve their aim (i.e., losing party) may find ways to explain the undesirable outcome and thus make it more tolerable. As a result, new framing are likely to emerge and enable group members to explain the situation where in-group ideas conflicted with the conducted practice. These explaining frames sometimes made it easier for the group members with conflict views to cope with the expected conflicting repertoire.

Proposition 6: Undesirable results of inter-group negotiations are likely to trigger a losing party to internalize beliefs that help them to deal with the outcome.

5.2 Members' means to triggering cultural changes

This study suggests several ways of how members may trigger cultural changes. Change activity is investigated in the context of where conflicting interests exist and are expressed. The findings indicate that framing is a prominent way of mobilizing in-group members (Snow, 2004), and it creates new cultural resources for the in-group members (Goffman, 1974; Leonardi, 2011). Participating in creating frames, selling to other in-group members, developing them, and testing them in action is an effective way of connecting personal beliefs to a group's shared view. When a group faces a new situation as when someone is suggesting something exceptional or conducted exceptional action, group members put their energy on making sense of the situation (Gioia & Thomas, 1996a; Weick, 1995). This is a prominent situation for group members to offer their ideas or develop old ones to fit in a new situation. Trying to explain the situation using one's ideas tests their plausibility (Weick, 1995) or use ideas characteristic for another cultural configuration (Patterson, 2014).

Proposition 7: Individual members' participation in the framing of issues that matter for the group influences the group's shared frames that may become part of the group's cultural repertoire. Same frames may be established in organizational use after introduced in inter- group interaction.

Group members may impact the outcome of negotiation and changes in cultural features via conducting public actions. Following the resource logic of social movements: resources need to be used to affect others' thinking and behavior (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). This highlights the need to mobilize in-group members to use the resources they have for the benefit of the shared aim. The findings indicate two interlinked mechanisms. First framing may create plausible and motivating images (Snow, 2004), but also emotional work as using those frames in particular moment explain mobilization.

Building on Hochschild's ideas, emotional work "attempts to recodify a situation" and "to change images, ideas, or thoughts in the service of changing the feelings associated with them" (Hochschild, 1979:562). Both social movement and institutional work scholars have focus on the role of emotions and lately more on the agentic role of emotions (e.g., Jasper, 2011; Moisander et al., 2016). For example, Moisander, Hirsto, and Fahy describe how narratives were used to "stifle resistance through incapacitating emotion-based ethical reasoning" during adoptions of EMU (2016:974). Jacobsson and Lindblom describe how animal right activist used several means to mobilize and control emotions in their change activity. They find that activists used micro-socking. For example, watching horrible videos and images "in order to maintain their own commitment to the cause and enable further norm-confrontation" (2013:63). This study's observations illustrate that in-group members shared similar functions to "provoke his or her own anger or outrage," as Jacobsson and Lindblom describe (2016:63) as telling stories of wrong-doing and caused harm. The findings indicate that in-group members mobilize emotions at the group by using particular narratives and expressing emotions.

Social movement studies suggest that emotional work also binds in-group members together (Jasper, 2011). It weaves identities being part of sensemaking process and experiencing the situations. Similarly, the findings of this study indicate that in-group members build a boundary between them and particular others in their narratives, for example, nurses were split into two 'clans'. Discursive activity that created frames, also made distinction of groups clearer separated in-group from a larger collective by making differences more salient. Us versus them talk created support among in-group members for public actions including norm-breaking.

Proposition 8: Individual members' framing and emotional work could mobilize other in-group members toward in- and inter-group activity.

The findings of this study suggest that public actions are one way to affect the outcome of a negotiation. These actions have multiple formats. For example, they may vary in aggression from fine suggestions to open threats or utilize established means as complaining at the meeting or utilizing non-normative means as sending demands to the board. The social movement perspective suggests that public actions are persuading neural out-group members to join the movement and pressuring key members (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). The resistance perspective suggests that hidden resistance is "resistance without the acid that can destroy the machine of power" (Contu, 2008:374), and thus, public resistance has that possibility. Public actions might act as an example that breaks the illusion of established norm, and thereby encouraging others to take deviant public actions (Asch, 1955). Sechrist and Stangor suggest that when people find that others share their beliefs, they are more likely to act according to them (2001). Thereby public action might lead to taking supportive actions or encourage other dissatisfied groups or members to act as imitating what was done. Nurses at People started to imitate one of them and fill danger reports on mundane issues related to doctors' problematic behavior that led the chief doctor to adopt new practices of receiving feedback from nurses. Public actions likely draw others on the negotiations by challenging their views and values. Stamkou and colleagues suggest that high power members are keen to sanction deviant members to maintain their position (Stamkou et al., 2016). Especially when public actions treat one identity or sacred values, members are prone to engage (Wade-Benzoni et al., 2002), leading to confrontation and struggle.

Proposition 9: Organizational members' public actions are means through which they trigger negotiation activity to revise an organization's cultural features.

As suggested in the proposition five that result of negotiation establishes practices, thereby proposition nine that suggests that public participation triggers negotiations leads to expecting that public actions may trigger changes in cultural features via negotiation result, but also as suggested in proposition four negotiation activity affect to inter-group relations that may become established. Thereby public engagements to negotiation likely have direct outcomes via affecting inter-group relations and indirect by affection results of negotiations.

One interesting example is using exceptional means. The findings indicate that actions that can be seen as exceptional in relation to the collective's norms seem to be especially potential trigger changes in cultural features. This likely is because exceptional actions draw attention and trigger sensemaking (Weick, 1995), where normative engagements may go unnoticed as "common complaining." The findings indicate that norm-breaking is more likely supported by the in-group views and norm-breaking is seen as prosocial by the in-group members (Monin, Sawyer, & Marquez, 2008). Perhaps in-group members see it even a form of heroism taking a risk for the common cause. As suggested before example might encourage in-group members to act, causing a domino effect.

Actions that are seen as a violation of norms more likely cause observers to feel it disturbing (Helweg-Larsen & LoMonaco, 2008; Butera, Darnon, &

Mugny, 2011) and trigger negative framing among opposing groups and emotional work leading to taking public actions as suggested by proposition eight. Public engagements potentially further draw the attention of other groups. Neural groups' attention might be drawn to a struggle as happened at Freedom. This attention gives reformers and defenders more possibilities for selling their ideas, encouraging a neutral parties to take sides and thus impacting negotiation outcomes. Even if negotiation activity fails to trigger changes, norm-breaking and followed in-group framing activity may make related norms salient (Markova & Folger, 2012).

Proposition 10: Organizational members' public actions are the means through which they can influence the organization's cultural features.

5.3 Theoretical implications

The propositions illustrate how in-group hidden and infra-political activities (Courpasson, 2021) and inter-group interaction feed each other and can transform culture in an organization. This extends prior studies that suggest the importance of the meso-level studies (Ogbonna and Harris, 2015; Morgan & Ogbonna, 2008) and contrasts with the management-dominated view of organizational culture (e.g., Peters & Waterman, 1982). This study's findings describe organizational culture as negotiated order and underline the relative power capacity of members (Hallett, 2003). These findings have several theoretical implications.

First, the implications drawing from findings related to the change activity's impact on the cultural features of an organization are discussed. This is followed by implication drawing findings related to the motivations of challenge activity and the last implications of findings related to the role of in-group activity as discussed.

Implications of findings related to the change activity's impact on cultural features of the organization

First, the meso-level perspective on cultural change builds a better understanding of how in- and inter-group interactions trigger a cultural change in an organization (Ogbonna & Harris, 2015) and this study suggests cultural change scholars to consider a multi-perspective approach in their studies (Martin, 2002) to provide analytical space to acknowledge meso-level impact in organizational cultural change. This contrast with management-focused cultural change (e.g., Peters & Waterman, 1982) by highlighting members' abilities to influence an organization's cultural features. Managers that have the possibility to some extent govern inter-group discursive space and sanction public actions have the advantage of controlling the outcome of a negotiation. At Freedom, the management team was in control of the company days' topics and thereby shared decision-making in the company. The reformers' first challenge was getting the issue acknowledged by the decision-makers. The letter of demand that they send draws attention to the issue leading to taking the topic at the company days. Later the management team introduced the topic in the formal decision-making process, allowing it to move forward. Managers may use tools to make some results more likely or even force adaptation of a particular repertoire (e.g., Canato et al., 2013). The findings suggest that public actions trigger in-group information processing that impacts in-group framing and further public actions.

Further, findings on the impact of members and groups provide one possible explanation for why some top-down cultural change processes fail. Smith found that cultural changes tend to fail (2003). For example, Labianca, Gray, and Brass described how employees resisted an empowerment schema because they evaluated that the management was not committed to the suggested schema (2000). Canato and her colleagues suggest that when core beliefs conflict with the suggested practices, members are more likely to resist the change (2013). This challenges the ability to manage cultural change. (Peters, Waterman, & Jones, 1982) as members have means to mobilize resistance and by doing so they generate new frames and practices that may be internalized in one group or established organization-wide. The question of when cultural change is manageable from the top (see Martin, 1985), the answer seems to be based on to what extent the suggested change is conflicting with the members' internalized beliefs (Canato et. al., 2013). This study expands Canato's and her colleagues' findings by explaining the process by suggesting "hidden and infra-political" in-group activities (Courpasson, 2021) enable and empower resistance. If there is a strong conflict it more likely triggers in-group change activity that may trigger inter-group activity. In-group change activity may introduce and establish frames (Snow, 2004) that resist the suggested change goal and impact inter-group relations. In the presence of strong conflicting beliefs, the suggested change more likely leads to unexpected results. Members may not have the means to publicly resists the suggested change and thereby practices are adopted. However strong in-group resistance supports superficial adoption that undermines the desired outcome. Patterson (2014) suggests that people adopt beliefs that support the ongoing activity. This could mean that top-down implementation that does not strongly conflict with internalized beliefs or practices would eventually lead to the internalization of the suggested meanings. Engaging in theatrical conduct may also enforce resisting frames. There are several avenues for future studies to illuminate how in-group resistance impacts top-down implementation.

The findings also challenge how the concept of organizational culture is defined. The findings contradict homogenous views of organizational culture. This study suggests that sub-cultural or group-level model of organizational culture may be a more functional way to understand the variety and fragmentation of cultural reproduction in organizations (Martin, 1992). This may be especially true when an organization is formed around stable groups, where members mainly work among other members and in-group trust is high. These qualities of group support in-group interaction that separates the group views and practices from the other groups' views and practices allowing group members to negotiate (Strauss, 1978) their own practices and meanings without the interference of out-group members. Groupthinking theory is pointing out that high coherence and isolation of a group allow them to develop their own views and close out challenging perspectives (Janis, 1995). Close relations allow members to affect each other's sensemaking (Maitlis, 2005; Sechrist & Stangor, 2001) and an isolated environment allows them to act backstage without the controlling gaze of out-group members (Goffman, 1978). Further studies are needed to understand when group-level is a crucial factor in explaining the cultural change in an organization.

This study also suggests further studies to acknowledge the distinction between front- and back-stage activity (Goffman, 1978): what practices are conducted with or when observed by out-group members and what among in-group members. When conducting actions with or when observed by an outgroup member practices are more likely to take a form that acknowledges the expectations of outgroup members, official policies, and such. In that domain, in-group members are not free to follow the norms of their group. This distinction points out whose beliefs are guiding or controlling the conducted practices.

When the activity is conducted among in-group members it is more likely that they desire to follow the norms of the group especially when members have close social relations (Tankard & Paluck. 2016). Norms may define practices but as well frames (Snow, 2004) how members are expected to interpret situations and actions of in- and out-group members. This supports value-based views of the organizational culture (Kunda, 1995; Schein, 2010; Vaisey, 2009; Van Maanen & Barley, 1982), but only partly. The findings of this study suggest that a local group and social relations within seem to define what values are governing the reproduction of cultural features. Thereby locating social ideological control inside groups.

Members do not always agree with their group's norms and as such, there is a possibility that they need to engage in false acts to maintain relations among group members (Hewin, 2003). This points out that there is a need to separate experienced norms from internalized beliefs. The findings of this study point out that there is a possibility that a group is or can become divided according to their internalized beliefs. For example, at People nurses were divided according to their views about how the patient screening process should be done. This subgroup level focus on organizational culture becomes meaningful when a change is suggested or planned. The findings of this study suggest that members likely follow the norms of the group until the norm is challenged. That challenge gives in-group members possibilities to study others' views, suggest new interpretations according to their beliefs, and position themselves according to their social relations or internalized beliefs.

The findings of this study also suggest cultural scholars acknowledge the impact of hidden cultural features. The findings suggest that hiding views and practices from public interaction might be more common. Socio-ideological control of larger collective and managerial control maintains a dominant order that governs public impression (Goffman, 1978), but sub-groups maintain their own views and probably conduct their practices following their views when possible. This view aligns with Martin's suggestion of three perspectives on organizational culture (1992). She suggests that an integrated view focuses on organizational level patterns. The findings of this study suggest that organizational level patterns are likely caused by socio-ideological and managerial control. The second perspective she suggests is the sub-cultural level that focuses on differences between groups. This study highlights the cultural repertoire that the groups create, maintain, and develop, which may conflict with organizational-level shared patterns. The power balance between groups seems to explain how the groups define what group-level cultural features are shared at the organizational level. However, the findings suggest that ability to control may explain inter-group practice but not adopted beliefs of members conducting this practice (see also Canato et al. 2013). The third perspective that Martin suggests is a fragmented view that focuses on the discontinuity of cultural repertoire in organizations, for example, change of attention (Meyerson & Martin, 1987). The findings of this study suggest that discontinuity of cultural features might draw from in-group information processing. In-group information processing introduces and elaborates ideas that trigger changes in members' attention and interests. This triggers changes in cultural features within groups but may trigger inter-group interaction that transforms cultural features of the organization as well. The findings highlight the hidden ongoing change that happens in the organizations that are maintained by the sub-group's in-group information processing.

Building on the findings of Canato and her colleagues (2013) and the findings of this study suggest that negotiated practices may not reflect an underlying belief system. This is commonly noticed by the critical scholars of cultural control (e.g., Fleming & Spicer, 2003) but less commonly build in view of how culture is seen.

Last, rarely cultural studies have acknowledged social relations as a cultural characteristic. The findings point out that in-group and inter-group relations are meaningful for organizational members. In-group social relations are guiding the reproduction of the group's norms. One example is coherence. This study and as well as prior theories (e.g. Janis, 1995; Tankard & Paluck. 2016) suggest that even group coherence and social relations would not be seen as part of the concept of culture it is a significant factor in defining to what extent members are bound by the group's norms. Inter-group level social relations maintain normative views of the other group thereby guiding interaction with out-group members. This study points out that historical conflicts between groups may become established via beliefs and shared practices that reinforce each other (Patterson, 2015).

These findings also elaborate on how the role of power affects the cultural change process (Hallett, 2003). Findings suggest how members are able to trigger and steer cultural changes. Members use ideas and models to trigger changes, impact others, and affect the result of negotiation resonates ideas of Swidler's cultural "toolkits" (1986). On the other hand, this study also highlights the strength of socio-ideological control, directing members' behavior. Shared values, meaning that is seen in action, has a strong impact in a group context (Schein, 2010). The findings indicate that members are unlikely to break norms unless they find some support for their actions. It reduces the risk social cost of sanctioning (Tankard & Paluck, 2016) when some, preferably close ones, are supporting and not sanctioning her.

Vaisley found that when members act in a non-supporting environment, their ideals matter more by investigating poor and non-poor kids' aspirations and schooling (2009). This study's findings suggest that members may be able to trigger changes in their group's views, and such enable their support for the member's ideas and further actions expanding how relative power is used in the cultural change context (Hallett, 2003). This suggests that members may be able to change their group's socio-ideological control to support or fit the member's values and desires. Members may show leadership in their group by pointing out defects and turning them into a shared problem.

Implications of findings related to the motivations of challenge activity

The findings of this study demonstrate members' relative power capacity (Hallett, 2003) and illustrate norm-breakers as in-group heroes and inter-group villains. The findings suggest that members' public norm-breaking is grounded on their in-group supporting beliefs. Contu underlines the possibly high impact of public resistance compared to the low impact of hidden resistance (2008). The propositions resonate with this suggestion only when inter-group cultural features are focused on. Contrasting this study's finding suggest that hidden resistance is an enabler of public resistance. "Hidden and infra-political" in-group activities (Courpasson, 2021) are used to introduce and transform norms, agendas, and members' commitment to a group that enables and some cases even forces members to act publicly. By doing so, this study suggests that cultural scholars acknowledge group beliefs as a motivational force that maintains change activity. At Freedom group of consultants effectively invaded inter-group discursive space by writing a letter of demand to the board, leading to a struggle. This illustrates that members are not bound by the normative repertoire, but rather by their imagination and internal pressure. Members are aware of the risk of formal and informal sanctions, but they might be able to find ways to avoid sanctions or convince themselves that their action is legitimate or worth the risk. The Social movement perspective suggests that the movement needs to gain resources and get an activist to use them (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). In an organizational setting, members have resources as a possibility to stop working, sabotage, spread stories, and so on. In the organizational setting, there is an increased risk of being sanctioned, and thus, a major challenge for triggering cultural changes is mobilizing members to act. According to the findings hidden and infra-political activities play major role when individuals mobilize themselves and other group members.

This study's findings align with Vadera, Pratt, and Mishra's findings that personal relevance as felt duty or high identification promoted constructive deviance, but also that members needed psychological empowerment to face the potential challenge. Rogers and colleagues suggest that the possibility to take small steps and thus gradually engage in public work is supporting the likelihood of engagement (2018). This study found that variation of change activity comes from moving from normative toward non-normative actions.

Van Kleef and colleagues suggest that prosocial deviance leads benefactors to see the member as more influential (Van Kleef et al., 2012). The findings do not confirm nor contrast with Van Kleef and colleagues' suggestions. However, as suggested before, members can impact their group's views by framing, making a defect a shared problem. Thereby public actions seeking to correct the problem may also be a way to gain in-group deference that may allow members to affect further framing (Hallett 2003). Further studies are needed to understand better how relative power is gained and maintained during cultural change.

The findings also suggest that members are not more likely to engage in norm-breaking when established means of change activity are felt feasible. This raises the question are organizations that provide feasible change means more often or less commonly face cultural change compared with an organization that does not provide such means. The findings of this study suggest that in-group dissatisfaction may trigger norm-breaking when feasible normative means of change are not available. As suggested before public norm-breaking is likely to draw attention to the action and trigger in-group information processing compared with when means of change are normative. Further studies could provide insight into cultural management by unpacking this question.

A new perspective of organizational change activity can be recognized. The findings of this study, together with the emerging social movements all over the world, set a question, are we going to see more resistance in organizations? Actions such as bossnapping (Parsons, 2013) as a form of radicalization that seeks to improve recognized problems. Internet and social media play an important role in developing and sharing frames in social movements (Goh & Pang, 2016; Harlow, 2012). Also, Courpasson observed how ex-workers used blogging to form views, emotional mobilization, and turn to hidden resistance to public actions as visiting parliament (2017). More commonly, work groups' have their own social media channels that may be out of the managerial gaze allowing hidden resistance.

Internet and social media globally provide ideas to may mobilize actions. Kellogg observed how the presence of new identities in media provided "cultural tools" for interns to mobilize their collective action (2011). Imitation and the role of social media have been studied to understand lone-wolf-terrorism as school shootings. Cohen and her colleagues suggest that members tend to have idols and imitate their actions (see also, Meindl & Ivy, 2017), and "there is usually a very strong sense of moral obligation toward the group, which can be construed as identification with a cause." (Cohen, Johansson, Kaati, & Mork, 2014:250). It seems that social interaction has a central role in radicalization.

In the organizational context, the intra-organizational or external groups are potential sources of identification, drawing models of actions, and thus potential ground for radicalization. Radicalization in the organizational context is a rare lens. We could expect that members that are so dissatisfied that they would be motivated to take extreme actions would leave than engage in criminal actions. Criminal action can be justified, and collectively neutralize regret and negative feeling (Anand, Ashforth, & Joshi, 2004). This is raising a question: are we going to see more radical resistance as bossnapping or lone-wolf actions in organizations? This study suggests acknowledging the group-level support and the process that enables exceptional actions.

Future studies could observe activity that uses extreme measures as a form of resistance in the organizational context. We can expect to find a commitment to a group or organization (Packer, 2008) but as well as other personal reasons as personally experienced injustice (Ambrose et al., 2002). Ambrosa and colleagues also suggest "[saboteurs] target their behavior at the perceived source of the injustice" (2002:961). The connection between a target of action and established in-group meaning likely explains why a particular action is conducted. By studying organizational radicalism, we can better understand how the power and agency of low-power members affect organizational culture (Morrill, 2008).

Implications of findings related to the role of in-group activity

The findings extend how in-group activity is used in cultural change (Ogbonna and Harris, 2015) by connecting it with members' relative power capacity (Hallett, 2003). The findings suggest that members have three interlinked means to affect the cultural composition of the in-group. First, framing and emotional work affect the group to adopt a more distinctive and clear social identity (Jasper, 2011). Second, via sensemaking and framing suggest a shared aim, and third, by building psychological discomfort via framing and emotional work. These are means how hidden and infra-political activities mobilize members.

A loose group where members share some ideas, have similar roles, and have weak bonds between members is less likely to feel the norm of reciprocity and share injunctive norms that lower the likelihood of social mobilization (Rogers, Goldstein, & Fox, 2018). Activity that builds stronger bonds, reciprocity, and builds shared norms help a personal agency to turn into a collective one (Bandura, 2006). Rogers and colleagues found that people were more likely to act consistent with their social identities, especially when others were observing this activity (2018). This allows group members to build the group boundaries and relations among members. This activity might create strong cohesion among the members and such lead to groupthinking (Janis, 1991). Thereby activity that defines the group and belonging to the group is one way to create resources for social mobilization.

Framing and emotional work can be used to make a defect to a problem, something worthy of fighting for. Building on social cognitive theory, collective action needs a shared aim (Bandura, 2006). Thus, the agency that suggests, clarifies, and develops groups aims is animating group members. The group's aim is built on a group's norms and as such it becomes legitimate.

In-group activity that uses emotional work and framing to build psychological discomfort may turn everyday grouching to open resistance (Dahling & Gutworth, 2017). This work builds emotional energy (Jasper, 2011) in group members and such creating internal pressure to engage public action to reach a desirable outcome.

These three functions form a party and animate it. Jasper suggests that making enemies is an effective way of raising emotional energy (2011). Framing some outsiders as enemies who harm the group's interests or sacred values same time defines the group's identity, and aims and raises psychological discomfort. It can also be seen as building or maintaining an ideological base for a collective agency, suggesting an attack on sacred values of the group, affecting members' self-identity and self-perception (Wade-Benzoni et al., 2002).

This in-group activity can be conscious, even planned manipulative agenda or an outcome that happens when a group of members maintains their relations to make sense of what is going on in their social environment. As such, I expect that these three functions are to some extend active constantly in the organizational setting, constantly changing group constellation and members' focuses.

High-status and well-networked members might have a better possibility of governing their group's framing. Hallett suggests that members have symbolic power among those who respected them (2003). Thereby respected members might have a high potential to affect identity formation, defining collective aim and feeling psychological discomfort allowing it to control the in-group information processing and changes in cultural features drawing from there. Also, Rogers and his colleagues in their review suggested that social mobilization is more effective when members have the possibility of face-to-face interaction (2018).

The in-group agency might also recoil. The findings suggest that strong internalized frames may suggest that some outcome is problematic, for example, acts against group's sacred values. This makes it very hard for the groups to cope with the situation when their values conflict with the outcome of the negotiation. This might lead to cynicism (Fleming & Spicer, 2003) or other ways of distancing self from the group or company. At Freedom, many consultants who had framed business-orientated practices conflicting with their values left the company.

Thereby this study's findings suggest cultural change scholars acknowledge several discursive spaces. Discursive spaces help us to understand how the change process is conducted. Discursive spaces highlight two domains of interaction: public interaction, which happens in shared discursive, and hidden and infra-political interactions in private discursive spaces. Conceptually private discursive space has strong grounds on Goffman's "back-stage" that is a place for more authentic impression is given (Goffman, 1978), but also findings of Kellogg's relational spaces" that were needed to reformers to share ideas and develop them (2009) and Howard-Grenville and colleagues idea of "liminal space" that allowed "what-if" -thinking (Howard-Grenville et al., 2011). Allowing a member to create "shared understandings as to accepted 'facts,' causal models, categories and their consequences, as well as to methods for generating and validating knowledge." (Maguire & Hardy, 2013:248) with a lowered threat of being sanctioned because they break the norms of larger collectivity (Tankard & Paluck, 2016).

The discursive space lens also resonates with social movement literature. It suggests a place where resources for change activity are developed and where members are mobilized (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). It also locates sensemaking activity in the cultural change process as social interaction (Weick, 1995), that seeks to connect established repertoire with the suggested and witnessed repertoires (Canato et al., 2013) and gives members the possibility to affect the interpretations (D. A. Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991; Maitlis, 2005).

Discursive spaces have three functions, in the organizational cultural change perspective. First, it is used to create, maintain, and develop frames (Snow, 2004) that may establish cultural beliefs (Goffman, 1974). Second, it is used to create resources for negotiations purposes, mobilizing internal and external agents (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004; Taylor & Moore, 2015), and thus it affects actions and relations during the negotiation and may affect to results of an ongoing negotiation (Strauss, 1978). Third, as a side product, discursive activity builds boundaries between in-group and out-group members by suggesting and establishing norms and affecting inter-group relations by defining self and other groups (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Turner et al., 1987).

Secondly, the findings related to in-group activity highlight the role of in-group information processing as a potential source of forming new sub-cultural groups. This extends Martin's (2002) suggestion of multilevel analyses acknowledging time perspective. Negotiations likely trigger flux in formal and informal groups' boundaries and their strength. The findings suggest that in-group information processing creates cultural frames (Goffman, 1974) and such "own world" To in-group members. Frames that in-group activity creates and that establish part of group repertoire may separate the group from other groups in the organization or a sub-group from other sub-groups. The findings suggest that in-group activities also build mental boundaries between groups making normative differences salient. Similarly, social movement studies have noticed that activists may "experiencing strong boundaries between members and non-affiliates, perceiving themselves as 'us' in contrast to 'them'" (Jacobsson & Lindblom, 2013:62-63). Comparing "us form them" and attaching qualities to self and others may separate in-group from others sharing similar social identities but seeing the issue differently. Observations illustrate how consultants formed two groups depending on their values, similarly, nurses formed two groups depending on their preferred practice. Sub-groups are many times seen as formed by the occupational groups (e.g., Morgan & Ogbonna, 2008).

Third, the findings related to the in-group generation of resources help us understand the possible mechanism of how mundane activity may turn into radical cultural change and thereby extends Swidler's theory (1986). Swidler suggests that the culture of a group can be settled or in unsettled times, referring that in settled times, members do not have the resources to adopt new cultural repertoires. During unsettled times, ideological movements create resources for the members to adopt new repertoires (Swidler, 1986). Building on the finding of this study, in-group framing creates resources for in-group mobilization, but when members engage in public negotiation actions those ideas become available to others that might find a way to use them to create new resources. For example, mobilizing a patient to write a complaint to top management triggers supervisors to make new interpretations suggesting that the staff cannot be trusted and thereby legitimizing adopting new management practices that further trigger staff to frame what is going on. This cyclic interaction between parties and their internal information processing is a potential source of creating resources that move the organization to an unsettled state. For example, at Freedom ideological movement to make the company more business orientated also changed power structures, on what defined consultants' status, practices as requirements for recruits and introduced ideas of a more controlled environment give more power to the management team. These illustrate how radical cultural change may grow from the inside. The same process could explain how external shock is triggering members in the process of creating resources to respond to the needs that external shock creates (Schein, 2010) and thereby, in some situations, enable the organizational members to trigger radical changes in the cultural features of the organization.

5.4 Practical implications

This study seeks to support practitioners in their change work by enriching their understanding of the organizational cultural change process as well as pointing out key findings. In this section, key findings are listed and discussed.

Triggering cultural changes

The findings of this study suggest practitioners consider means to trigger sensemaking. Similar to others (e.g., Canato et al., 2013), this study suggests that sensemaking is a central part of cultural change. It is not self-evident that managerial actions draw members' attention and trigger sensemaking and lead to consistent actions (Maitlis, 2005). Exceptional action that challenges dominant order is a prominent means to draw attention and initiate change work in the sub-groups. However, they may come with the cost of conflict and polarization of views among groups that may turn the public struggles and cause unexpected changes. Thereby, how the change initiative is made visible matters. If the action is weak it is not noticed thus unable to trigger sensemaking. If the action is strong it more likely leads to sensemaking, but possibly also to resistance.

When organizational members use exceptional means this is a beacon of backstage change activity. Findings of this study suggest that exceptional actions are more likely grounded on sub-group's views, and thus, exceptional actions are not individual expressions of frustration or conflict but rather a manifestation of subgroup's disagreement and established view of conflicting interest. This may act as an indicator of shared conflict views. However, it may be conditional to a tolerance of non-conforming action. Higher the tolerance less prominent indicator exceptional actions are but lower the tolerance more likely that exceptional actions tell more severe dissatisfaction. This is because high tolerance allows members to express defects before they are established in the group's way of thinking. However, when tolerance is high expressions of defects are not likely considered exceptional. Thereby, when exceptional actions are noticed more likely the group to which member belongs is dealing with a significant problem. If practitioners are more alert with exceptional action they might recognize when a sub-group in-group activity. Earlier recognition of in-group change activity that challenges the status quo can help managers to understand in-group views and intervene if needed.

The dramaturgical perspective that suggests members do not necessarily tell what they value and desire raises the question of how well managers can facilitate behavioral changes if their expectations of employees' values or group norms are not correct. The phenomenon that subordinates tend to modify their behavior around high-power is known from impression management studies (Rosenfeld et al., 1994). This study also suggests that peers have a similar effect, and such members are most of the time under surveillance (Sewell, 1998). This external regulation increases likely hood that a manager is unable to capture values and desires of subordinates and thus there are more challenges to guide their own actions. This study illustrates that sub-groups create their own world that guides their members' behavior. This same effect likely happens with the managers at different levels when their interaction and sensemaking happens with their peers. This increases the likelihood that managers act based on false or biased understanding. This study's findings suggest that change initiatives that conflict with member's "sacred beliefs" most likely trigger resistance, cultural changes as transforming relations between groups and possibly leading members with conflicting views leaving or distancing themselves. Thereby, practitioners would benefit understanding internalized beliefs and normative views before initiating change processes.

This study suggests looking at change activity from the social movement perspective that highlights the ability to mobilize members and build pressure (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). As demonstrated by the Kellogg motivated minorities with access to political toolkits that managers have more likely lead to cultural changes (2011). This gives charismatic leaders the potential to affect members' sensemaking, identity and take them to participate in change work. Especially using emotional frames that build on injustice, harm, positioning enemies are a prominent way to mobilize but also cause major psychological discomfort, feelings anger, frustration, and possibly hate. Thereby using emotional frames of injustice may be an effective way to mobilize members but also likely lower members' well-being, especially if the desired outcome is not achieved. Framing might cause radicalization that is beneficial for the change but might have unexpected and undesirable outcomes. The option of using emotional frames of injustice puts managers in a tricky position. Causing dissatisfaction is useful for change activity but same time potentially risky causing short- and long-term undesirable outcomes. There are also ethical questions to consider that should not be forgotten if managers use frames that trigger conflict and such cause psychological discomfort. Last, the findings do not downplay the role of organizational members, even there is a charismatic leader present. The opposite, members also are critical to managerial sensegiving and create their own interpretations (e.g., Vaara & Tienari, 2011).

Framing a change activity as a social movement suggests practitioners build more democratic and interactional change processes. Providing information about why changes are conducted and tolerating, even encouraging criticism may support open dialogue and understanding and reduce confrontation and escalation of conflicting views. However, if dominant cultural features of the organization do not support this interaction, evaluations that the member make may lead them to resist the suggested model of action (Labianca et al., 2000) and keep their sensemaking at the back-stage. Thereby, moving toward participative change processes is a change process itself.

Dynamics of change activity when conflicting views are present explains why cultural change is so hard to control. Looking at the process via discursive spaces reveals how limited access managers have to influence sensemaking. Change plans that build on sensegiving and influencing members' thinking could better consider how messages are framed at the back-stages where subgroups are trying to make sense of what is going. This partly explains why using participative methods as workshops and such on reducing resistance (Kotter & Schlesinger, 1989) because those may create a space for expressing critical views and concerns where they can be responded before they turn to dominant frames used in in-group interaction. The suggested framework proposes that this kind of action would be more effective if they are done earlier (versus later) that subgroup interaction has not possibility to escalate views and those views are not established. The findings suggest that ideas tended to grow and be established when members used them as tools of interpretation of what is going on.

The findings of this study suggest that the power balance between management and employees is often a matter of established norm of following than depending on access to resources that give possibility sanction or reward members. If an employee's desire for change is strong enough, a member may utilize unexpected means that give them means to influence others and push their desired outcome. On its extreme, this can be bossnaping (Parsons, 2013) but also milder actions as strikes or whistleblowing. Even these single actions would not have the strength to force decision-maker, a member may act as a role model. A member may draw attention to their desired topic and provide new resources for others thus if a high level of dissatisfaction is shared among members. On extreme this can trigger more change activity, leading to new resources and turning an organization into a battlefield of ideological activism, and moving cultural system to unsettled times (Swidler, 1984).

Cultural control

Managers may focus on building and maintaining desirable practices and thereby forgot underlying beliefs. As Canato and her colleagues demonstrate, this might be a prominent way to control cultural repertoire (2013). The suggested perspective of dramaturgical culture questions to what extend practices are actually shared. Increasing transparency more likely diminishes the role of in-group norms and leads to the adoption of practices that follow the expectations of high-power groups.

Another option is to build systems or structures that impact in-group activity by affecting normative beliefs. Kärreman and Alvesson's findings on how HRM systems affected members' identity and guided behavior (2004). This is a possible solution that may animate organizational members via providing desirable identities. Even if not all members internalize the provided identities, they are more likely to follow normative practices associated with the provided identity to maintain good relations with the members.

The finding that people may pick a defect and grow it to be a shared problem suggests that managers take a risk if they limit their focus only on dominating practices. Hidden in-group change activity is a potential threat to established cultural features of the organization. This suggests practitioners engage in the investigation of how group members frame situations. However, this rarely is feasible for the practitioners, and in many cases, this is useless as introduced framing may as well be rejected by group members. Thereby, in most cases, a feasible strategy still might stick to managing practices. When actions lead to open resistance, public resistance might be a key signal to focus on group members' views to understand their way of seeing the situation.

From a practitioners' perspective, a central question is how to prevent groaning from turning to full-grown resistance and even extreme actions? The findings of this study suggest that groaning tends to grow and take the form of public resistance with time. More likely the environment is inhibiting expressions of dissatisfaction more likely hidden resistance is generating in-group pressure. Thereby, I make a hypothesis that when tolerance of challenging current ways of thinking and doing is relatively low first public actions act as a beacon of underlying dissatisfaction and mobilization. When the tolerance is high, mobilization is less likely to develop as far, and members are less committed to subgroup's shared views when they are expressed publicly. Thereby high tolerance gives more possibilities for managers to intervene.

It also seems unlikely that managers would be able to invade in-group discursive space to that extend that alternative explanation would not have space to grow at all. One strategy could be that management may seek to try to listen to echoes from the sub-groups more carefully and seek to intervene before introduced frames are established as in-group's shared truth.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Organizational culture is one central factor affecting both organizational functioning (e.g., Homburg & Pflesser, 2000) and the well-being of organizational members (e.g., Beauregard, 2011). Thereby, it is not surprising that managers and other organizational members seek to transform established practices and beliefs. However, planned cultural change is challenging to achieve (Smith, 2003, Labianca et al., 2001), and changes tend to have unexpected outcomes (Canato et al. 2013).

This study investigated members' in- and inter-group activity to understand the members' role in organizational cultural change. This micro-level perspective focuses on the change activity of organizational members conduct in the organizational cultural change. The study is built on qualitative data and investigated the data inductively. Theoretical lenses of resistance, norm-breaking, and negotiated order were used to understand relations of change activity and changes of cultural features or organization. Three sub-studies were conducted to investigate members' activities using these different theoretical lenses.

This thesis's main contribution lies in elaborating on the role of organizational members in organizational cultural change processes. It also unpacks specific in-group and inter-group mechanisms through which members through their activities may impact the cultural features of organizations. In detail, this thesis reveals two main mechanisms. First, it highlights how both the members' negotiation activity and its outcome could trigger changes in cultural features. The process through which negotiations unfold impacts the change of an organization's cultural features over and above the outcomes of the negotiation activity itself. Second, it suggests that members' change activity appears to follow the logic of a social movement: members takes sides, who work continuously to mobilize and persuade in-group members to put pressure on out-group members in order to gain important resources to promote and resist change, accordingly.

The findings have several implications for the cultural change literature. They support the view that cultural change draws from in-group and inter-group relations (Ogbonna & Harris, 2015), and suggest how in-group activity is used to animate inter-group activity. The findings challenge organizational level view to organizational culture (Martin, 1992) and suggest adopting a group-level perspective on organizational culture to understand behavior of organizational member both during the change activity and stable times. The findings also support a dualistic view of culture that suggests that cultural knowledge and practices feed each other (Patterson, 2015), but suggest how these two may start to conflict (e.g., Canato et al. 2013). The findings suggest scholars and practitioners acknowledge both hidden and shared discursive spaces. Hidden in-group activity may be as important triggering cultural changes as public discursive space. The findings also illustrate several ways how members may hinder and trigger cultural changes and such help practitioners steer desirable changes.

6.1 Limitations and avenues for future research

These findings raise several questions for future research. The setting of research explored cases of conflicting interests that challenged established order. This setting limits possibilities to argue about the cultural change process in any other situation. The setting made more likely members able to capture attention in hidden and public discursive spaces by colliding their ideas with established or suggested views and making their views recognizable and open for reflection. These made the change process visible to the organizational members and initiated negotiation.

Data at the first sub-study also describes that after negotiation, nurses changed their shared beliefs of particular doctors' behavior without recognizable negotiations. This observation raises the question of other possible mechanisms that affect the formation of shared believes and practices in setting where members' interests are not conflicting. Other mechanisms of cultural change, and how they operate with the suggested mechanism, is a prominent domain of future research.

The findings propose that in a conflict situation, members are forming their interpretation with their peers and friends that lead to forming parties. I have called this positioning in relation to others in the first sub-study and hidden resistance in the third sub-study. This activity needs more in-depth investigations. The central role of this in-group activity might be explained by the selected organizations and their cultures. Both studied organizations could be considered people-orientated; highlighting the need to maintain good relations between the group members. This likely affects members' desire to align their views with others. Also, much of the in-group activity was hidden from the investigator. Different groups asynchronously conducted in-group activities as responses in in-group activity and activity of different parties. Informants talked about only some of their private conversations and thereby giving only a limited view of what was shared with others. Organizational life is full of issues that are running at the same time, leading to a situation where emerging topics were captured afterwards. The data captured moments when beliefs were introduced, reproduced, or challenged. Informants mainly seem to have adopted similar views than other in-group members when informants' views were captured by the investigator. There is always a possibility that members engaged in situations that affected their understanding even they are not able to track those by themselves. A more individual-based investigation is needed to understand better in-group activity and factors that affect it.

Furthermore, the sub-study created parties from members based on their similar views and actions. That potentially leads to a myopic view and reduces the diversity of views. Martin notices that the chosen focus may affect how diverse or integrated cultural repertoire is captured (Martin, 1992) — selected approach to form groups based on members' similar views and activity support sub-group outlining with a risk of inability to recognize fragmented repertoire. That might have overstressed the in-group activity and its impact. Further studies of in-group activity will benefit if the investigation includes all the group members as informants, not just some members of the group.

The data was collected in two Nordic organizations, and more diverse sample could improve understanding of the underlying mechanisms of the change activity. In selected setting, organizational members were more likely individualistic and prone to express their views (Perlitz & Seger, 2004) compared to members in more collective societies as in Japan. The institutionalized belief that members should be able to express themselves likely affects how much deviance members express and thus engage both hidden and public resistance. Stamkou and colleagues found that norm-breaking caused less moral-outrage in individualistic cultures (Stamkou et al., 2019). Studying change activity in the hierarchical and collective environments could reveal both stronger and weaker support between norm-breaking and sub-group norms. Further studies are needed to understand how institutionalized values and practices affect to dynamics of change activity. For example, in collective societies, one could expect that sub-groups longer keep the resistance hidden and do not act before they can expect the support from the majority. This raises a question: if public engagements to change activity are missing, how organizational level cultural changes happen? Also, do members dare to engage in the in-group change activity?

This study also focusses on very limited power scope in the organization. Further, resistant literature would benefit investigating dynamics resistance in different power settings. For example, how mid-manager (Giangreco & Peccei, 2005) build their resistance. They are both victims of dominant order as well as central agents of maintaining it. Thereby investigating members in power could both allow us better to understand using resources for the change as well as identity work, they need to engage in to maintain this conflicting role (Anicich & Hirsh, 2017).

Further, this study was unable to capture how power and status interplayed in mobilization and thus affected to hidden and public resistance. As this study suggests sub-group framing is central to creating resources to resistance, future studies would benefit observing the role of status in this process. Hallett suggests that some members might be respected and thus are more able to frame situations (2003). This symbolic power could mobilize in-group and out-group members to support the resistance. Social psychological studies suggest that prosocial deviant leads the group to afford more power to deviant members (Van Kleef et al., 2012). Thereby, a deeper investigation of the role of power and status in social mobilization in an organizational setting, would elaborate understanding how power is generated and maintained via change activity.

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Appendix

Table 14 List of Transcribed interviews

Date	**Role**	**Organization**	**Duration (min)**
2.10.xxx1	Consultant	Freedom	148
4.10.xxx1	Consultant	Freedom	88
4.2.xxx2	Staff member	People	133
5.2.xxx2	Leadership position	People	164
16.2.xxx2	Leadership position	People	110
18.2.xxx2	Consultant	Freedom	119
19.2.xxx2	Leadership position	People	98
27.2.xxx2	Staff member	People	89
4.3.xxx2	Leadership position	People	134
9.3.xxx2	Leadership position	People	89
15.3.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	116
16.3.xxx2	Leadership position	People	210
17.3.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	111
20.3.xxx2	Leadership position	People	79
23.3.xxx2	Leadership position	People	91
30.3.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	126
9.4.xxx2	Leadership position	People	109
10.4.xxx2	Leadership position	People	89
10.4.xxx2	Leadership position	People	34
10.4.xxx2	Staff member	People	32
24.4.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	60
30.4.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	79
30.4.xxx2	Leadership position	People	81
4.5.xxx2	Leadership position	People	77
4.5.xxx2	Leadership position	People	80
4.5.xxx2	Staff member	People	83
5.5.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	61
6.5.xxx2	Leadership position	People	43
25.5.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	55
8.6.xxx2	Leadership position	People	107
8.6.xxx2	Leadership position	People	73
9.6.xxx2	Leadership position	People	54
11.6.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	58

14.7.xxx2	Leadership position	People	56
31.7.xxx2	Leadership position	People	106
10.8.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	45
11.8.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	34
13.8.xxx2	Leadership position	People	66
18.8.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	50
8.9.xxx2	Leadership position	People	95
8.9.xxx2	Leadership position	People	61
17.9.xxx2	Leadership position	People	58
20.9.xxx2	Leadership position	People	87
26.10.xxx2	Leadership position	People	64
30.10.xxx2	Leadership position	People	51
2.11.xxx2	Leadership position	People	92
13.11.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	85
13.11.xxx2	Leadership position	People	59
19.11.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	66
23.11.xxx2	Leadership position	People	70
25.11.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	73
26.11.xxx2	Leadership position	Freedom	112
18.1.xxx3	Leadership position	People	70
25.1.xxx3	Leadership position	People	68
3.2.xxx3	Leadership position	Freedom	71
9.2.xxx3	Leadership position	Freedom	86
19.2.xxx3	Leadership position	People	59
4.4.xxx3	Staff member	People	77
19.4.xxx3	Staff member	People	80
13.5.xxx3	Leadership position	People	62
12.10.xxx3	Leadership position	People	135
12.10.xxx3	Leadership position	People	81
16.10.xxx3	Leadership position	People	80
20.10.xxx3	Staff member	Freedom	148
25.10.xxx3	Staff member	People	114
27.10.xxx3	Leadership position	People	80
31.10.xxx3	Leadership position	Freedom	84
2.11.xxx3	Leadership position	Freedom	127
7.11.xxx3	Leadership position	People	127
9.11.xxx3	Leadership position	People	70
14.11.xxx3	Leadership position	People	59
16.11.xxx3	Leadership position	People	57
18.11.xxx3	Leadership position	Freedom	127
22.11.xxx3	Staff member	People	156
24.11.xxx3	Leadership position	People	62
1.12.xxx3	Leadership position	People	144

2.12.xxx3	Leadership position	Freedom	61
7.12.xxx3	Consultant	Freedom	121
7.12.xxx3	Consultant	Freedom	122
7.12.xxx3	Leadership position	People	90
12.12.xxx3	Leadership position	Freedom	94
15.12.xxx3	Leadership position	People	108
20.12.xxx3	Staff member	People	110
22.12.xxx3	Leadership position	People	171
11.1.xxx4	Leadership position	People	86
11.1.xxx4	Leadership position	People	62
19.1.xxx4	Staff member	People	112
23.1.xxx4	Leadership position	People	96
23.1.xxx4	Leadership position	People	78
24.1.xxx4	Leadership position	People	95
27.1.xxx4	Leadership position	Freedom	77
2.2.xxx4	Leadership position	Freedom	93
6.2.xxx4	Consultant	Freedom	204
6.2.xxx4	Consultant	Freedom	127
20.2.xxx4	Consultant	Freedom	96
23.2.xxx4	Leadership position	People	79
24.2.xxx4	Leadership position	People	105
1.3.xxx4	Leadership position	People	90
1.3.xxx4	Staff member	People	105
6.3.xxx4	Leadership position	Freedom	79
7.3.xxx4	Staff member	People	118
8.3.xxx4	Leadership position	Freedom	134
9.3.xxx4	Staff member	People	62
17.4.xxx4	Staff member	People	152
20.4.xxx4	Leadership position	People	120
21.4.xxx4	Consultant	Freedom	82
21.4.xxx4	Leadership position	People	75
26.4.xxx4	Consultant	Freedom	62
9.8.xxx4	Leadership position	People	72
15.8.xxx4	Leadership position	People	42
17.8.xxx4	Leadership position	People	42
17.8.xxx4	Staff member	People	13
15.9.xxx4	Staff member	People	23
15.9.xxx4	Staff member	People	35
15.9.xxx4	Staff member	People	40
15.9.xxx4	Staff member	People	24
15.9.xxx4	Staff member	People	17
22.2.xxx5	Leadership position	People	118
1.3.xxx5	Leadership position	Freedom	83

5.3.xxx5	Leadership position	People	65
8.3.xxx5	Staff member	People	37
15.3.xxx5	Leadership position	People	58
16.3.xxx5	Leadership position	Freedom	45
5.4.xxx5	Leadership position	People	82
5.4.xxx5	Leadership position	People	108
5.4.xxx5	Staff member	People	91
6.4.xxx5	Leadership position	Freedom	85
9.4.xxx5	Leadership position	Freedom	80
24.4.xxx5	Leadership position	Freedom	52
3.5.xxx5	Staff member	People	56
9.5.xxx5	Consultant	Freedom	62
15.5.xxx5	Staff member	People	71
25.5.xxx5	Staff member	People	32
12.6.xxx5	Staff member	People	54
2.7.xxx5	Leadership position	People	59
4.7.xxx5	Leadership position	People	70
24.8.xxx5	Consultant	Freedom	62
13.9.xxx5	Staff member	People	49
25.9.xxx5	Staff member	People	79
3.10.xxx5	Consultant	Freedom	86
4.10.xxx5	Leadership position	Freedom	79
Total	**Leadership position 99**	**People 95**	**11871**
	Other 42	**Freedom 46**	**Ca. 198 h**
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ISBN 978-952-64-1046-3 (printed)
ISBN 978-952-64-1047-0 (pdf)
ISSN 1799-4934 (printed)
ISSN 1799-4942 (pdf)

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