

Marketing

The Paradox of Public Management

The Actions and Roles of the Public Manager in Enabling the Process of Networking in Social and Health Care for the Elderly

Katri Nykänen



Aalto University

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The Paradox of Public Management

The Actions and Roles of the Public Manager in
Enabling the Process of Networking in Social and
Health Care for the Elderly

Katri Nykänen

Main dissertation advisor

Professor Kristian Möller, Aalto University School of Business, Finland

Preliminary examiners

Professor Päivi Eriksson, University of Eastern Finland, Finland

Professor Hanna Lehtimäki, University of Eastern Finland, Finland

Opponent

Professor Hanna Lehtimäki, University of Eastern Finland, Finland

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Abstract

This study has its origin in both theoretical and practical demand for understanding the role of the public manager in networks and the management of elderly care services. Within this context the dissertation is a study into the paradox of public management through networks, their processes and management and has the aim to add to the existing theory of the public management and to the paradox of public management. The theoretical framework of this study has three focus points: The process of networking, the managerial actions during this process and the participation and roles of the public manager either as an active member in the network or as the public manager in either the sector or department level.

To study the process of networking I conducted a dialogical action research that allowed me to create a model of the process of networking. Action research was a suitable research method to study management practices and the participation has been crucial in creating new concepts that describe what actually happens in the studied organizations and allowed creating a longitudinal model that combines theory and praxis This study adds to the existing theoretical and practical understanding by identifying and clarifying the role of the first actions in the organization to networking by emphasizing the role of the internal conditions to the later phases. I have included planning the process of networking and the implementing the solution and the network practices to the process, i.e. what happens inside the organization to create networks and to implement solutions created in a network. In these phases the emphasis is on the municipal organization while during the phases constructing the network and collaborating for the solution the emphasis is on the network.

By paying attention to the phases of networking and to the organizational level of the public manager the results of this study challenge the earlier research that has assumed the public manager to take an active role in the process of networking as the network manager. At the beginning the role of the public manager is the most instrumental to the success of networking and again at the last phase the role of the public manager is highlighted. The important role of the public manager during these two phases is created by the fact that these phases mainly take place in the organization. During the middle phases the network and the network manager are able to work more independently and the network manager take responsibility of the managerial actions. Enabling of the process of networking in the hierarchically organized public service production means both active participation in the networks and supporting the networking from the role of the public manager in the sector or department levels. The results indicate that the enabling of the process of networking is dynamic and requires the public manager to be flexible when it comes to the active participation and roles in the process.

Keywords public management, public sector, network management, networks, action research

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Tiivistelmä

Tämä väitöskirja edistää olemassa olevaa ymmärrystä organisaatioiden välisestä verkostomaisesta yhteistyöstä ja siitä, kuinka julkisen sektorin johtaja voi mahdollistaa organisaationsa verkostoitumista johtamisensa kautta. Näiden kahden valitsemani näkökulman avulla haluan edistää julkisen sektorin teorioita liittyen julkisen johtamisen paradoksiin, joka viittaa julkisen johtajan toimimiseen verkostoissa ja hierarkiassa samanaikaisesti. Tarjotakseni oman ratkaisuni julkisen johtamisen paradoksiin, olen osallistavan toimintatutkimuksen avulla tutkinut ja muodostanut nelivaiheisen prosessikuvauksen verkostoutumisesta. Ymmärtääkseni johtamista ja verkostoitumisen mahdollistamista olen tarkastellut verkostojohtamista ja kuntaorganisaation johtamista eri tasoisten johtajien toiminnan kautta. Teoreettinen viitekeh്യkseni perustuu ajatukseen siitä, että julkisen sektorin johtaja voi vaikuttaa verkostoitumiseen paitsi suoran osallistumisen kautta, esimerkiksi verkostojohtajana, myös omasta roolistaan organisaation johtajana.

Toimintatutkimuksen avulla olen yhdessä tutkittavan yhteisön kanssa muodostanut verkostoja vanhustenpalveluiden kehittämiseksi Muutosvoimaa vanhustyön osaamiseen-projektissa, jossa muodostettiin organisaatioiden välisiä verkostoja Vantaan ja Espoon vanhuspalveluiden kotihoitoon. Projektin tarkoituksena oli verkostojen ja verkostomaisen toimintatavan lisäksi kehittää kotihoitoon palveluita vahvistamaan kaupunkien strategiana ollutta vanhusten kotona asumisen tukemista.

Olen esittänyt, että verkostoitumisen prosessi alkaa organisaation sisällä tehtävistä valmisteluista verkostoitumisen mahdollistamiseksi ja päättyy verkoston aikaansaaman ratkaisun tai itse verkoston implementointiin. Tutkimusote on mahdollistanut johtajien toimintatapojen kriittisenkin tarkastelun ja näiden toimintatapojen vaikutuksen organisaatioon ja sen toimijoiden verkostoitumismahdollisuuksiin. Tutkimuksen tuloksena luotu verkostoitumisen mahdollistamisen malli tarjoaa yhden ratkaisun julkisen johtamisen paradoksiin erittelemällä osallistumisen ja ne roolit, kussakin verkostoitumisen vaiheessa, jotka mahdollistavat verkostoitumista. Tulokset osoittavat että johtajan osallistuminen verkostojen toimintaan joko suoraan tai oman johtajan roolin kautta ovat verkostoitumisen prosessille kriittisiä prosessin alkaessa sekä prosessin viimeisessä vaiheessa. Prosessin alussa luodaan olosuhteet koko verkostoitumisen prosessille ja johtajan osallistuminen ja tuki ovat kriittisiä hierarkisesti rakennetussa kuntaorganisaatiossa. Prosessin keskivaiheilla verkosto voi toimia melko itsenäisesti ja johtaja tukee verkostoa hyvin myös omasta johtajan roolistaan käsin. Johtajalle verkostoitumisen mahdollistaminen julkisella sektorilla tarkoittaa avointa asennetta ja kykyä toimia dynaamisesti erilaisen osallistumisen ja erilaisten roolien kautta prosessin aikana.

Avainsanat Julkinen johtaminen, julkinen sektori, verkostojohtaminen, verkostot, toimintatutkimus

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Berlin, 6th December 2017

Katri Nykänen

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1. Introduction

Providing organizations and professions in the health and social care sector of European countries increasingly participate in regional inter-organizational networks that are established for multi-agency working. This is the result of changing demands from patients. Elderly and chronically ill patients, especially, whose numbers are growing, are in need of a package of services that usually cannot be delivered by a single provider. (Von Raak, and Paulus 2001, 1)

This dissertation is a study into enabling the processes of networking within the hierarchically organized and bureaucratic elderly care service organization and production in the public sector. The focus is on the actions of a public manager in a municipal organization that organizes and produces social and health care services for the elderly. The double role of the public manager in managing the hierarchical public organization and managing the more socially oriented networks has given rise to a phenomenon called the paradox of public management. The aim of this study is (i) to understand how the paradox can be solved through the right kind of participation and roles a public manager can adopt during the process of networking and (ii) how to organize systematic collaboration processes (the process of networking) inside and between organizations. Through better understanding of the paradox of the public management and enabling participation and roles of the public manager, the municipalities can implement processes of networking and collaborate to be able to provide services to an increasing number of elderly with increasingly complex service needs.

What makes the topic of this research important is the change the health and social care sector, especially elderly care, has been going through due to the fast-growing amount of customers, patients, and their increasingly multifaceted problems, that require more complex service offering. The traditionally hierarchically organized and bureaucratic service organization and production (later referred to as service production, including both organization and production of services by the municipal organizations) in elderly care has become increasingly segmented, and the professions within social and health care services – more specialized than before. Also, new types of challenges in service provision have emerged in elderly care. Social and health care organization and management have experienced several changes during the past decades such as: renewed laws and policies concerning patient rights, organizational

changes, and changes in the type of services emphasized in the service production. All these factors have contributed to the increase in inter-sectoral network-type collaboration in the public sector. (Kokko and Koskimies, 2007, 12; Heinämäki, 2012)

The organization of elderly care services follow this general trend, according to which, networks have become an increasingly popular way to organize economic and even social activities (e.g. Achrol and Kotler, 1999; Amit and Zott, 2001; Powell, 1990). This however requires a new type of public management, which enables service production through networks. An essential part of this new public management is to understand network management and the public manager's participation and roles in the network management activities. (Von Raak and Paulus, 2001) Here, public manager refers to the sector- and department-level managers in the municipal organization. The lower level managers' roles are studied as network participants or network managers and not referred to as public management to differ from the sector- and department-level managers. The different management levels will be presented in the chapter two.

Network and network management research borrows largely from organizational studies, more precisely, from the public management research that concerns the management of networks. (Provan and Milward, 1995; Kenis and Provan, 2009; Meier and O'Toole, 2001; 2003; O'Toole and Meier, 2004; 2006; Huxham and Vangen, 1996; Huxham, 2000) Network research builds on several different research traditions, encompasses several research layers, and draws from different disciplines and theories; it is, from a theoretical perspective, broad and fragmented.

This public management view on networks and their management is the basis for the theoretical framework of this study. In public management research, social network research has a very important role. This role has risen from the earlier overexposed role of network structures in public management research (for example: McEvily and Zaheer, 1999; Ahuja, 2000; Reagans and McEvily, 2003; Burt, 2004). From social network research, public management researchers and practitioners have adopted important concepts regarding relationships and the key factors of networks (Gulati, 1995; 1998; Uzzi, 1997; Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998; Gulati and Gargiulo, 1999; Gulati, Nohria, and Zaheer, 2000; Inkpen and Tsang, 2005), trust and commitment (Zand, 1972; Dwyer, Schurr, and Oh, 1987; Hunt and Morgan, 1994; Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman, 1995; Inkpen and Currall, 2004; Möllering, Bachmann, and Lee, 2004; Maurer and Ebers, 2006; Nooteboom, 2007), and the use of control and hierarchical power, i.e. authority. (Das and Teng, 1998; 2004; Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; Inkpen and Currall, 2004)

When it comes to the understanding of the paradox of public management, these concepts of trust, commitment, and the use of authority and control are central to understanding the paradox. This paradox refers to the challenge of a public manager to combine the management of a hierarchically organized elderly care and the facilitation of different types of intra- and inter-organizational networks that encompass several municipal, third-, and private

sector actors as well as the different levels of the hierarchical public organizations.

In this study, I see the hierarchical organization as the prevailing structure and the process of networking more like an operating mode, that aims to create inter-organizational collaborative practices that can be established as collaborative structures between organizations in the long run. This kind of networking as the prevailing structure inside a hierarchy is what sets the new managerial requirements for managers. Further, these new requirements translate to different managerial actions and roles both within the hierarchy and the networks. To refer to the activities of network members in their attempt to reach their goal, I use the term the process of networking and later shorten this to networking, still separating networking from the more abstract use of the term, that describes all social connections between people.

I suggest that facilitating networks and managing a hierarchical organization in the public sector requires the use of different kinds of management and management tools and control mechanisms, and that this can result in contradicting behavior that can appear random to the personnel inside an organization, who can be both subordinates in the organization and equal members of the network. Therefore, I am especially interested in the different roles a manager can adopt in this type of dual-management context (See, for example, Mandell, 2001) to minimize perceived randomness of the managerial actions and especially so to enable systematic process of networking by ensuring that as the network members, the organizational actors have the resources and the conditions to participate in the networking, and that the networks are supported by the participating organizations.

When it comes to enabling the networking, it is important to understand how the new network-type governance sets barriers to networks and to this process, a fact that has an impact on the management and the facilitation of networking. These barriers stem from the nature of bureaucracy and involve professional isolation, rigidity of contracts, measurements and management devices, departmental separation, and centralized goal-setting as well as a lack of funding for collaboration. The barriers may result in, for example, acrimony, disagreement over problems and aims between the network members, impossibility to reach an agreement, and finally, in lack of implementation ability. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2011)

Therefore, the public manager needs to have an understanding of the kind of control mechanisms that support networking and where the use of authority can be supportive as well as to learn to empower the personnel accordingly. Empowerment is essential, since the organizational manager's willingness to protect their autonomy is a potential threat to the success of the networking. (O'Toole, 1997; Thomas, 2003; Agranoff and McGuire, 2011)

Another issue that highlights the importance of understanding the paradox of public management is the fact that the use of power, or more specifically, hierarchy-based authority, has been found to have an effect on trust in the network-context, whereas trust is an essential part of networking. At a right time and place, power can be seen as a force that facilitates networking, but it

can also hinder these processes and be a source of conflicts. Agranoff and McGuire (2001) have even found that the use of organizational power in networks can result in concealment of information, withholding of key network strategies and resources, and create negative social energy. Similarly, bringing the types of control mechanisms into network-contexts that are suitable inside hierarchical structures can have a negative effect on mutual trust, which is the glue that ties the members of the network together and creates commitment towards all kinds of collaboration, including networking. (Das and Teng, 1998; 2001)

I will further link the discussion on the paradox of public management to the discussion of network competences and extend it to the question of which of the tasks of network management are fulfilled and by whom. This raises the question of whether the public manager possesses the skills that fulfill the qualifications of managing the networks only based on the authority and the role in the hierarchy. I also want to understand how close network management tasks really are related to the tasks of managing a hierarchical organization in the public sector. My assumption is that the paradox of public management stems from these essential differences in the managerial tasks and actions within hierarchies and networks.

1.1 Research gap

In this study, I will concentrate on the research gap of understanding the paradox of public management, which translates to the participation and roles of the public manager in enabling networking in a hierarchically organized public sector. I propose that in order to understand the paradox of public management, one has to understand the processes of networking, their management and the dynamics thereof as well as study these in interaction with their organizational context.

Here, I will discuss the prevailing lack of understanding of the paradox of public management and of the roles of the public manager in networks and their management and explain why studying these in the context of hierarchically organized (bureaucracy) elderly care services in public sector is not only justified, but allows answering the proposed research questions and adds to the existing theoretical and practical understanding of public management. In addition, I will discuss the contribution of conducting longitudinal research to fill in the research gap and how participative action research provides the right kind of data to add to the existing theories of public (network) management.

To begin with, one could claim that empirical research on the management of networks in public organizations has been scarce, and the lack of understanding these in the social and health care services is acknowledged as well. (Agynis et al., 2009) Earlier public management research has predominantly concentrated on presenting networks and their management from a certain point of time, which is one of the reasons why the research lacks a profound understanding of the process nature of networking, including how networks

change and develop over time, and the overall dynamics of networking and the management of this process. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; McGuire, 2002)

These shortcomings have been criticized within public management research, including, for example, one of the most cited network management theories, the network management functions, failing to describe how networks develop over time and in which kinds of situations each management function can be used within the process of networking. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; Rethemayer and Hatmaker, 2008) That is to say, the functions describe the managerial actions and tasks, but do not suggest an order a network or public manager should perform these and does not make a clear distinction of the actions and tasks of developing and maintaining a network compared to the actions and tasks of managing the hierarchical public organizations.

In this research I have tied the solving of the paradox of public management to both the understanding of the process of networking and especially to the better understanding of network management. The development of networks has been of interest to some public management researchers, who have made an attempt to capture and conceptualize the process nature of networks and the management of these processes (for example: Doz, 1996; Ring and Van de Ven, 1992). This process view could have the potential to give new insight into the paradox of public management, however; it is quite evident that the research methods used have not enabled research on the dynamics of these processes and their management. I suggest that understanding the dynamics is essential to solving the paradox of public management. This in turn requires new longitudinal empirical investigations (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001) and a more holistic understanding of network management. (Hibbert, Huxham, and Ring, 2008) On a related note, it has been suggested that the lack of research on network dynamics is due to the fact that acquiring data about the dynamic nature of networks would require longitudinal data and this explains why the research of the dynamic nature of network research has remained on a conceptual level and lacks detail. (Mayer, Davis, Schoorman., 1995)

One reason why the understanding of the paradox of public management has earlier remained insufficient is due to the fact that the theoretical interest in the management of networks and their dynamic processes was focused on the structural characteristics of networks (O'Toole and Meier, 2003) as well as on the connections and collaborations inside a network, on network type and structure, or on resources (Agynis et al., 2009), rather than on the behavior of the managers themselves within networks. For example, if we take a closer look at the public management research, we can see that the emphasis has traditionally been on Resource Dependency Theory (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; 2003) or Social Structural Resources. (Burt, 1992; Ring and Van de Ven, 1994)

Public management research has mainly assumed that the public manager has an active role in networks during the whole process of networking, and usually the organizational position is seen inherent to networks (see, for example, Agranoff and McGuire, 2001). This assumption of a manager's active participation has also been criticized, and for example, the role of the public

manager has been found to be most important at the beginning of the process of networking. (Mandell, 2001) However, there has not been research that has captured how the role changes and what kind of roles and participation have the most positive effect on the different phases of the processes of networking, which means that the understanding of the paradox of public management and the participative roles that enable systematic process of networking in a hierarchical organization are limited.

What also has limited the understanding of the paradox of public management is the fact that network management researchers have largely disregarded the context or the environment of the focal networks and have concentrated on the network itself. This concentration solely on networks could explain the diversity of network management research on public management research and the failure to provide a holistic understanding of network management as called for by Hibbert, Hixham, and Ring (2008). Doz (1996) has criticized existing network process and network management research for not being able to integrate individual behavior in their organizational contexts. Agranoff and McGuire (2011) link the research on network and network management more closely to public management by pointing out that networks and organizations do not necessarily have similar goals, which evidently reflects on the members of the network, when networks are created in hierarchical contexts and the members – managers as well as personnel – have to cope and deal with the requirements of both networks and hierarchies. (Mandell and Keast, 2008; Mandell, 2001; Heinämäki, 2012) I further propose that there is a lack of understanding of how the network members, their trust, commitment, and motivation are affected by the participation of the public manager from the sector and department levels and how this changes during the network processes. This could be the other side of the paradox of public management and potentially one of the key elements of the paradox and best detected by a participative research method such as dialogical action research.

I want to conclude that while the paradox of public management has been identified earlier (see, for example: Mandell, 2001; Rethemayer and Hatmaker, 2008), it has not been studied in detail in a longitudinal or participative study, as is done here. Therefore, this research has the potential to bring new understanding to the paradox of public management through the use of a longitudinal participative method to depict the phases of networking, network management, and the effect of the public manager's participation in networking.

1.2 Research objectives and questions

The goal of this study is to extend the understanding of the paradox of public management by creating improved knowledge of the dynamics of network processes and enabling of these processes by the public manager in a context where network-type government prevails. This goal translates to conceptualizing the participation of the public manager in the long-term, trust-based, and inter-organizational networking in the public sector service production.

From the theoretical perspective, the aim is to add to the existing understanding of the paradox of public management by creating a better understanding of the phases that constitute the process of networking and network management and thereby develop the existing theory of public management with a strong evidence-based foundation (see, for example, Möller, 2013). The new addition to the theory comes from examining the transition from the hierarchical municipal governance to the network-type governance, how the transition unfolds overtime, and how the governance modes affect each other.

As one of my goals for this research has been to understand the process of creating, maintaining, and terminating or disseminating networks in a hierarchical municipal context in producing social and health care services for the elderly, as well as the relationship between this context and the members of the network and their relationships, I have studied not only the network in its context, but also an organization in a network context. In studying the networks, their management, and context, I refer to the public management literature that, despite largely concentrating on policy networks and different governance modes, has indicated similar research objectives and a gap in public management research.

Further, my study is contributing to the public management research by classifying and conceptualizing roles a public manager can adopt in each of the phases in the attempt to enable networking both inside the organization and inside the network. In addition, this study increases the understanding of networking processes by introducing a dynamic and holistic model of networking (i.e. process of networking).

To contribute to the public management theory regarding the paradox of public management, I have formulated the following main research question and three sub-questions. The main research question is:

How can a public manager deal with the paradox of public management and establish an appropriate level of participation and suitable roles to enable the process of networking?

In order to answer this main question, I suggest that the following three sub-questions need to be answered. I have stated earlier that in order to create a model of enabling the process of networking, we have to be open to the idea that there might be a need to vary the level of participation, and that the public manager might have to adopt different types of roles during the processes of networking. To find the right level of participation and the right kind of roles, the manager has to understand the dynamics of the processes as well as the network management actions during each phase of networking. Therefore, the sub-questions target the processes, the actions that constitute network management, and the enabling effects of the managerial actions, roles, and participation of the public manager.

1. How should the process of networking be organized to allow systematic network-type collaboration inside and between public organizations?

The process of networking refers to an order of phases and functions of the members of the network and the network manager that result in a systematic way to organize collaborative activities in the context of network-type governance in the public sector. To capture these processes, we need to have a longitudinal understanding of how the service or development networks are being constructed, maintained, and disseminated or how their resources are redirected to solve other emerging issues within their originating organizations. The existing theories of the process of network management and the theory of network management functions play an important role in conceptualizing the findings of the longitudinal dialogical action research process into a model of enabling networking in the hierarchical context of municipal elderly care service organizations. In constructing the phases of the process, I look at the existing literature both on the phases of the process of networking and network management.

2. How do the managerial actions, including functions and more specific tasks, evolve during the process of networking?

The network management functions literature explains the kinds of managerial actions, functions, and more specific tasks that are needed in the processes of networking. However, regarding the paradox of public management, the existing network management functions theory has three weaknesses that this research is looking to solve. Firstly, the existing functions discussion is weak in conceptualizing the dynamics of managerial tasks, actions and functions. Secondly, the functions discussion does not provide a specific solution to the question of who should manage a network or to the question of whether it is required that a single member of the network remains the network manager during the whole process of networking. Thirdly, some researchers assume that the organizational manager adopts the role of the network manager. (McGuire, 2002) Even those researchers who have questioned this assumption have failed to provide a solution to the question of who should manage the network. (Mandell, 2001)

Finally, in order to understand the paradox of public management and find the enabling managerial participative roles for the department- and sector-level manager, I will take a look at all the managerial actions during the process of networking performed by an appointed network manager or the organizational manager and situate these actions to the phases of networking process.

3. To enable networking, how should the managerial participation and roles of the public manager evolve during the process of networking along each of the identified phases?

As stated earlier, the attempt to cope with the management of both the networks and the hierarchical public organization has given rise to the paradox of public management, since within the new context of network-type governance, the public manager has to deal with the social requirements of the networks

and the hierarchy-based management of public organizations (for example, Heinämäki, 2012). Earlier network management research has showed that the managerial requirements of hierarchies and networks are different (for an overview of current research, see Järvensivu and Möller, 2009). This gives rise to the question of whether the public manager is always the right person to manage the network. (Mandell, 2001) The third sub-question combines the findings regarding the participation and roles of the public manager into a process view of actions that can be seen to have an enabling effect on the systematic networking in each of the phases.

This research question addresses the issue of whether the involvement of a public manager always has a positive effect on the networks and network processes and whether the public manager should be an active participant in networking. This question emphasizes the importance of participative dialogical action research in trying to understand the practices of the researched organizations and to witness the reactions to different actions and situations to form the final model of enabling networking in a hierarchical organization in the public sector.

1.3 Methodology

The dialogical action research project (Driving Change in Welfare Services for the Aged, DCWSA project) was funded by the European Union Social Fund and a network of two Finnish municipalities, Espoo and Vantaa, a university (Aalto university), and a university of applied sciences (Laurea) that is specialized in the development of social and health care services. Originally, the project was initiated by the researchers' willingness to understand networks and their management in the public sector and in relation to identify the increasing need for a network-type of systematic collaboration between different sectors and organizations in the municipalities, as well as the municipal organizations' struggle in Espoo and Vantaa to be able to create networks to help provide home care services to the citizens of the municipalities.

The researched communities of the elderly care organization in both Espoo and Vantaa also expressed the need for more systematic collaboration in organizing elderly care services and the wish to have better tools to cope with the complexity of service production and customer requirements through a network-type of collaboration as well as the challenge of combining horizontal networking and the compartmentalized, sector-based service organization and production networks. This translates to the targeted change of a dialogical action research project, here determined together with the focal community to involve the relevant personnel to the project.

The research on the paradox of public management is still evolving. I suggest that this paradox can be studied and understood through the process of networking and its management, and these have so far been studied to a large extent by using traditional network research methods. (Brydon-Miller, 2003) This study is based on a longitudinal action research project, including the collection of longitudinal in-depth data. The research has followed the guide-

lines of dialogical action research in collecting and analyzing data in an iterative cycle, where planning, action, and reflecting have followed each other. (Gummesson, 1991; White, 2004)

The design of the study has followed the hermeneutic understanding of dialogue and acknowledges the importance of pre-understanding in creating a dialogue with the researched community. The role of the pre-understanding has been to create a dialogue where the researcher and the practitioners understand each other and are able to communicate as equal partners in creating the change designed in the researched phenomenon. (Gadamer, 1980) The researched communities in Vantaa and Espoo have had an active role in the research process and in producing the data. The dialogical research process has been designed to engage the municipalities throughout the process in planning, acting, and reflecting upon the change process that has constituted the dialogical action research process. In addition to the dialogue with the researched community, additional data has been collected to support and add to the findings from the dialogue. This additional data collection has included, for example, interviews, systematic collection of feedback from the workshops, and the collection of material from meetings with the municipal actors.

As a dialogical action researcher, my role in the project was to bring in the theoretical understanding of networks, their management and how the public manager can deal with the management of networks and hierarchies. During the active phase of the dialogical action research project, I adopted the role of a key network member in three individual networks and communicated my understanding of the progress of these networks and of the development of the theoretical understanding to the public managers in both of the municipalities, while working closely with them. This is the role through which the dialogue took place with the practitioners.

1.4 Organization of the dissertation

In the second chapter, I present an overview of the research setting of municipal social and health care service production, which the elderly care service production is a part of, and explain what the network-type governance means in this context. The aim of the chapter is to illustrate how sectoral and compartmentalized the service organization and production in the municipal context is and thereby show the structural and managerial challenges of creating and maintaining networks in this context. The description of the municipal organization and situating the different types of networks within the structure is helpful for the reader in creating an understanding of the environment to which the studied networks were created; and it also shows why studying the paradox of public management inside the Finnish municipal elderly care is relevant for the development of the theory of public management regarding the paradox of public management. Providing the reader this pre-understanding of the Finnish public health care was seen essential. It provides a perspective through which to reflect on the extant theories of public network

management and issues in both network and public organizational management.

In the third chapter, I present the framework of this study and explain how the context shapes the collaboration processes, the participation, and different enabling roles of department- and sector-level public managers in networks, which, in this research, is referred to as the paradox of public management. In the fourth and fifth chapters, I take a look at the relevant theories of, first, network-type collaboration processes and, second, network management, the participation and roles of the public manager in networks. The aim of the fourth chapter is to build up a theoretical process view of networking, while in the fifth chapter, the aim is to understand network management and the role of an organizational manager in networks based on existing literature.

In the sixth chapter, I present the methodological underpinnings of this research and explain the process of action research conducted to collect and analyze the data for this study. The seventh chapter presents the three action research cases and is followed by a discussion that presents the main findings of the study. Finally, I present the results of the study and suggest future research on the topic of the paradox of public management and the process and management of networking.

2. Research area: The elderly care service production in Finnish municipalities

The public sector operates in a political context, which is characterized by [a] strong legal and budget framework, municipal-level steering through directions and guidelines, the local interpretation of these guidelines by both social servant managers and elected officials, and the transparency principle as well as observing of national opinions. (Käljunen, 2011)

In this chapter, I will present the context where the studied practitioners, including the public managers and the developed networks, operate. I will explain the types of networks in the public sector and where these networks are situated in the municipal social and health care service production and the organizational structure.

The Finnish context reflects the general phenomenon of bureaucracy in the production of social and health care services. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) have stated that social and health care service organization has traditionally been predominantly hierarchical because of the strength of the hierarchical service production of being reliable, having the capacity to repeatedly produce large numbers of services of a given quality, and being able to document how these services have been produced. Keast and Hampson (2007) have reported that the climate in the social and health care service production is rather formal and bureaucratic, and communication occurs in the context of employment contracts. They further add that in this kind of a context, the outcomes and the services are realized through a process that includes procedures, rules, regulations, routines, and mandates legislation.

However, in Finland, the municipalities are shifting more and more towards network-type service production. (Heinämäki, 2012, 65) In the social and health care services, for example, the change in the number of elderly, the diminishing workforce, and the new type of challenges the elderly are facing have highlighted the importance of inter-organizational collaboration that spans over different sectors in organizing and producing services in a new way as well as producing new types of services. (Heinämäki, 2012; Kauppi et al., 2008) This attempt to create networks within hierarchical structures in Finland is referred to as new network-type governance (Heinämäki, 2012), which does not refer to new structures, but to new ways to operate within the prevailing structures.

Here, I will describe the structure of the social, health, and elderly care services in the municipal context through four organizational charts that present different levels of municipal social and health care organization (Figures 1 to 4) and 4 charts that show where the different types of networks are situated in the organization of social and health care (Figures 5 to 8). This will provide an insight into the local government in Finnish municipalities and into the organization of social and health care services in the Finnish municipalities, at the same time portraying the compartmentalization of the service production in the public sector.

2.1 Social and health care sector in Finnish municipalities

Figure 1 shows the horizontal structure of a municipality, encompassing the official administration and civil servant management. The official administration refers to publicly elected officials in several different bodies (council, committee, boards). In the chart shown in Figure 1, below the official administration are the sectors which are parts of the municipal civil servant organization and can be divided into departments, which again comprise different sub-departments and units. While all municipalities are to have certain sectors, a municipality can determine the organization and the names of these sectors (Kajunen, 2011; 32-34). Therefore, there are differences, for example, in how social and health care is organized in the departmental level and how the sector and its different parts are called, examples include health and social welfare sector, wellbeing sector, and social and health care sector.

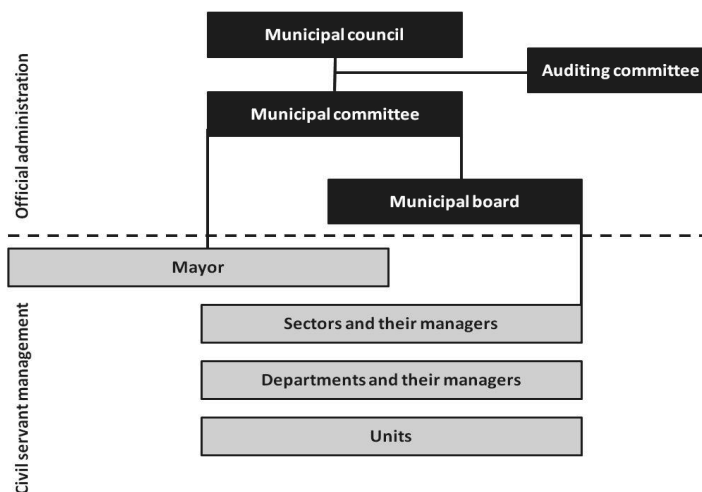


Figure 1. The organization of a municipality (Kajunen 2011, 32).

Figure 1 presents wellbeing services as a sector that comprises social and health care service departments. These departments usually have their own budget, purpose, and productivity requirements, which is a factor that has an effect on networking in the municipal context. One good example is the traditional lack of shared budgets for this type of collaborative activities. While a

sector is further divided into departments, a department can be divided into smaller entities, for example, sub-departments and regional units. (Käljunen, 2011, 32–34)

Figure 2 portrays a municipality's organization and shows how the social and health care service, here called health and social welfare, can be one of several sectors and how sectors such as this are divided into different departments and further into smaller units. In the organizational chart, the highest body in health and social welfare sector is the social and health care board, which comprises elected officials. The Deputy Mayor is the link between the social and health care board and the different departments inside the health and social welfare sector. (Käljunen, 2011)

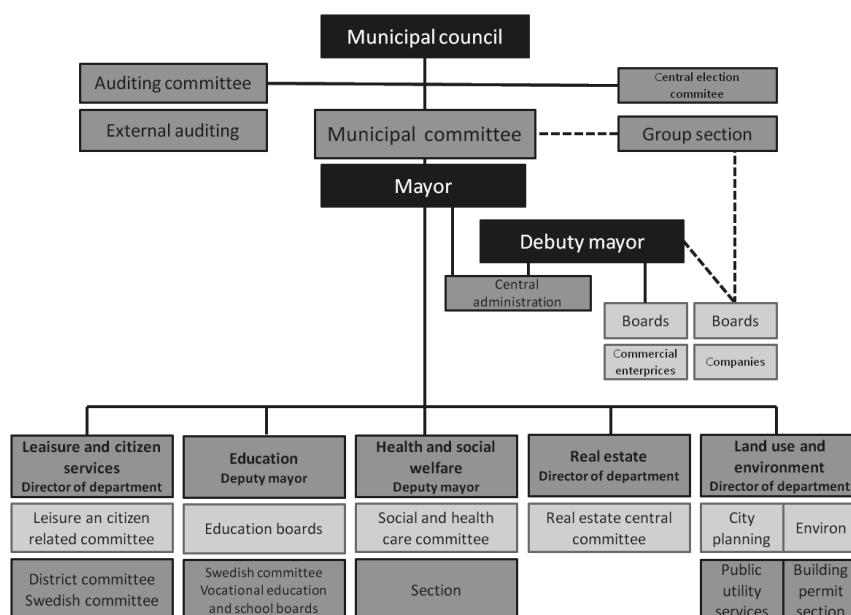


Figure 2. Organizational chart of a municipality with five sectors (Käljunen 2011).

Figure 3 portrays four different departments inside a health and social welfare sector. The departments that are involved in the DCWSA project and which are members in the project networks presented in this research report are elderly and disabled care and health care departments. These are marked with a red circle in the Figure 3.

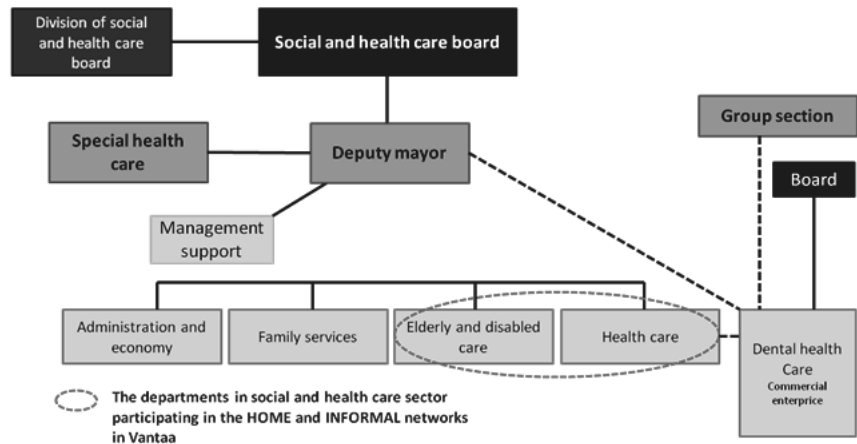


Figure 3. The organization of social and health care in a Finnish municipality.

When we take a closer look into the sector that includes social and health care, we should note that special care is separate from the municipal social and health care departments in both of the researched municipalities. Both municipalities organize their special care through a consortium (The Hospital District of Helsinki and Uusimaa) owned by 24 different municipalities in the Greater Helsinki region. (HUS, 2016) From the perspective of service production, this means that special care is separate from the basic health care organized by the health care department in health centers, as well as from the elderly and disabled care department and the home hospitals in home health care. Within the presented structure, the municipality's social and health care sector organizes preventive and basic health care, specialized medical care, dental care, rehabilitative and different types of social services like elderly care and services for the disabled as well as subsistence security.

From the viewpoint of service integration, there are several challenges to the organization and production of social and health care and elderly care services that result from the hierarchical and bureaucratic organization of the municipalities. (Järvensivu and Nykänen, 2008)

Firstly, the private health care system is parallel, partly complementing but at times overlapping with the public health care system. While patients and customers move relatively seamlessly between the public and private health care, there are challenges in the seamless information flow between these two. This means that the information does not automatically follow the patient from different type of care to another.

Secondly, the organization of the public health care service production is mainly based on clinical specialties, hospital departments and divisions, although some condition-specific units have been created within special care. Examples of such units are back and cancer clinics, where the care delivery is designed based on patient conditions, and where multi-professional and multidisciplinary teams deliver this patient-centric care. (HUS, 2016) Also, health centers which provide basic health care have recently changed their organiza-

tion towards a higher degree of horizontal integration and patient-oriented care coordination.

Thirdly, there is a gap in the coordination of basic health care and specialized care. A patient needs a referral from a physician to access special care services, which in practice means a visit to a health care center or private sector physician. Also, beyond acute care in a hospital, patients go to follow-up and receive rehabilitation services from primary care.

Fourthly, some of the supporting services for patients fall under social care, which in many municipalities is a separate department from health care, although some cities have created bigger departments that include both services.

2.2 Elderly care in municipalities

Here, my aim is to illustrate the existence of several layers horizontally and several sectors, departments, and units vertically in the elderly care service production and to explain the hierarchical nature of the context, where the studied networks are to be created and maintained. Figure 3 illustrates how the sector of social and health care is divided into several departments, while the role of Figure 4 is to provide a deeper look into the hierarchical structure in detail, thereby illustrating how the described departments usually include sub-departments and units that can be created, for example, based on the geographic area (Tikkurila area in the city of Vantaa), customer base (elderly over 65 years old), or the type of service provided (home care).

In Figure 4, the department of elderly and disabled care is divided into four sub-departments based on the type of service they are providing. Further, one of the four sub-departments – elderly informal care – is divided into four different units. Home care, as one of the informal care units, is further divided to areal units that concentrate on providing services to inhabitants of a specific geographical area.

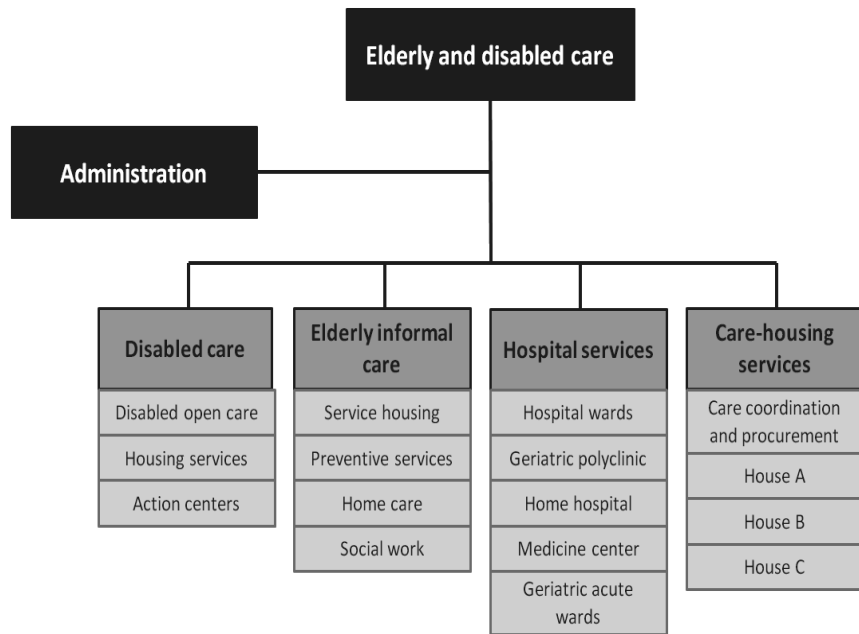


Figure 4. Elderly and disabled care in a Finnish municipality.

To further explain the organizational chart in figure 4 and to give an overview of the complexity of the service entity for the elderly, I describe some of the different health services that are provided, organized, or produced, by the public sector. Looking at this service structure from the service production perspective reveals several challenges regarding the service integration and the customer-oriented service production, especially when one takes into account the fact that elderly may, in addition to services provided by elderly care department, require basic health care that is provided by health centers and specialized care that is provided by hospitals owned by the consortium of municipalities in the Greater Helsinki region.

To begin with, the elderly and disabled care department provides services such as home help (home care and social work units), housing services (disabled care and care housing services sub-departments), institutional care (care housing and hospital service sub-departments), and support for informal care (disabled care and informal elderly care sub-departments). Informal care is a sub-department that provides care given at home by close relatives of the elderly. This support usually includes financial support and additional supporting services. In some municipalities, financial support is issued in the form of service vouchers that can be used to buy selected services from either public or private care service providers. (Vantaa, 2014, Järvensivu and Nykänen, 2008)

Home care, which is in the center of this study, is a part of the elderly informal care and includes home help and home nursing services (Figure 4). Home help includes provision of meals, daytime activities, transportation and services, bathing, laundry, and cleaning. Home nursing includes giving care, taking samples, and performing tests. Home help and home nursing are usually located in the same premises and work closely together. (Vantaa, 2014) An

elderly person living at home may be entitled to these home help and home nursing services. There might also be an informal caregiver to attend to the daily needs of the elderly to support living at home. If this informal care is officially supported by a municipality, the caregiver is entitled to a certain amount of free time or holidays, when the elderly person can be placed into care facilities or help can come home. (Vantaa, 2014, Järvensivu and Nykänen, 2008)

As the home care customers, the elderly are not entitled to any special entry to a health center; instead, home care employees or the elderly themselves have to make an appointment with a doctor and can be placed in a queue to get an appointment based on the urgency of their care need. However, to increase the integration of services delivered to home care customers, some municipalities have employed home care doctors who can provide basic health care and refer customers for special health care. (Järvensivu and Nykänen, 2008)

When it comes to the more serious or special health issues, there are several ways for the elderly to access these services. In acute emergencies, an elderly person can receive special care through an emergency unit, but in less acute cases, the elderly person needs a referral from a doctor to be able to get special care. We can look at this process through the Figures 3 and 4. To begin with, an elderly needing special care can be a home care customer (Figure 4, elderly and disabled department) and visit a health center (Figure 4, health care department) to get the referral for special care from The Hospital District of Helsinki and Uusimaa (Figure 3).

Similarly, after special care, there are several different alternatives for outpatient services. For example, if an elderly person is hospitalized in special care, the special care unit has some outpatient services (Figure 4). These services are a home hospital or returning to the home and becoming a customer of home care. In some cases, home care has found sharing information and collaboration with special care challenging regarding outpatient services from special care. Home care can be notified about the need for care on very short notice, even if the home care organization plans their care and resources on a long-term basis. (Järvensivu and Nykänen, 2008) Rehabilitation is the responsibility of either home care or basic health care. Transportation issues are the responsibility of the elderly social work. Transportation may be needed to gain access to basic or special care, day services, or running errands (Figure 3).

One important and relevant challenge to the organization of elderly care services is the fact that the care system has been built so that information between elderly and health care organizations does not flow alongside with the patient flow between the organizations, because the employees of elderly care have not had the right to read data from the health care organization. (Järvensivu, Nykänen and Rajala 2011)

2.3 Networks in the municipal context

When it comes to the networks in municipal social and health care, we can look into the types of networks, where the networks are situated, and how the networks integrate services from different sectors and departments. Figure 5

shows an organization of a municipality and places the four different types of networks in the municipality's organizational chart.

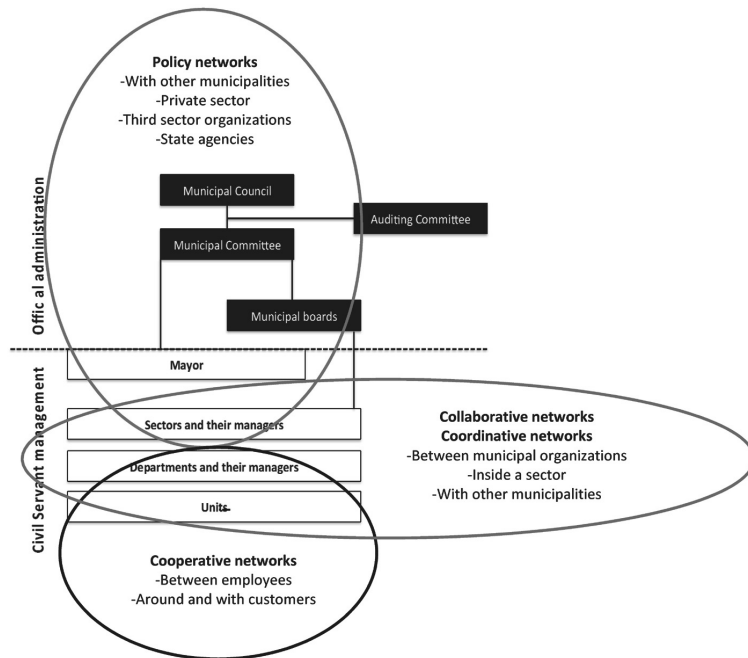


Figure 5. Types of networks in municipal social and health care organizations.

The cooperative, collaborative, and coordinative networks which are shown in Figure 5 are by some researchers referred to as implementation networks. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001, 2003; Mandell, 2001) The term implementation network is used to contrast these three types of networks to policy networks and highlight the fact that these networks are close to the service production and the customer care level. What both the implementation and policy networks have in common is that they consist of actors that work together to provide a public good, service, or value.

Figure 5 also demonstrates the fact that policy networks only spread to the higher levels of the municipal hierarchy and show that inside municipalities, the main responsibility of these networks lies in the official administration and sector-level management of civil servant organization. In policy networks, the municipal actors work together with state agencies, private and third-sector, and other municipalities. (Adam and Kriesl, 2007) The policy networks aim to form long-term relationships, where information exchange is the focus. (Williamson, 1991; 2000) In my research, I recognize the interplay of policy and all three types of implementation networks. Since my interest lies in the management of collaborative networks, I regard policy networks as part of the whole service production system and see them as an external actor influencing the different types of implementation networks, both directly and through the organizational manager.

All three types of implementation networks have their own characteristics, role, and place in the municipal organization. In Figure 5, cooperative networks are close to the customer service level and can be classified as interpersonal networks, while by definition they are the networks employees build around them to support their own work, for example, to integrate services for their customers. In elderly care, a good example of a cooperative network would be a tight network of customer service-level employees who work together in the entry-phase of service processes to provide customers a more integrated service either from the organization or the production perspective and who, at the same, time ensure that all the relevant municipal organizations know about the provided service. In Figure 6, this example is portrayed as a cooperative network between social care workers and regional home care in a region in a municipality.

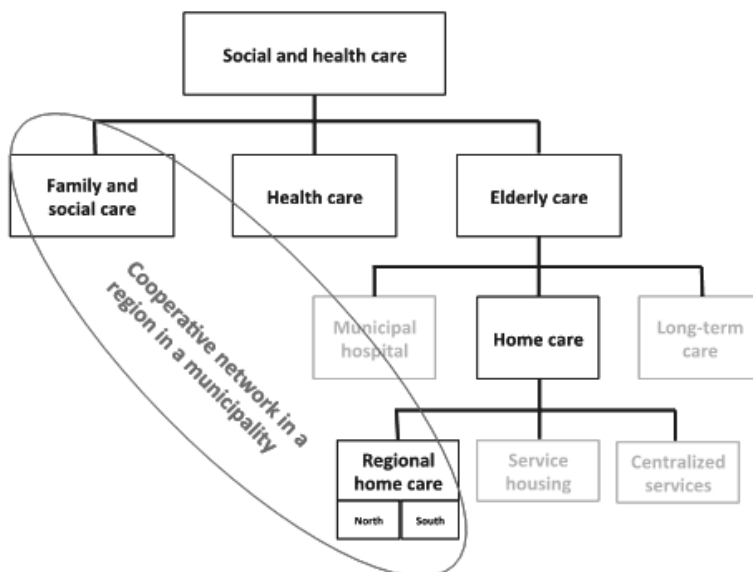


Figure 6. A cooperative network in municipal elderly care.

In the customer-level, the actors are physically situated close to each other and work in the same area with the same patients. These kinds of cooperative networks are often created and maintained by shared premises, meetings, or customers. Brass, Galaskiewicz, Greve, and Tsai (2004) also add that these types of interpersonal networks pose the lowest level of risk to the organization, since a cooperative network consists of relatively loose ties between the members of the network. Also, the members of cooperative networks tend to be similar enough to enjoy a certain level of ease of communication and predictability of others' behavior. The communication mainly concerns work routines and customer-related issues. (Brass, et al., 2004) I would say that the routines and support for this kind of networking exists in the hierarchical organization of social and health care services for an elderly person.

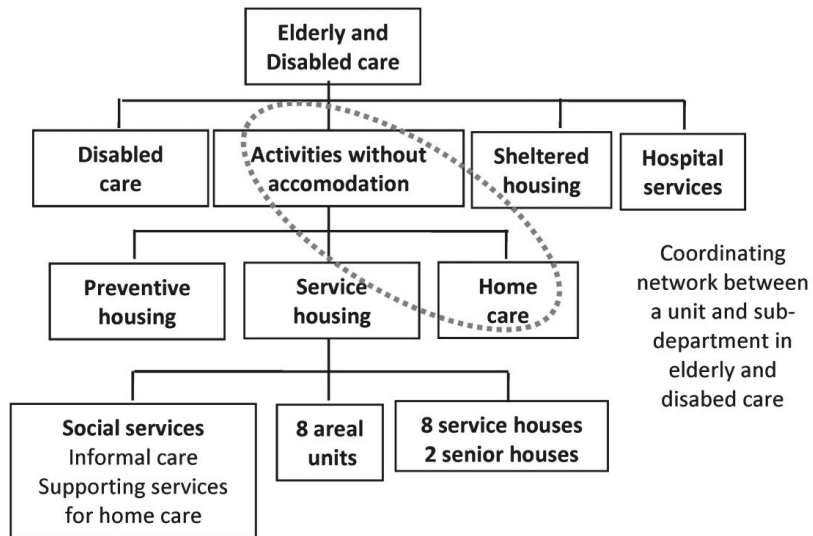


Figure 7. The coordinative network in elderly and disabled care.

Based on my understanding of collaborative and coordinative networks, I would place them on the same level of the organizational hierarchy between different municipal departments and inside a sector, for example, the social and health care sector (Figure 5). Coordinative networks aim to form long-term commitment in its members. To achieve long-term commitment, the collaboration should start from jointly identifying the problem or problem-solving, which is the basis of collaboration. Since the main purpose of coordinative networks is to integrate different sectors together to form relatively independent collaboration, they may require changes in the organization and the production of services. (Brass, et al., 2004) In Figure 7, a possible coordinative network is pictured between a sub-department and a unit. An example of such a network is a service network to provide new types of service for informal care customers, where home care is in charge of coordinating the care between preventive services and potential customers.

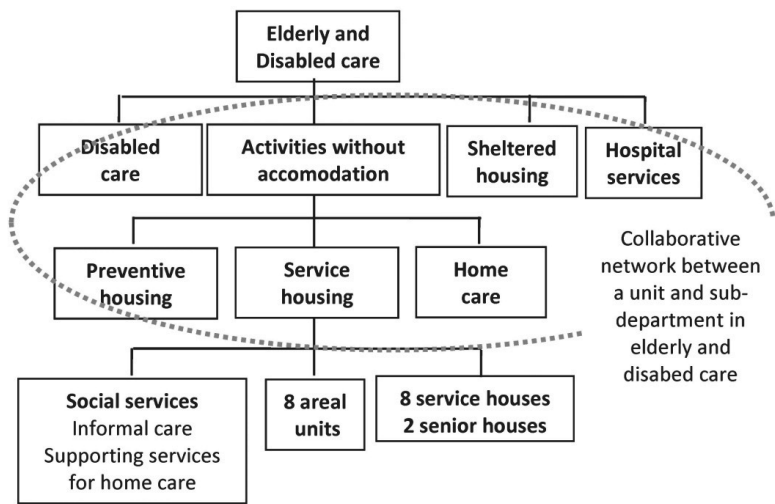


Figure 8. A collaborative network in elderly care.

Collaborative networks are collections of organizations from different sectors that work together to produce or organize a public service or good. The role of these collaborative networks in the public sector is to provide services that a private organization or a single public organization is unwilling or unable to produce. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; 2003; Mandell, 2001) Collaborative and coordinative networks in social and health care can be created to provide customers more integrated care within service processes, which include multiple service providers. These types of networks of service providers can also integrate services to customers between different organizations. For example, rehabilitation and transfer to home care after hospitalization in special care facilities are both examples of situations where the service provider can create a network to integrate the service provided to the elderly. An example of a collaborative network in a municipal context is shown in Figure 8.

3. Theoretical framework of the study

In constructing the framework of this study, I have focused on how the organizational structure, organized according to the hierarchical principle, shapes the process of networking. I am interested in the participation and the roles of the public manager in enabling this process. In order to understand how a public manager can both deal with the paradox of public management and enable networking, I propose a framework that consists of the process of networking, the actions of the network manager, and finally, the participation of a public manager in networking both directly and indirectly from the position of the organizational manager. This framework proposes that in order to understand and provide a solution to the paradox of public management, we need to understand networking with its different phases and activities, the managerial actions inside networking and how all these unfold during networking, and finally, we need to be able to identify the actions of the public manager from the network management actions and understand the change in the participation and roles of the public manager during the different phases of the process of networking.

Studying networks and their management within a hierarchical structure is not something totally new; on the contrary, within the public management research, the hierarchical structure has been seen, for example, as the prevailing condition where networks operate. (Mandell, 2001; Kenis and Provan, 2006; Keast and Hampson, 2008) However, in defining a network, I take the stand that networks in the social and health care service production in their current state are close to something like an operating mode inside a hierarchical structure. Collaboration exists between units inside and between different organizations. In this kind of a context, the different levels and parts of organizations are engaged in relationships through a shared goal that all members in a network are committed to; although commitment to the goal can vary, since there are different motivations to participate in networks. (Provan and Lemaire, 2012)

Within the interaction between the organization and the network, the role of the public manager in enabling networking and the maintenance and development of different types of networks is of special interest. Referring to the paradox of public management, I question the assumed role of the public manager as the network manager in public sector networks and suggest that the role of the public manager is rather two-fold. With this suggestion, I refer to the fact that a manager can influence systematic networking in an organization by performing actions that can be categorized as network management,

and the manager can influence networking through traditional hierarchical management of the organization.

This view of the public manager’s two types of participation in the process of networking holds a more refined definition of managing networks than merely defining management as a way to organize service production. (Williamson, 2000) Here, network management is defined through managerial actions, the performance of which is required in a network to ensure the creation, maintenance, and dissemination of a network. Also, a very clear distinction is made between network management and the management of the hierarchical structure outside networking.

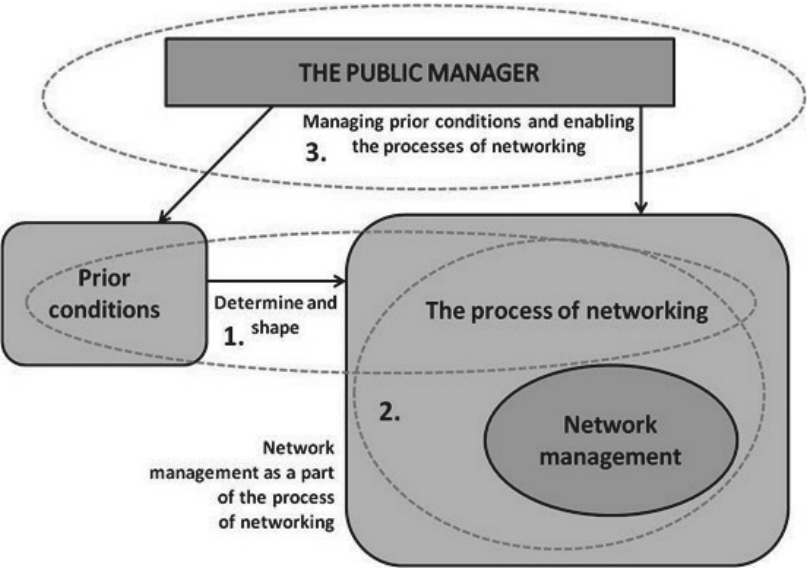


Figure 9. The theoretical framework of the study.

Figure 9 shows the theoretical framework of this study. The three parts of the theoretical framework are all needed to understand the paradox of public management and are as follows: (1.) The type of a process of networking that is systematic and is aimed at long-term commitment and the role of the prior condition in the success of this process. (2.) Network management as a part of the process of networking. (3.) The enabling of participation and roles of the public manager in each of the phases of the process of networking.

The theoretical framework assumes that a public manager has different alternatives or ways of enabling the process of networking. Firstly, the manager can actively create prior conditions that support the networking efforts of the organization (A). This management can be classified as organizational management and included in the normal activities of a public manager within the management of public organizations. Secondly, the manager can directly affect or manage the process of networking from the position of the organizational manager (B). Thirdly, the public manager can adopt different kinds of active roles in the process of networking such as the role of the network manager (C).

In the theoretical framework, the term enabling is thus used to explain the mix of participation that takes place through direct participation in the networking activities, the shaping of the prior conditions and influencing the networking indirectly through a certain type of organizational management. Being able to understand both the active participation and the enabling through organizational management is the key to understanding how to cope with the dual role of a public manager that follows from the paradox of public management. In this theoretical framework, network management is seen as part of the process of networking, and it is already at this phase where I tentatively question whether the public manager should adopt the role of the network manager, and in what kind of situations or phases adopting this role can have an enabling effect on networking.

3.1 Prior conditions determine and shape networking

My first sub-question deals with the organization of networking and proposes that understanding the process is essential in helping public managers to find a balance in navigating between networks and hierarchies, and thus, provide a type of a solution to the paradox of public management.

Since it has been noted that how well a network can perform is based on how an organization supports the network in the form of existing conditions that support the creation and maintenance of networking (Doz, 1996; Provan and Lemaire, 2012), this framework highlights the role of these existing conditions in networking. These conditions are unique to all organizations, and I include them in the process of networking, even if these conditions precede the joint actions of the members of the network performed to create it. What motivates this is the fact that these conditions determine and shape actual collaboration processes by affecting the form and effectiveness of the processes that constitute networking. (Doz, Olk and Ring, 2000) I refer to these conditions as prior conditions and also suggest that in the studied hierarchically organized social and health care, these prior conditions shape the networks, networking processes and management requirements, network, and organizational management of these processes.

Hierarchical organizations have several characteristics that affect the creation and maintenance of networks at the beginning. To begin with, since people are more likely to form ties and collaborate with people they know, the way organizations are structured shape networks and their processes. This follows from the fact that work flow and task design (horizontal) and hierarchy (vertical), together with the means for coordinating among differentiated positions, divide and connect people inside an organization, between units, departments, sub-departments, and sectors. The formal structure separates people in relation to the physical structure and temporary space. (Brass et al., 2004) Also, for the members, as well as managers, networks mean new requirements and new skill sets because of the differences between networks and hierarchies.

Further, network members come from a certain position and have certain tasks in their organizations and represent their units, departments, sub-

departments, or sectors in networks and bring all these aspects with them to the network, thus, shaping networking from the beginning. This beginning, which is here called prior conditions, is different in each organization, since there are differences in how close an organizational structure is to a network structure in the form of open communication, management style, shared responsibilities, and the type of formal structure.

Prior conditions inside organizations are followed by the first shared actions of the network members. These shared actions form the other, later phases of the process of networking. All these phases entail repeated sequential communications, decisions, and negotiations (Grandori and Soda, 1995), during which, the members should be able to build up trust by facilitating interpersonal interactions in a systematic and careful manner. (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992) To conclude on the prior conditions and their effect on the networking activities that follow, I point out that the process of networking is different to all networks and the phases can enfold in different lengths and be repeated during networking, so that each network has their unique process of networking. The phases of networking are comprised of events, actions, and activities that can be individual or collective and unfold over time, which can affect the formal, legal, and informal processes of a network that evolve in sequential manner through phases. (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992)

The complexity and the dynamic nature of networking as a process leads us to the aim of this study, which is to understand how to enable all the phases and activities of networking and especially how to create such prior conditions that support these processes as a systematic way to collaborate between and inside organizations and ensure reaching the goal of networking issued in the originating organizations of all the members of the network. This kind of systematic process is desirable, since it has the ability to engage all relevant actors in networking and to improve the implementation of the network's results to all the originating organizations. (Järvensivu, Nykänen and Rajala; 2011)

3.2 Network management within networking

In my second sub-question, I refer to the managerial actions and the evolution of these during the different phases of networking. In the theoretical framework, I propose three types of management in the context of enabling networking in the public sector. Firstly, there is the management of the hierarchical organization through authority, assigned according to the position in the hierarchy. These actions can include hierarchical, organizational management actions, functions and tasks, and network management tasks during the phase of prior conditions performed by the public manager. Secondly, there are the functions, actions, and tasks of a public manager that directly manage the network and its phases. Thirdly, there are the network management functions performed by an appointed network manager. My aim is to separate these actions, functions, and tasks more precisely from each other to form the model of the participation and roles of a public manager that enable networking in the

public sector and bring clarity and structure to ways of coping with the paradox of public management.

I begin with trying to understand the actions, functions, and tasks of network management without assigning these to either a network or a public manager with hierarchical authority. Network management can be (very loosely) defined as a way to organize service production through networks. In this study, I look at network management as the actions, functions, and tasks performed to enable and support systematic networking. This definition suggests that managerial actions can be mandated to an individual, either a member of the network or an outsider, to a group of network members, or the network in its entirety can attend to the managerial actions of the process of networking (see, for example, Järvensivu and Möller, 2009).

I base my definition of the network management in seeing it as something different from the management of hierarchies. (Powell, 1990) This is to say, while the management tasks inside an organization have been defined as planning, organizing, leading and controlling (Tsoukas, 1994), in networks they have been conceptualized as framing, activating, mobilizing, and synthesizing functions. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; McGuire, 2002; 2006)

The important differences between the network and the organizational management include: the different purpose of the management, the orientation of the use of control, trust, and how the outcome materializes, i.e. the process of management. Despite the different orientation in the use of control in both management types, the management of both relies on trust and the use of power. (Das and Teng, 1998; Möllering, 2004; Nooteboom, 2007) It is mainly the type of power used and the impact of the power used that are different in networks and hierarchies. In other words, networks management is different from the hierarchy-based organizational management in how the outcomes of the system (the network) are realized and how efficiently the process is controlled. (Das and Teng, 1998)

In order to understand the participation and the roles of a public manager in managing networks and how these evolve, it is essential to understand that network management is about ensuring that the network is able to respond to the changing service needs and activate relevant resources as well as ensuring that the network finds a shared understanding of the benefits of networking and converts that to commitment and action among all the network members. (McGuire, 2002) Facilitating effective interaction among all the players – members and stakeholders – is one of the most critical actions for a network manager. In relation to the discussion of control in networks, trust plays an important role in network management, since in networks, a manager lacks authority to use authoritative sanctions. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; Rethemeyer and Hatmaker, 2008)

During networking, the management and its requirements evolve alongside the evolution of trust and tolerance to the use of control. Therefore, an essential part of the requirements of managing a network is creating social control mechanisms in the form of shared norms, values, and culture and communication channels inside the network towards all originating organizations and

stakeholders (Das and Teng, 1998) and ensuring knowledge transfer during all the phases of networking. (Keast and Hampson, 2007) At the beginning, the members participating in networks should be enabled to engage in the social processes inside the network to ensure that the members reach a joint understanding of the goal of networking before actual collaboration can take place. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2004) The management should also ensure that network members are able to create the desire of high commitment relations (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992, 92) and to have the ability to create a network structure that supports collaboration. In the hierarchical context, this ability does not merely refer to the personal and professional skills, but to the empowerment of those participating in the network activities. This is highlighted by the fact that throughout networking, personal relationships shape and modify the evolving structures of collaboration (network). (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992)

3.3 Public manager's participation and roles in networking

It has been suggested that public managers explicitly constitute formal networks with the aim to produce and deliver public services that cannot or are not financially sustainable enough to be produced by one department or organization alone. (Grandori and Soda, 1995) The third sub-question is seeking to understand and define what this constituting means. While a great deal of public management literature assumes an active role in networks and considers the public manager as the network manager (for example, Agranoff and McGuire, 2001), some researchers suggest that a public manager whose organization participates in a network can also remain outside this network. (Klijn, Koppenjan, and Termeer, 1995) The framework draws from this idea that a public manager can also influence, positively or negatively, the network from the hierarchical position thorough the assigned authority.

Klijn et al. (1995) have presented a passive/active continuum of managerial approaches in networks, and Hibbert et al. (2008) wrote about the proactive versus reactive dimension in presenting the approaches of managerial involvement in networks, regarding the roles and participation of a public manager. According to Hibbert et al. (2008), the public manager adopts the proactive approach by anticipating the possibilities and challenges of a network. The reactive approach means reacting to positive and negative incidents when they occur. I propose that dealing with the paradox of public management would greatly benefit from understanding these different dimensions and approaches and knowingly adopting one as a managerial strategy to enable networks. In building my model of enabling networks by a public manager, I will look deeper into these dimensions and approaches in analyzing the enabling participation of the public manager as well as the possible roles a public manager can adopt within active or passive participation. At this point, I assume that both active and passive approaches can include different roles. In the theoretical framework, I further assume that both the approach and these roles can change during networking. (Mandell, 2001; Goldsmith and Eggers, 2004;

Hampson, 2007) There is some support for this assumption in earlier research, which has shown that an active approach is the most influential at the early phases of creating a network. (Goldsmith and Eggers, 2004)

The framework can be used to address the paradox of public management from the point of view that a public manager is able to influence the process of networking in the organization through hierarchical management practices, even when the manager is not an active member in the network. In addition to adopting different active roles, a public manager can remain outside the network as a facilitator of networking and concentrate on enabling networks through managing the organization, in other words, changing the structures and atmosphere of the organization to enable and support networking. (Klijn et al., 1995)

When assuming a network manager's role, the public manager can be expected to adopt an active role and be proactive in creating the network and ensuring the functionality and success of the network. (McEvily and Zaheer, 1999; Ahuja, 2000; Mandell, 2001; Reagans and McEvily, 2003; Burt, 2004) A passive role in the networks would mean that the public manager is not an active member in a network, but enables networking using hierarchical authority either proactively or reactively towards the focal network, organization, or the broader environment where the network operates. There is some support for a relatively passive role too, while it has been stated that effective network governance can be conceived less as managerial intervention and more as relatively passive steward facilitation of collective solutions. (Kickert, Klijn, and Koppenjan, 1997, 182)

To deal with the paradox of public management, a public manager can try to assume a management style that combines hierarchy-based authority and management with trust and empowerment, since the management of networks is different from the management of hierarchies (Järvensivu and Möller, 2009; Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; Rethemeyer and Hatmaker, 2008), and the traditional public administration practices are not directly applicable in networks. (Herranz, 2008) In fact, in networks, the use of power or authority usually does not have a positive effect. (Achrol, 1997) Therefore, distinguishing the hierarchical tradition in public management from that of network management is advisable. (Herranz, 2008)

The novelty of the proposed conceptual framework (Figure 9) comes from recognizing the multi-faceted influence of the public manager in network activities, the different approaches to participation, and the roles a public manager can adopt. The framework takes into account passive and reactive approaches regarding participation in network activities, the dynamics of these approaches, and of the roles during networking.

In this framework, the enabling participation and roles of the public manager from outside the network can be looked at from several points of view. Firstly, the public manager influences the formal and informal relationships in the organization by deciding on the organizational structure both horizontally and vertically. (Grandori and Soda, 1995) Secondly, as the manager has the power and authority in the formal organization, it can be assumed that the manager

can influence whom the organizational actors collaborate with and in what depth as well as which networks the members of the organization will participate in. Thirdly, the managers have the authority to follow their self-interest (Provan and Millward, 2001) in enabling certain networks and rejecting others. Ring and Van De Ven (1992) write that managers themselves tend to form networks with members of similar status and power. Fourthly, the public manager is responsible for creating and supervising the strategy of an organization that always guides networking in this kind of a context.

4. Networks and networking as process

In the public sector, both public and nonprofit organizations increasingly participate in different kinds of inter-unit and inter-organizational networks, such as task forces, coalitions, and committees, where the actors are not tied together only by formal contracts, but also with informal agreements, trust, and commitment. Therefore, networks and social relationships are increasingly important in public service organizing and require coordination of multi-organizational collaboration. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; 2003) What constitutes a network is however a question that has provoked different descriptions. One way to define a network is to see it as a structure comparable to the hierarchy and the market. As a structure, a network consists of nodes, linkages, and collaborative activities. (McGuire and Agranoff, 2011)

Here, network is seen as an entity that constitutes one form of a collaborative activity, which intends to solve a problem that would not be as easily or efficiently solved independently by a single organization without a network. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2003) Therefore, one could state that the motivation for collaborative action is based on a goal that no member of a network could achieve on their own. (Koppenjan and Klijn, 2004; Isett and Provan, 2005) Collaborative action in a network is usually based on a social organizing principle, which emphasizes interpersonal relational aspects and focuses on building lasting, long-term relationships. These interpersonal relational aspects refer to trust, reciprocity, and mutual benefit. (Powell, 1990; Kickert et al., 1997; Das and Teng, 1998; Keast and Hampson, 2007) In other words, networks are embedded in social relationships and include repetitive exchange, which relies mainly on trust between semi-autonomous actors. (Powell, 1990)

Collaborative action and networks as structures are two different ways to conceptualize networks and have some underlying similarities, from which, I emphasize the aim of creating network structures inside the hierarchical service system in the long run; both also differ from the traditional organizational structures by being more participatory and having a non-hierarchical orientation. (Mandell, 2001)

4.1 Between Hierarchies and Networks

Even in organizations where the notion of the hierarchical organization has given way to network organization, it is implicit that there is still someone who holds a position in organization whereby they would have the final say if necessary. (Mandell 2001, 7)

In the above quotation, Mandell (2001) refers to the organizational roles that the members of networks bring with them to the network from their originating organizations, as well as to the authority of the public managers, whether these managers are a part of a network or not. This is a very practical view to networks and hierarchies, since, according to my understanding, in practice, networks and hierarchies do not appear in their purest ideal form, nor are they something completely different or separate from each other. To illustrate, in their ideal form, networks and hierarchies include mainly the use of trust or authority, respectively, but in practice, managers have to rely on both in order to have a functioning system of service production that comprises elements from networks and hierarchies. (Das and Teng, 1998; Möllering et al., 2004; Nooteboom, 2007) Also, as Mandell (2001) writes, the members that operate in networks still hold an organizational position, which highlights the importance of understanding the differences of these two forms of organization and the consequences for a member, as well as a manager, to be active in both networks and hierarchies.

The patterns and context of inter-organizational collaboration are strongly shaped by the positions and authority the members of network possess in the formal hierarchical structure. For example, performance in a hierarchical context is measured on a short-term basis, while in the networks, the aim is to create indebtedness and reliance over a long time, and it may also take a long time before any of the results materialize. (Powell, 1990) In addition, in networks, the short-term aim is to create an open-ended climate that emphasizes mutual benefits (Powell, 1990) though an open communication and negotiations. Instead of the employee contract and hierarchical position, the roles and resources are assigned based on negotiations. The division of work in networks should also be based on negotiations, as are the divisions of the use of capabilities and resources. (Das and Teng, 1998)

In networks, members have to forget the hierarchy-based division of labor; the question is whether the organization has empowered the members of the network to do so, i.e., do they have supporting organizational conditions, or are they personally ready to take the responsibility required in a network? Empowerment is also called for when network members pursue mutual goals that are not directly the goals indicated by the originating organizations, but negotiated by the network. (Keast and Hampson, 2007)

Also, in networks, potential conflicts are primarily resolved within the norms of reciprocity and reputational concerns, in other words, through social control and informal systems of authority, which are created and assigned to some of the members in order to allow social control to partly replace formal control. This is done since the use of wrong type of control mechanisms and power may create conflicts in the network-context. This is very sensitive to the achieved level of trust, because the use of power that originates from the hierarchical organization has the potential to hinder collaboration in networks, since in networks, the use of formal control can have a negative impact on the level of trust. Communication and proactive information sharing are sources of trust in a network. (Das and Teng, 1998)

4.1.1 The role of trust in networking

Earlier, I discussed the idea that in networks, trust replaces formal control mechanisms to a certain degree, and here, I will discuss trust, confidence, and commitment in their relation to networks. All these are important elements in networking and in understanding its phases and their management.

Trust and commitment have been identified as the basic elements of a functioning network and as something that enables networking processes. (Morgan and Hunt, 1994) Commitment can be seen as the willingness to learn about the other partner (Doz, 1996), and it makes members more willing to invest their time, effort, and attention to collaborative action and, together with trust, increase the tolerance of risk that is evident in networking. (Inkpen and Currall, 2004; McEvily et al., 2003) Trust and commitment are related concepts, since trust increases the likelihood of commitment in joint activities (Håkansson and Snehota, 1995) or appears as commitment in relationships. (Giddens, 1990; 1991)

There are several factors that support the importance of trust in networks. To begin with, the importance of trust in all social interaction is well acknowledged, and Gulati (1995) states that trust is the force that ties network members together. According to Ring and Van Den Ven (1992), all collaboration includes some elements of trust between the collaborating actors. Mayer et al. (1995) introduce a contradictory view by stating that only when the members of a network feel vulnerable in some way regarding the collaborative activities is trust needed. Möllering et al. (2004), on the other hand, state that it is not about the need for trust, but about becoming aware of trust. According to them, the members of a network only become aware of trust when it is problematic. Das and Teng (2001) see trust as a determinant of risk and state that together with control, trust can be used to reduce risk in collaborative actions such as networking.

It is also important to note that trust is a dynamic concept that can change and that the creation and maintenance of trust can have different requirements at different times and places. From the managerial perspective, it is important to note that as a dynamic concept, trust can be facilitated. For example, learning and shared values both contribute to the building of trust. (Dwyer et al., 1987; Hunt and Morgan, 1994a) Trust can increase as well as the willingness to take risk and commit to collaborative activities. Decreased trust and lack of trust can encourage concealment and distortion of information and increase the likelihood of misunderstandings and misinterpretations between the members of a network and also results in the lack of open discussion. (Zand, 1972) The lack of trust in inter-organizational context is at times compensated by the use of stricter formal control mechanisms (Das and Teng, 2004) that might not be suitable for the network context. This increases the importance of trust in networks as a critical factor for network performance and sustainability. (Powell, 1990; Kenis and Provan, 2006)

I also want to point out that trust increases the tolerance of risk and acceptance of uncertainty. (Inkpen and Currall, 2004; Mayer et al., 1995; Nooteboom, 2007) Trust should also be valued in the network context due to

the fact that trust induces positive interpretations of others' behavior and lessens the concerns about opportunistic behavior by integrating members of the network and reducing formal controls. (McEvily et al. 2003)

Most research on trust has to do with individual level of trust, i.e. person to person, but in a network context, the concept of inter-organizational trust is also of relevance. Inter-organizational trust can act as a mechanism of governance, which obviates the need for hierarchical controls. (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992; Gulati and Sych, 2008) According to Gulati and Sych (2008), this inter-organizational trust may occur among individuals and among organizations when inter-organizational trust is seen as an organization's expectation of the other organizations' mutual – instead of opportunistic – behavior in dealing with them. This refers to trust as a multilevel phenomenon, and according to it, inter-organizational trust emerges from the history of interaction in both individual and organizational levels. Thus, the inter-organizational trust can emerge from and be influenced by the history of interaction between organizational boundary banners and the collaborating organizations. As collaborating organizations learn to know each other and accumulate knowledge over time, they can make a more compelling incentive system and install more credible and effective control mechanisms in their joint networks. (Gulati and Sych, 2008)

4.1.2 Trust and risk as elements of networking

To begin with, the existence of risk is the reason why trust and control are both needed in the collaborative action in networks, as they are both mechanisms for reducing risk and increasing confidence in collaboration. (Das and Teng, 1998; 2001; Inkpen and Currall, 2004)

The inter-organizational network context creates risk-related challenges, and reducing the different kinds of risks requires certain types of mechanisms and structures. Performance risk is directly linked to the achievability of a network's objectives and comes from the environment of the network, for example, the hierarchical organizations which the network members belong to. Performance risk is closely linked to the fact that all members in a network have their own interests, which is a potential source of conflict. Also, the members usually have private expectations of the benefits of being in the network. Conflicts can lead to low commitment and materialize the relational risk. (Das and Teng, 2001)

Relational risk arises from the possible opportunistic behavior of a network member either a person or an organization participating in the process of networking. Even if the network itself functions well, and the relational risk does not materialize, there may be changes in the environment of the network that have an effect on the network's probability and ability to achieve its objectives. Here, the environment relates to the originating organizations of the network members as well as to the service organization and production of elderly care in the public sector.

4.2 From collaboration to systematic networking

Collaborative actions can be conceptualized as sequential processes (Doz, 1996) or as functions that are performed by the members of a network. Through these processes, functions, and activities, networking evolves from the initial conditions to the final outcome, the result, of networking. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; 2003; Mandell, 2001; Rethemyer and Hatmaker, 2008) Doz (1996) states that the process that happens between the initial conditions and the outcome of collaboration as a sequential process is actually network management.

Publication 1: I will start the discussion on collaborative actions that form the process of networking by utilizing the collaboration framework by Ring and Van de Ven (1992). This framework corresponds to the discussion of conditions underlying inter-organizational collaborative action and shows how negotiations, commitment, and executions as phases form a cyclical process that is constantly evaluated (Figure 10). The terms overlapping and recurring refer to the dynamic nature of networks and, I will also discuss these processes later in this chapter.

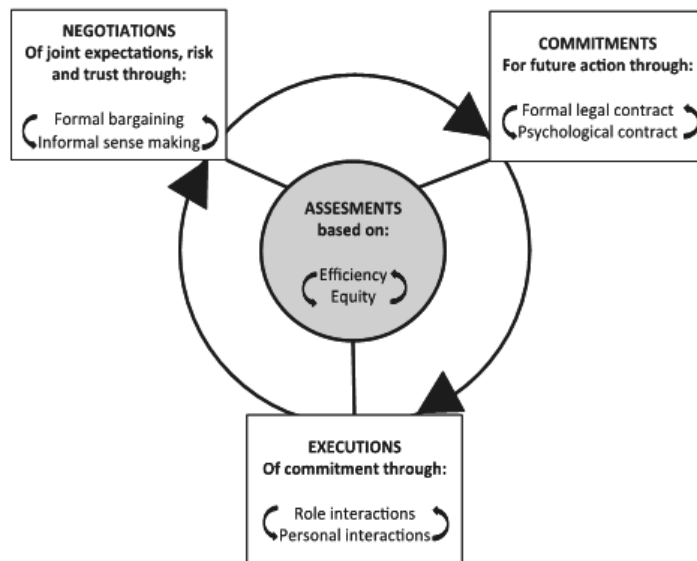


Figure 10. The cyclical process of collaborative action (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992).

Despite being cyclical and overlapping, the framework still suggests an order for the phases in the process of networking. The process starts from negotiations and through constant, or at least systematic, evaluation of performance evolve to create the output the network is set to produce. (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992) Evolution is in fact necessary for the collaborative action to form a process of networking. (Inkpen and Currall, 2004) The evolution occurs through events, actions, and activities in a sequential or a cyclical process, where development and evaluation evolve from the initial conditions inside each of the participating organizations to an outcome that contributes to each

of the participating organizations by simultaneously achieving the shared goal of the network and the individual motivation of each of the participating network to join the network. (Doz, 1996; Ring and Van de Ven, 1992)

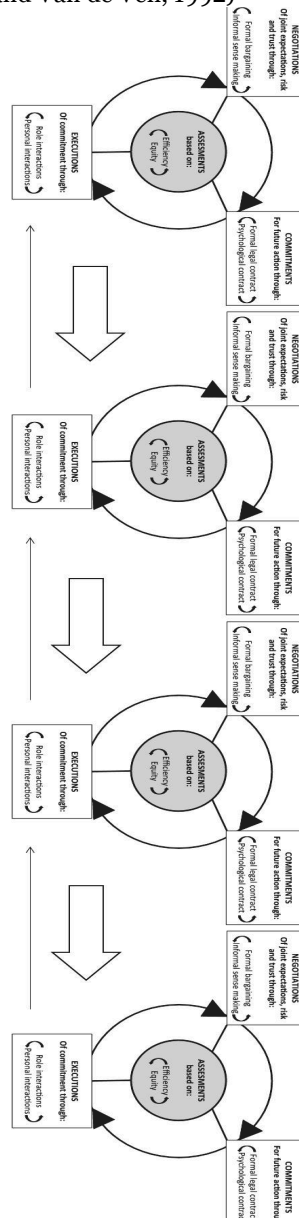


Figure 11. The progress of the process of networking as phases.

However, I assume that even if networking can be described as a dynamic and cyclical process, there is a certain system and order in how the events, actions, and activities should progress in phases. This is depicted in Figure 11, where the dynamic nature of the process is indicated with arrows going to both directions, and a phase is depicted to include a cycle of negotiations, progress, and constant evaluation.

4.2.1 The role of prior conditions in networking

After discussing networking as a process, my attempt here is to find the justification for the phases of the process of networking. I begin from discussing the conditions in an organization prior to collaborative action and how these conditions affect the latter phases of networking. I call these initial conditions prior conditions. These conditions take place before collaborative action between the members. (Inkpen and Currall, 2004) The relationship between prior conditions and the later phases of networking are shown in Figure 12. The fact that prior conditions determine and shape collaborative action is seen as the motivation for including prior conditions in the phases, meaning that the two parts of networking are the internal conditions of an organization and collaborative action, where the members of the network work together.

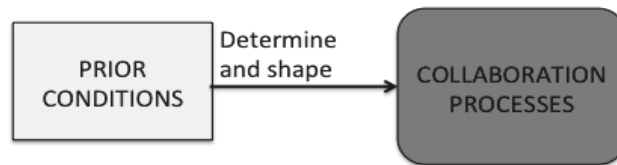


Figure 12. The role of prior conditions in networking.

To start networking, a birth of an idea and the motivation to collaborate are required inside one or several organizations that will eventually be the members of the network. (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992) Ideally, the identification of a challenge that needs a network is done by the potential network members together, and no single actor takes the initiative to form a network. (Mandell and Keast, 2009; Håkansson and Snehota, 1995) However, an organization needs internal motivation and a goal for the process of networking, since network members do not solely work to achieve the shared, collective network goal but also their individual organization's goals. (Mandell and Keast, 2009) This notion suggests that there are internal requirements and conditions for a single organization to be motivated and able to collaborate; these internal and unique conditions form the prior conditions. (Doz, Olk and Ring, 2000)

When an organization decides to begin networking, it has either previous experience or existing preconceptions about potential partner organizations, which is what forms the initial inter-organizational trust towards those organizations. (Möllering et al., 2004) Experience from previous relationships has an effect on the motivation of all the actors to affiliate with the network, since the previous relationships determine the level of (initial) trust and the actors' willingness to enter into collaborative relationships. (Doz, Olk and Ring, 2000)

The level of initial trust is essential in networking, since it determines the easiness of developing a network and making a network work effectively. (Doz, Olk and Ring, 2000) This trust that exists before the network members begin the actual collaborative actions should lead to networking. This requires a process of learning from and trusting each other (see, for example, Möllering et al., 2004) and can result from a risk assessment about possible opportunistic behavior and the capability to meet the requirements of collaboration. (Doz,

Olk and Ring, 2000) Depending on the results of the risk assessment, the level of initial trust can be low, and therefore, room for suspicion can exist. (Inkpen and Currall, 2004)

The prior conditions that precede the actual collaborative action are relevant to the form and effectiveness of the whole process of networking (Ring et al., 2000), fostering or blocking learning, and leading the collaborative action to the cycles of trust development. (Doz, 1996) Control decisions can be a result of a managerial strategy and be made inside the organizations prior to collaborative action, although they will later influence the development of trust between the collaborating members in the network. Also, expectations of the possible members of a network influence how each organization prepares for networking, what they expect to receive, and what kind of control mechanism can be used during the process. (Inkpen and Currall, 2004) Later, the causality between trust and control is more multi-directional. (Inkpen and Currall, 2004)

4.3 The phases of networking

Here, I will describe the part of the process of networking where the chosen members of a network start joint collaborative activities. While prior conditions described conditions inside individual organizations and how these conditions influence the latter phases of networking, here I will discuss the collaborative action of the network and how this action evolves in phases. The line between prior conditions and joint collaborative activities however is not this clear, since prior conditions can include various levels and types of collaboration and joint activities aimed to lead towards shared activities of systematic networking. My attempt is to understand the actions of members in forming and maintaining a network in a process that is the progressive order and sequence of events in the network's existence over time. (Van De Ven and Poole, 1995) Further, my attempt is to conceptualize the suggestion of events, actions, and functions in the development and maintenance of a network into the phases of networking. (Van De Ven and Poole, 2005; Doz, 1996; Heikkinen and Tähtinen, 2004; Mandell, 2001)

To begin with, during the literature review, I made a notion that many researchers highlight the formation phase of the network and to a great extent disregard the development of the solution to the challenge that the network has been created to solve. One exception is innovation network research, which again tends to concentrate on the development phases of innovation and does not place that much emphasis on the development of the network itself. (For example, Heikkinen and Tähtinen, 2004) Although looking into the development phases is a step in the right direction, I believe that innovation network research to a degree still fails to systematically examine the development and maintenance of networks.

4.3.1 Trust and commitment as building blocks of networking

Based on the literature research, I suggest that trust, commitment, control, goal-setting, and the understanding of the social processes of networking are the key elements of networking. The literature seems to especially emphasize the roles of trust and commitment in constructing the network. (Inkpen and Currall, 2004; Heikkinen and Tähtinen, 2004; Morgan and Hunt, 2004; Järvensivu et al., 2011) What calls for trust between the collaborating actors is the prevailing uncertainty of networks, even if the members of a network do not necessarily rely only on trust in coordinating collaborative actions in networks. Uncertainty can potentially prevent networking from evolving, when it is combined with vagueness of the results of the collaboration and a lack of trust. All these three factors, together with the dynamic nature of inter-organizational networks, accentuate the need for high commitment. (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992, 92)

Also, the nature of trust itself creates certain dynamics in all collaborative activities. Understanding trust is essential to the development of networks, since trust is dynamic, as trust varies and changes, can be lost, peaks, and can be lost again. Zand (1972) writes that trust is a gradual phenomenon which creates more trust. Information disclosure, the acceptance of influence and exercise of control are constructs that have a feedback relationship to both trust and mistrust. (Zand, 1972)

When it comes to the first research sub-question of how the process of networking should be organized, the existing research seems to suggest that trust, commitment, and their creation are essential to the success of the process. At the beginning of the process of networking, there is only little need for the reliance on trust, because the beginning involves little risk, but trust (initial trust) and collaborative objectives create the climate for and shape interaction between the members of the network. In evolved relationships, learning and trust (evolved trust) co-evolve. (Möllering et al., 2004) This leads to the second characteristic of trust, which is the level of trust. For example, Zand (1972) has showed that in the process of learning, high initial trust supports the disclosure of information and the acceptance of influence as well as reduces control. It follows from the fact that the other members see trusting as a sign of trustworthiness that increase their level of trust and open action. This again reinforces the first members of the network trust into a self-reinforcing phenomenon that supports the process of networking. (Möllering, 2004)

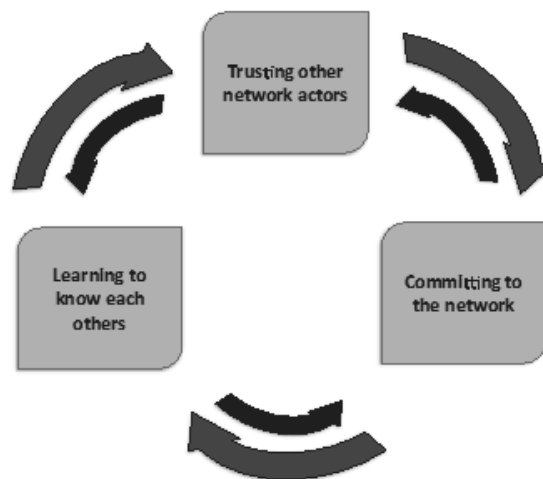


Figure 13. The iterative cycle of developing the network through learning, trust, and commitment (modified from Möllering et al. 2004).

The literature suggests that commitment is tied to trust; both trust and commitment have been identified as critical factors regarding network performance. (Powell, 1990; Kenis and Provan, 2006) While Möllering et al. (2004) suggest that at the very beginning of collaboration, the members contribute to the activities based on their initial trust, in order for networking to progress from prior conditions, the network has to allocate time and resources to the creation of not only trust but also commitment. The initial trust should evolve to the level of trust that enables commitment through learning from each other. This shift from initial to evolved trust can be interpreted as the process of learning about and trusting other members of the network and, as such, as one of the sub-processes of constructing a network. (Inkpen and Currall, 2004) This is depicted in Figure 13.

4.3.2 The setting of the goal

Setting the goal is something that the network should aim to achieve at the very beginning of their collaborative activities. The social production processes inside the network have to reach the point of a joint goal at the beginning of the collaboration (for example, Agranoff and McGuire, 2003). Setting the goal can serve as a learning process and act as a social control mechanism by providing the members of the network a forum for creating a better understanding of each other and helping to establish collective goals, norms, and values. Through goal-setting, a network can even make some structural arrangements, which in networks can act as formal control mechanisms and set boundaries for network members' behavior in the network activities. (Das and Teng, 1998) What should be achieved during the process of goal-setting is that the members of the network discover each other and recognize the differences in their prevailing structures, processes, and routines as well as understand the challenges of repeating and integrating these into a network. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2003) Still, during the process of networking, the members of the net-

work have to overcome these differences (Doz, 1996), so that the process and the outcome can be efficient and equitable. (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992)

4.3.3 The setting of rules, tasks, and tools

Since in the researched public sector, the networks operate in a hierarchical context, it is essential to emphasize the fact that the reliance on trust can be restricted by existing legal systems and role responsibilities of each participating organization. (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992) Therefore, from the beginning, collaborative action in networks has to be guided by at least a minimum set of rules and provided with coordinative tools and a certain level of communication. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2011)

The set of rules, coordinative tools, and communication all highlight the need for conditions that motivate the willingness to step out of the organizational roles, foster initial positive expectations, and enable the collaborating members of the network to improve on the prior conditions, including initial trust. (Doz 1996) This can, according to Doz (1996), be achieved through defining the tasks of collaboration, the routines that originate from the participating organizations, a design for interface, and individual expectations about the collaboration. Collaboration in networks should not rely on organizations' positions, instead, networking requires information-based empowerment. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2003)

4.3.4 The social processes

Information-based empowerment accentuates the role of the social processes in networking, as the members of the network need to negotiate and agree on the positions and roles in the network, where the individual organizational positions and roles do not (necessarily) apply. Ring and Van de Ven (1992) point out that during the process of networking, personal relationships become increasingly important over the role relationships; psychological contracts supplement the formal legal contracts that are set at the beginning of the process, and formal agreements increasingly reflect the informal understandings and commitment.

Also, trust can be tied to the importance of social processes, since trust should be built up by facilitating interpersonal interactions in a systematic but careful manner. (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992) This is because trust rises from the network members' assessment of each other and, through learning, evolves into a positive effect on the members' willingness to participate in collaboration. (Inkpen and Currall, 2004) Ring and Van de Ven (1992) emphasize that personal relationships should be fostered, since they have the potential to shape and modify the evolving structure of collaboration (network). Within the social processes, alongside a trusting atmosphere, the network should be able to create a feeling of "fair dealing" between the members of the network. On a personal level, this translates to the willingness to reconcile one's own interest with the need to maintain social relationships. On the organizational level, the

feeling of fairness comes from receiving benefits proportional to the investment placed in the collaborative action. (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992)

4.4 Summary of networking as a process

Here, I will conclude the process discussion of networking and propose an order for the presented actions and the phases of networking. Firstly, I want to stress that the process is a dynamic, iterative process, where different phases follow each other. Based on the existing literature review, what constitutes a phase is still a bit unclear, although network management discussion suggests that the phases of the process include creation, maintenance, and dissemination of a network. Secondly, based on the literature review, I suggest that we should include the conditions created inside an organization to support or hinder the collaborative action to reach the level of systematic networking.

Thirdly, when it comes to the phases of networking, in addition to including prior conditions of the process, we know that joint development should start from the development of the network. We can also argue that this development of the network means development of trust to the level that allows commitment, setting of the joint goal, and deciding on the control mechanisms. The role of social processes in networking can be regarded important, whilst their role is most critical at the beginning. Learning is a part of the social processes and has an important role in the creation of trust and allowing commitment.

Fourthly, I suggest that when the network has reached the level of trust that allows commitment, it is ready to concentrate most of its time on the development of its goal. This development is here referred to as the development of the context, serves as the motivation for the actors to engage in the collaborative activities, and should follow the development of the network. While networking is a dynamic process and trust – a dynamic concept, the key elements of networking require constant attention and maintenance during the development work towards the joint goal all the way to the utilization of the solution on the network has created.

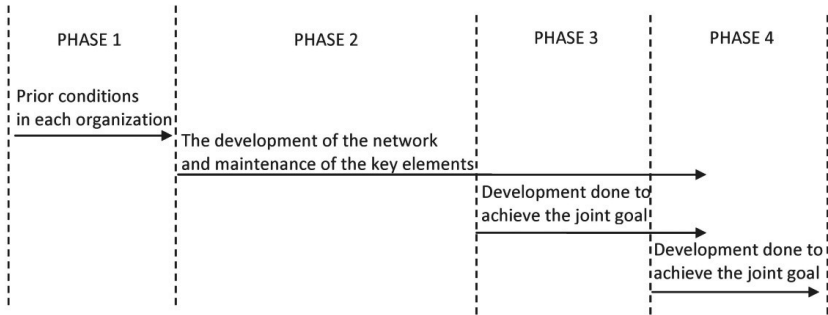


Figure 14. The division of systematic networking into four different phases.

Figure 14 shows the presented parts of the process of networking. The order of these phases is based on the literature review. The role of the action research process is to find determinants to each of the phases, which give more light into what each of the phases consists of and what marks the beginning and the end of a phase as well as how the whole process evolves. In Figure 14, I have highlighted the fact that prior conditions are a product of the organizational conditions and are unique to each organization. In the figure, prior conditions are followed by the second phase, where the development of the network finally takes place. The process chart in Figure 14 also shows that second and third phases can be partly overlapping, and the actions of these phases are not always clearly separable from each other, even if the third phase is more clearly concentrated on the development of the solution, which has been determined as the goal of networking. In the fourth phase, the action returns to the organization, and the network or the goal of the development is integrated in the service production.

5. Managing networking in the hierarchical context

My second and third sub-questions are about the kind of management needed in networking, how this management can be separated from the actions of network management, and the enabling of these processes. Answering these questions helps us understand and offer a solution to the paradox of public management. In this chapter, I will continue on the paradox of public network management by discussing the differences and similarities between hierarchical organizational management of public organizations and network management and then the dual challenge of public management of comparing these two management styles.

In an attempt to understand network management and the role of the public manager in enabling networking, I will discuss to what extent hierarchical management differs from network management and how much, if at all, network management contains features from hierarchical management. In addition to the understanding of the differences of the management types, the network management functions, the requirements of the network management, and the participation, and roles of the public manager in networking and how the management requirements evolve during the process of networking are all relevant to this discussion.

5.1 Managing networks and hierarchies

Public management research has paid some attention to the comparison of networks and hierarchies and discussed the management of both. Several researchers have come to the conclusion that hierarchical tradition of public management is something different from network management. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; Millward and Provan, 1998; O'Toole, 1997; Herranz, 2007; Mandell, 2001) In fact, already in 1990, Powell suggested that while networks are different from hierarchies and markets, their management should be assumed different from managing hierarchies. In their paper, Järvensivu and Möller (2009) propose that while networks, markets, and hierarchies are all value-creating systems and can be defined through actors, resources, and activities, the management of each of these value-system types is different but comparable.

Agranoff and McGuire (2001) and Mandell (2001) have also come to the conclusion that network management is different from the management of hierarchies, and hierarchical power cannot be used in networks as such. Ag-

granoff and McGuire (2001) present the idea that management of hierarchies differs from the management of networks, for example, in collective vs. hierarchical idea generation, knowledge-based power balances and disparities, and in role-based actors who collaborate in networks based on shared learning and social capital. Mandell (2001) has argued that governmental and organizational management, as well as network patterns, all require fundamentally different forms of management.

Agranoff and McGuire (2003) state that networking requires a new type of management, which they call information-based management. The basis of this information-based management is not the organizational roles, but the knowhow and the capabilities required by the network and are possessed by the members of the network regardless of their organizational position and status. Network management embodies attributes from hierarchical management and, for example, trust and control are both parts of successful network management, even though earlier research suggests that different types of control and control mechanisms have a place in networks in comparison to hierarchies. (Das and Teng, 1998)

In networks, the relationships between actors can be based on superior-subordinate relations, commitment, and trust, and in addition, the interdependency of social actors are all highlighted in networks. The network members can have a combination of different kinds of relations and relationships with other members of the network. (O'Toole and Meier, 2004) It is these different kinds of relations between network members that give rise to the new managerial requirements that cannot be met solely by hierarchy-based management. (O'Toole and Meier, 2004; Meier and O'Toole, 2007)

The discussion of the types of management relates to the management capabilities, which are different in networks and in hierarchies. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001) Regarding the Finnish context, Heinämäki (2012, 65) stresses that while municipalities are shifting more and more towards network-type service production, the management requirements and capabilities are shifting from a hierarchy-based formal position to informal social interactions, where respect and position has to be earned. Most public management research seems to adopt the view that successful networking requires management that is based mainly on trust and commitment, while the manager remains responsible for the management of the hierarchical organization. These researchers regard networks as their own organizational form. (See, for example: Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; Mandell, 2001; Rethemayer and Hatmaker, 2008)

5.2 Classifications of network management

Researchers have used different classifications in their attempt to understand the complex phenomenon of network management. Three of such relevant classifications are presented in Table 1. Rathemayer and Hatmaker (2008) divide network management research into four different perspectives. They also define network management as a process that can be classified as either game-network type management or as network management functions. The

functions perspective was created by Agranoff and McGuire (2001). Network management can also be classified according to how management reacts to the environment in short- and long-term perspectives. According to Hicklin et al. (2008), within both perspectives, a network can be either reactive or proactive. Table 1 also presents the view of network management from Kickert and Koppenjan (1997), according to which, network management can be seen as structuring the network based on internal or environmental changes and requirements.

Table 1. Classifications of network management.

CLASSIFICATION		SOURCE
1. Four perspectives to network management	a) Network governance	- Rathemayer and Hatmaker, 2007
	b) Network management as information and knowledge management	
	c) Network management as atool of implementation	Agranoff and McGuire, 2001
	d) Network Management as a process - Activating - Framing - Mobilizing - Synthesizing	
2. Network management as reacting to the environment	a) Short-term strategy regarding the environment - Reacting to changes in the environment - Exploiting and manipulating opportunities that arise in the environment	Hicklin et al, 2008
	b) Long-term strategy regarding the environment and the network Reacting to negative schocks Restructuring network or the conditions they are situated in	
3. Network management as chaging the structures of the network	a) Structuring existing network and improving cooperation within these structures	Kickert and Koppenjan, 1997
	b) Restructuring the network according to internal and external changes	
	c) Changing internal conditions of the network	

Here, I will discuss the important and relevant aspects of the classifications presented in Table 1. In my work, I want to emphasize network management as a process, where achieving consensus between the network members is emphasized. This process view is different from the governance school approach, which stresses that decision and implementation are not separate, establishes the interplay between the policy and collaboration networks, and presents the implications of this interplay on network management in the public sector. (Rethemayer and Hatmaker, 2008)

One could say that no network is an island. The classifications refer not only to the interplay of implementation and policy networks but also to the environment of these networks. Regarding the environment, Table 1 shows two different short-term strategies that can be chosen: the reaction to negative environmental shocks and exploiting opportunities in the environment. The table also shows another perspective to the changes in the environment, which emphasizes long-term strategy and refers to such factors as reacting to negati-

ve shocks, positive opportunities, actions of restructuring networks, and the conditions networks are situated in. (Hicklin et al., 2008)

While Kickert and Koppenjan (1997) emphasize structures in their definition of network management and state that it is structuring the existing network and improving the conditions of cooperation within an already existing structure, they add that this restructuring includes activities such as reacting to changing internal and external environments by removing or adding members and resources to the network. This reacting to environmental changes includes internal activities and changing internal conditions of the network.

The function view of network management falls within the process perspective of the network in Table 1 and is possibly the best known of the presented views. What I find problematic in the existing understanding of the function view is the fact that it emphasizes the role of the organizational manager, and researchers who have adopted this view tend to assume that an organizational manager adopts the role of the network manager. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001, 2003) Some public management researchers have also started to question this assumption. (Rethemayer and Hatmaker, 2008)

One of the main criticisms towards the prevailing network management function view is questioning the role of the organizational manager, which suggests that we should ask who should manage the network in an organization, and what kind of a role should a public manager be left with in networking. One could claim that the network function approach alone is not sufficient in providing an understanding of how this process is most efficiently enabled in hierarchical organizations. This also relates to the discussion of the level of participation, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

5.3 Definitions of network management

We have already established that network management is different from managing hierarchical organizations in that there are different requirements for these two management types and questioned the participation and roles of the public manager in managing networks. We have also taken a look into the different classifications of network management. Here, we will go deeper into the analysis of the definition of network management in order to understand the possible participation and roles of the public manager in the process of networking.

A relatively loose definition of network management comes from Williamson (2001), who writes that network management is a way of organizing service production through networks. Powell (1990) and Borgatti and Forster (2003) have added that network management is a way of organizing independent actors that work together regularly and base their cooperation on trust and commitment. In other words, network management can be seen as organizing the process of networking. To get a deeper understanding of network management, I maintain that management in networks and hierarchies is comparable and borrow from Järvensivu and Möller (2009, 7) in defining management

as “a function that by definition has to be carried out in every organization that wants to exist ...”.

Some researchers have come to the conclusion that network management can be mandated not only to a single person, but also to a group of people, or the network in its entirety can attend to the managerial actions (see, for example, Järvensivu and Möller, 2009). However, I tentatively suggest that having an appointed network manager assigned to perform the managerial actions especially benefits networks in the hierarchical context, such as elderly care, as a part of the municipal social and health care service production in Finland. Further, I argue that managerial actions can be separated from the actions of networking and network management can be seen as organizing and facilitating the process of networking. Organizing entails the actions that need to be done inside the network to enable and support this process, which is something that all members of a network do by suggesting, requesting, requiring, performing, and adapting activities. (Ford, Gadde, Håkansson and Snehota, 2003)

I further define network management as the actions done by an appointed network manager or managers to ensure the creation and maintenance of the network and achieving the goal of networking. Network management is also ensuring that the network achieves mutual understanding of the fact that working together is more effective than working outside a network and delivers benefits to all members (Nambisan and Sawhney, 2011), I would also add the conditions that support networking. The mutual understanding and supporting conditions can be achieved through the facilitation of synergistic interactions, by shared values and working together, through the creation of shared goals and cooperative culture (Mandell and Keast, 2009), as well as by using the right type of control and finding the proper set of formal and social control mechanisms that support the process and do not have a negative effect on the created mutual trust. (Das and Teng, 1998)

5.3.1 Network management function perspective

Network management functions, which were originally presented by Agranoff and McGuire (2001), bring clarity to the discussion of the process of networking and the management thereof by clearly stating what the managerial functions that need to be attended to in networks are. These network management functions and the more specific network management tasks relate to the requirements of managing networks in regards of what needs to be achieved to ensure a functioning network. Table 2 describes the four network management functions and the corresponding tasks. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; 2003; Mandell, 2001)

Table 2. Network management functions and tasks according to Mandell, 2001.

MANAGEMENT FUNCTION	DEFINITION OF THE FUNCTION	RELEVANT MANAGEMENT TASKS
ACTIVATING	Forming membership and accessing resources	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identifying and selecting relevant network actors 2. Gaining an agreement with the key network members to devote necessary skills and resources to the cause 3. Adjusting a structural arrangement that reflects the complexity of the membership and tasks achieved 4. Adjusting and enhancing network dynamics through the strategic introduction of new members to the network and deactivation of non-productive members
FRAMING	Shifting orientation from single to collective	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Establishing and influencing the operating rules, values, norms of the network creating new terms of engagement 2. Altering the perceptions of the network members through the introduction of new information and ideas 3. Understanding and examining the perspectives of the other members of the network 4. Supporting
MOBILIZING	Securing commitment to whole collective identity	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Establishing a common mission or vision 2. Securing member agreement in terms of the scale and scope of action and 3. Creating coalitions and interest groups as underlying supporting infrastructure 4. Supporting network champions in their endeavour to model behaviour and sell ideas and identifying sponsors who will provide legitimacy and line of credit 5. Driving the relationships to achieve outcomes
SYNTHESIZING	Building and maintaining relationships	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Checking the levels of engagement and contribution 2. Monitoring that actions and behaviours reflect networks principles 3. Establishing and enforcing a network culture as well as developing a communication and information sharing 4. Removing obstacles and establishing processes to enable members actions and working through conflicts 5. Continually monitoring to ensure that diverse needs and resources of the members continue to be directed towards a common strategic purpose.

Table 2 describes each of the four network management functions based on the descriptions from Agranoff and McGuire (2001) and Mandell (2001). Activating as a network management function, according to Agranoff and McGuire (2001), means identifying the participants and their resources to form a network membership and to ensure access to the required resources. Framing translates to shaping interactions in networks by establishing and influencing the operating rules, norms, and perceptions prevailing in the network or, as Mandell (2001) describes, “shifting the orientation from single to collective.” Motivating is about inspiring and committing network participants and relevant stakeholders to the collective identity. Synthesizing includes creating and enhancing the conditions for favorable productive interactions among network members. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001)

Activating

Activating can be defined as the forming of relationships and accessing the required resources. This function especially stresses the social skills of a network manager (see, for example, Äyväri, 2002) and the ability to identify and work with proper actors who deliver the right resources. (McGuire, 2002; Ritter, 1999; Ritter, Wilkinson, and Johnston., 2002) Activating takes place either when the network is being formed or in a situation where the composition of the network has changed, and as a result, there is a need for a change in the composition of the network. That is to say, activating is important to the effectiveness of the network and may require strategic changes in the structure and the dynamics of the network. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001)

The strategic changes in the hierarchies or in the network may equally require both activation and deactivation of the members of the network to engage members who have the resources required in the network. (Rethemayer and Hatmaker, 2008) Forming relationships and activating the right actors are important to networking, and I would stress the fact that engaging all relevant stakeholders and mapping their resources, skills, and knowledge is an essential part of the activating function. As seen in Table 2, Mandell (2001) also refers to the structural arrangements of the network in relation to activating as a network management function.

Framing

Framing as a managerial function is about creating a sense of interdependency between the network members and trust towards networking to ensure that collective network activities are possible. To ensure these, the actions should follow the created rules of interaction and the accepted decision-making procedures. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001) According to the framing function, network members should understand and accept that they achieve more through the network than they would independently. (Rathemayer and Agranoff, 2008; Mandell, 2001) Therefore, framing is the actions the network manager performs in facilitating the creation of a shared purpose and vision by offering the network new ideas or suggesting decision-mechanisms. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; Kickert and Kopperjan, 1997) However, the manager is also required to secure a working consensus on behalf of the whole network, while allowing members to contribute and to also fulfil their own motives to participate in the process of networking. (Mandell, 2001; Agranoff and McGuire, 2001)

During framing, a managerial task is also to establish and influence a network's operating rules, values, and norms as well as alter the perceptions of the participants (Table 2). Learning capability (Lorenzoni and Lipparini, 1999) is essential to a network manager in the function of framing, as networks require a change from control towards participating. In networks, the right type of control can facilitate, but the wrong type of control in a wrong situation can inhibit collaborative actions. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001)

Mobilizing

Mobilizing refers to affecting human relations such as motivating, inspiring, and ensuring commitment. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001) Mobilizing as a network management function emphasizes commitment, which is defined in Table 2 by stating that mobilizing is the securing of commitment to the collective identity of the network. Learning to cooperate, be adaptable and flexible are all required from the network management in facilitating and organizing networking according to the mobilizing function. This is because this process is also a process of bringing together separate entities to form a collective unit with shared goals through the creation of a common vision and purpose as well as shared ownership of the network. (Keast and Hampson, 2007)

In fact, Mandell (2001) names the ability to influence members to participate in networking as one of the main requirements of a network manager. Mobilizing is also the managerial task that aims at ensuring the support from the originating organizations of the members of the network. While the balance between these organizations and the network is important, mobilizing includes the activities of ensuring support for the network management from the manager's primary organization. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; Rethemeyer and Hatmaker, 2008)

Synthesizing

The fourth network management function, synthesizing, translates to ensuring the favorable conditions to transferring collaborative actions into a process of networking (Rethemeyer and Hatmaker, 2008) through building and maintaining relationships (Table 2) and continuously checking the levels of members' engagement and contribution. (Mandell, 2001) This phase is about the principles and culture of the members of the network, which are enforced through the development of communication and information sharing. (Mandell, 2001; Agranoff and McGuire, 2001) Therefore, synthesizing is referred to as developing new rules of interaction and cultural adjustments as well as changing the roles of the members of the network and their organizations from competitive to cooperative. (Kickert et al 1997; Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; Keast and Hampson, 2007) This network management function mainly requires coordination capability (Äyväri, 2002, 166, Lorenzoni and Lipparini, 1999) to answer to the managerial requirement of being able to create a network culture and to blend many cultures, needs, and goals into effective communication and collaboration for a shared purpose.

Although this network management function perspective, originally created by Agranoff and McGuire, has gained ground among network management and public management researchers, the functions have also received criticism. Rethemeyer and Hatmaker (2008) are among those who have criticized the function perspective, and they list some weaknesses in the functions. Two of these weaknesses are of special importance regarding the proposed framework of this study. First, the functions are claimed to fail to take into account the process-nature of network management in explaining how the network management requirements and tasks change and develop over time. Second, the management functions are based on the assumption that the public mana-

ger from the sector- or department-level adopts the role of the network manager, an assumption which I have already questioned earlier in this chapter.

I claim that this assumption of the public manager as the network manager is due to the lack of understanding of the role of the public manager, and I would like to point out that mobilizing in particular is built on the underlying assumption that the public manager from the sector- or department-level adopts the role of the network manager. I have already pointed out the criticism towards this assumption and my framework is built to place special attention to this function view and the public manager's role in influencing the creation of trust and commitment inside the network and the participating organization.

5.3.2 The roles of trust and control in managing networks

Here, I discuss the concepts of trust and control in networks to understand the differences of these two control types and the contribution of the differences to the paradox of public management. This refers to the fact that management in an organization is based on the use of formal control, while social control has a more important and critical role in the management of networks. The question is then to what extent is a public manager from higher levels of organization able to adapt to the different needs of trust and control as well as change the types according to the need of the different phases and situations during the process of networking.

When it comes to control and trust, I stand for the point of view that even if trust and control coexist in networks, it is essential to remember that trust should be the main enabler of collaborative actions, when a systematic process of networking is desired (Mayer et al., 1995), and that trust goes beyond control, since the more trust there is, the more control the network members allow. (Nooteboom, 2007) Another view is that the use of control is a sign of mistrust, and according to Mayer et al. (1995), control mechanisms, such as contracts, changing decision-making processes, internal processes, reward systems, and structures, only compensate or substitute for the lack of trust in networks. While Nooteboom (2007) is in line with the statement that trust and control are to some extent substitutes, Das and Teng (1998) have been able to confirm that the right type of control helps in building mutual trust.

Inkpen and Currall (2004) suggest considering trust as a control mechanism in networks, even though that definition has also been found insufficient, because trust has its limits, and beyond those limits, control may be needed. For example, in the beginning of networking, there may not be trust, which the collaborating actors can rely on, and therefore, control mechanisms are needed. (Inkpen and Currall, 2004) According to this view, trust and control are complementary; when trust ends, control comes in to enable joint efforts. (Das and Teng, 1998) However, Das and Teng (1998) add that trust and control are not only complementary but also supplementary. Möllering et al. (2004) bring forth an idea that when the members of a network have a sufficient level of trust, they allow some level and certain type of control. Inkpen and Currall (2004) twist this to the managerial side and state that when a network has

reached a certain level of trust, the members have learned from each other, and the overall conditions of the network have reached the evolved level, a network manager does not want to use as much control.

When it comes to the types of control, I have earlier referred to formal and social control and stated that in networks, social control to some degree replaces formal control. Both of these types of control contribute to the level of trust. Formal control is predictable and regular (Inkpen and Currall, 2004) and means rules, goals, procedures, and regulations, while social control translates to values, norms, and to a culture that encourages desired behavior. (Das and Teng, 1998) Social control is long-term and takes time and effort to build and still remains uncertain and ambiguous.

Even more strategic to the level of trust and overall confidence towards networking is the use of formal control. The use of formal control is found to more likely have a negative effect on the level of trust. Formal control is about influencing people and creating boundaries of behavior, and therefore, it can reduce autonomy. (Das and Teng, 1998) Strategic control is another type of control and implies the establishment of collaborative objectives and performance guidelines. Collaborative control builds on the established strategic control. (Inkpen and Currall, 2004) Formal and social control are parts of both of these latter types of control.

Another important notion is that trust and control are related to the type of collaboration and the aim of the collaborative activities. A certain type of collaboration requires and allows certain type of control mechanisms. Also, the situation within networking at hand dictates the type of control mechanism that can be used without eroding the existing level of trust. (Das and Teng, 1998)

5.4 The participation and roles of the public manager in networks

The paradox of public management challenges sector- and department-level public managers, since networks mean rethinking, creating new environments, and stepping out of the established organizational roles. (Mandell, 2001) Several public management researchers agree that the public manager has a role in networks and can adopt different approaches to how the public manager participates in networks within this role. Some researchers hesitate to claim that the public manager should adopt the role of the network manager. The idea of assigning someone without managerial authority in the hierarchy to the post of network manager has also been presented (for example, Rethemayer and Hatmaker, 2008). Herranz (2008) has suggested that the public manager can also remain relatively passive in networks, while some researchers do not question the role of the public manager as the network manager and also assume that the public manager is an active member in networks (see, for example, Agranoff and McGuire, 2001).

Indeed, it might be beneficial for the public manager to participate in the process of networking to gain influence and control the service production, as they could, if they were organizing and producing the services themselves.

(Herranz, 2008) The participation in these processes is however restricted by, for example, the fact that the use of formal control mechanisms may have a negative effect on the effectiveness of the process. (Das and Teng, 1998) When authority and power are determined by action and expertise, the public manager has to deal with substantial informal power and influence from other network members. One could say that in networks, no one is in charge, but at the same time, all participants might be subordinates, who follow the rules of their originating organizations. (Mandell, 2001) This suggests that public managers could indirectly influence the network through the persons participating in a network, especially them being their subordinates. To sum up, the public manager has means to affect networking both through active participation and from the managerial role outside the network.

5.4.1 Active and passive roles of the public manager

From the roles of the public manager inside and outside a network, I proceed to discuss the public manager's participation in networks through the four **active** managerial approaches to networks introduced by Herranz (2008). These approaches are reactive facilitation, contingent coordination, active coordination, and hierarchical-based directive administration. Herranz draws mainly from the work of Klijn et al. (1995), who have proposed a two-fold definition of active/passive approaches in public-sector network management. The organizational manager's passive role outside the network has been discussed by Goldsmith and Eggers (2004), who have proposed that the public manager can also participate in networking as an outside consultant.

To return back to the continuum presented by Herranz (2008), I highlight that **reactive facilitation** emphasizes the role of social interactions over direct control. Reactive facilitation is about creating the kind of conditions where collaborative actions can take place. (Herranz, 2008) Within this role, the public manager has relatively little control over the network, which can be problematic in the sense that the public manager can remain responsible for the outcome of the network, when the outcome of the organization is tied to the network.

A public manager who adopts a **contingency coordination** approach to managing networks actively monitors the network and adopts an active coordinative role when the network's situation requires or when the organization benefits from more active coordination of networking. (Herranz, 2008) Management, according to this approach, mainly influences the members' perceptions (McGuire, 2002); and the final outcome, the service, is determined by the network's interest, resources, and opportunities. (Herranz, 2008) According to this approach, the understanding of the right control mechanisms at a given time and the level of trust, existing and needed, are essential to a manager, because too strict and the wrong type of control can even decrease the effect of control and, in addition, decrease trust among network members. (Das and Teng, 1998) This approach is close to power strategizing, which includes control of information, the ability to exercise influence, and authorize action when needed. (Gray, 1989)

While, according to reactive facilitation, a manager enables networks through social interactions, in **active coordination**, social interactions are used together with procedural and incentive mechanisms, and the aim is to have a direct influence on the delivered services. Within this approach, a manager can use both instrumental relationships as well as create and even manipulate horizontal (network) relationships to the benefit of the organization. Even if this approach is more active than the two others, the public manager has less of and a different type of control over the network compared to a single actor service production. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2003; Herranz, 2008)

Goldsmith and Eggers (2004) suggest that the public manager should have a bigger role in designing the network, including the identification of possible partners, involving stakeholders in the network activities, analyzing operations, determining and communicating the expectations of network members, assembling the pieces of the network, strategizing the maintenance of the network, and finally, in activating the network. Some of these actions could be achieved most efficiently through the use of authority and some through the use of social connections, which, in my opinion, suggests that it is not so clear that the public manager is the right actor to manage all these actions.

Hierarchical-based directive administration is another active approach and is based on the idea that managing networks and managing hierarchies requires the same skill-set and is the same in theory, and networks should be coordinated primarily through authoritative procedural mechanisms. (McGuire, 2003) This again is based on the notion that both the network and the hierarchy must have the right people and resources, a clear purpose and strategy as well as productive and purposeful interaction. (Herranz, 2008)

While the public manager can either take an active or passive approach to networking, the adopted role can also change, and a public manager can participate in some phases or situations and remain outside of others. (Mandell, 2001; Goldsmith and Eggers, 2004; Hampson, 2007) The participation can change, since management behavior varies across time and space. (McGuire, 2001)

The public manager can, at the beginning of the process of networking, have an active participative role in networking through the creation and modification of internal structures of the network. (Klijn et al., 1995) Mandell (2004) is in line with this thought and goes even further by stating that at the beginning, the manager has to use organization-based authority to both choose the members who have required resources and to build legitimacy for the network. Also, Goldsmith and Eggers (2004) suggest that participation of the public manager is strongest at the beginning and add that then, the use of hierarchical status and power is most likely to enable these processes; while Das and Teng (1998) suggest that learning and trust should be emphasized at the beginning. One rationale behind this is that the existence of trust influences both how control is perceived by the network and to how much control has to be used in a network for the network to achieve its goal.

5.5 Summary of managing and enabling networking

Here, I will summarize the theoretical discussion in both of the theoretical chapters and add on the earlier summary of the process of networking. The main contribution of this chapter comes from understanding how much and to what extend the paradox of public management draws from the differences between hierarchies and networks and their management. One of the main differences is the type of control that is effective in hierarchies versus in networks and the kinds of effects control can have in networks. Both the control discussion as well as the presented approaches to managerial participation in networks suggests that the sector- and organizational-level public manager can participate in networking both as a member of the network and outside the network from the hierarchical position. This is depicted in Figure 15, which makes a clear distinction between the process of networking, the management of networks, and the enabling of networking.

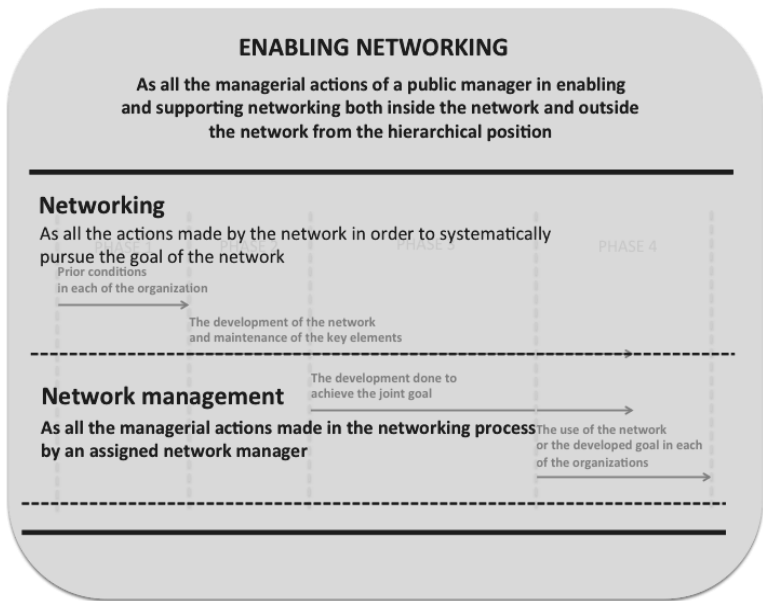


Figure 15. Enabling the process of networking in relation to networking and network management.

Figure 16 combines the two theoretical chapters and presents the process of networking with its four phases in conjunction with the process of networking, network management, and the enabling of the process of networking by the public manager. The figure situates network management inside the action of the network, inside the process of networking. The process and the network management functions develop during the process, and the managerial requirements are different in each of the phases. Based on the literature review, we have already established that the beginning of the process of networking happens inside an organization and prepares the organization and the manager for the collaborative activities, which here are the three latter phases of the process and something the members of the network perform together.

When we examine the public manager's role in the networks and enabling networking, we talk about a manager from the sector or department level. Managers from this level have the responsibility to manage the hierarchical organization and have control over the service organization and production.

In Figure 15, enabling systematic networking is seen as a very broad construct that can encompass active participation of a public manager in networking, as well as in the network management, even in the role of the network manager. But this enabling can also be done without being an active participant in the network, just by influencing the network externally by creating enabling conditions inside the organization. The literature review did not provide a clear answer to whether the public manager should be the network manager or how the enabling participation and roles of the public manager change during networking.

6. Methodology

The purpose of this dissertation is to add to the existing understanding of networking in the public sector service production and of the roles and actions of a public manager in networking. To understand the paradox of public management in operating in both networks and hierarchical organizations, I have chosen the context of publicly organized elderly care in Finland and to study the creation of inter-organizational networks in elderly care service production in municipal organizations. The studied elderly care service organization is a current and encompassing context, which entails social and health care services. The Finnish elderly care service organization on the municipal level provides a context in which it is increasingly collaborating through networks, while still remaining hierarchically organized. Previous research has acknowledged the attempt to create networks within hierarchal structures, and in Finland, this kind of governance is referred to as new network-type governance. (Heinämäki, 2012)

6.1 Research Strategy

The phenomenon studied in this dissertation is complex due to the complexity of the events, the different time scales within processes, the dynamics of the processes, and the temporary connections in the events studied. (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005) An in-depth analysis of this type of complex phenomenon requires a qualitative methodological approach, which is designed to reduce the complexity and is useful in indicating relationships within the collected data. (Eisenhardt, 1989) Further, qualitative data allows an understanding and inclusion of the context in the analysis and the description of the study. This description of the context in turn provides the reader with essential information of the interpretation of the events described in the three cases. (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005)

My approach to the qualitative research is a case study, since this approach provides a full and deep description of the complex situations that can occur in organizations and network processes within and between organizations. (Easton, 2010) I have conducted a multiple case study to compare and contrast three cases to gain rich results and to compact my theoretical focus. (Yin, 1984; Van de Ven and Poole, 2005) The three cases have been chosen to potentially produce contradictory views to enabling systematic networking due

to the public manager's different levels of participation and different types of roles in networking. Based on the pre-understanding, the prediction is that the public manager's actions and roles within networking can have both positive and negative effects on the process depending, for example, on the phase of the process, the commitment, or the existing level of mutual trust between the network members.

Within public management research, in the quest for a better understanding of the network processes and their dynamics and change, there has been a call for longitudinal research. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; McGuire, 2002; Brass et al. 2004; Provan et al 2007; Agranoff and McGuire, 2011) Here, a longitudinal approach is needed to depict the process of creating and maintaining a network and the impact of managerial actions, participation, and roles within this process. The aim of the longitudinal approach in general is to see how the change unravels as a sequence of events over time. (Barnett and Carroll, 1995; Pettigrew, Woodman, and Cameron, 2001) Also, longitudinal research allows creating a better, logically consistent model of the studied processes and enables a rich understanding of the contextual setting, which in turn is essential to understanding the results. (Halinen, 1994) Content and process and their interconnections through time are a necessity in exploring a process of change. (Pettigrew, 1989) The content, context, and the processes are depicted in Figure 16.

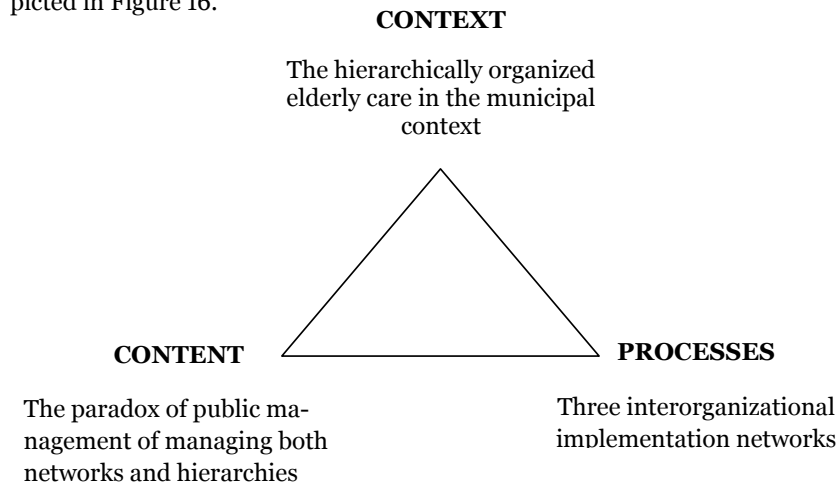


Figure 16. The content, context, and processes of the study.

To answer the call for longitudinal and participative research, I have conducted an action research study, which has allowed different types of data collection methods during a predetermined period of time. Action research is also a suitable method in both creating and studying organizational change. (Wooddell, 2009) Longitudinal process research benefits from a participative research approach, such as action research, since participative research allows explicit and direct observation of the processes in action. (Tsoukas and Chia, 2002; Van de Ven and Poole, 2005; Khanlou and Peter, 2005) Goduscheit, Bergenholtz, Jorgensen, and Rasmussen (2008) assert that the applicability of

action research to inter-organizational network development is substantial. The contribution of action research in general is the possibility to be closely connected to the practices, the ability to gain diverse knowledge and to provide an understanding of how to make the existing practices more efficient (Gustavssen, 2008; Heikkinen, Rovio and Syrjälä, 2007), i.e. have an impact on the studied community and in the society at large. The impact on society is the contribution of the critical approach towards the existing practices. (Altrichter et al., 2002)

I conducted dialogical action research that allows me as a researcher to acknowledge dialogue between the researched community and myself. Dialogical action research is suitable for the research purpose of this study, since it has the potential to reveal social structures, traditions, as well as power structures of the researched community, all of which could not be revealed through plain interviews, since people either hesitate to reveal or are unaware of underlying practices and power relations. (McNiff, 1995) The dialogue is the interface and the tool that combines theory and the world of praxis and the practitioner's way of seeing everyday life. (Mårtensson and Lee, 2004) Maurer and Githens (2010) point out that the interaction with praxis and the participation in the occurring activities are the keys to understanding the phenomenon and the context of interest. Dialogical action research forces the researcher to include the context in the analysis. (Hyötyläinen, 2005, 32)

Participation and close observation of praxis are crucial in developing theories by creating new concepts to describe what actually happens in organizations and how the organizations are structured. (Barley and Kunda, 2001) Dialogical action research was also chosen to enable the questioning of existing management values and practices as well as the pre-existing goals of the study. (Maurer and Githens, 2010) Only by questioning pre-determined values and goals were the researchers and practitioners able to create the change that was needed in the praxis. From the beginning, all parties had to agree that the existing beliefs, values, tacit assumptions and mental models would be examined critically to allow changing the existing practices that, in this case, stem from the hierarchical nature of the praxis. (Maurer and Githens, 2010)

In dialogical action research, the researcher does not attempt to teach scientific theory to the practitioner but, instead, attempts to speak the language of the practitioner, who is seen as the expert regarding the organization and its challenges, in order to create a dialogue. (Mårtensson and Lee, 2004) Conducting action research is challenging, as it requires the researcher to be able to temporarily abandon the social and historical context of his scientific background and, therefore, also the convention, terminology, and logic adopted through academic education and experience. In other words, a dialogical action researcher does not have the luxury to remain within the context and the culture they are used to. (Mårtensson and Lee, 2004) In dialogical action research, the researcher has to analyze the knowledge learned through dialogue with the practitioner and reflect on the learning through a scientific attitude. According to the hermeneutic understanding, dialogue does not only exist be-

tween the practitioner and the researcher, but also between the scientific theory and the praxis. (Maurer and Githens, 2010)

This research process has the aim to be theory-practice balanced, so that theory orients the development of the practice and during the processes of planning, acting, and reflecting (i.e. analysis), practice focuses and develops the theory. This kind of a balance is typical to dialogue-based action research projects. (Drummond and Themessl-Huber, 2007) Therefore, this action research process is not merely an intuitive set of observations and ideas, but a systematic way to collect and analyze data through experiment and the selected theoretical lens (see Barton and Haslett, 2007).

6.2 The Driving Change in Welfare Services for the Aged project

The Driving Change in Welfare Services for the Aged project (DCWSA project) is the main data collection project of this study. The project was a combined development and research project funded by the European Social Fund, Uusimaa Center for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment as well as the participating municipalities – Espoo and Vantaa. The project's duration was from February 1st, 2008 to April 30th, 2011.

6.2.1 Project organization

The project was implemented by the two participating municipalities, Espoo and Vantaa, and Aalto University School of Business (Aalto) as well as Laurea University of Applied Sciences (Laurea). The development work in the project was carried out by the researchers (Aalto), senior and principal lecturers (Laurea), students (Aalto and Laurea), and around 120 municipal employees from different levels of the organizations, mainly in the municipal elderly care, and by senior trainers, who were volunteers trained by Laurea and the partnering municipalities. The roles of the researchers from Aalto were designed to develop the networks together with the practitioners by bringing in knowledge on networks and their management. Laurea's role was to provide expertise in the field of health and social care, especially elderly care.

The main responsibility for the project and its organization lies on the shoulders of the home care managers from the department level and on the representatives from Aalto and Laurea. There was also a separate steering committee for the project, which in the hierarchy of the project, was situated above the municipal actors in the home and disabled care within the elderly care department. The steering committee included members from the municipal organizations up to the departmental level.

In the project structure, each of the created development networks had a group of key members that took the responsibility of the development network and reported to both the public managers and to the steering committee of the project on a regular basis. This group of members was called a key member network, and it consisted of actors from the research institutes and managers from the municipalities. The representatives from the municipal organizations

had the role of the network manager in each of the development networks, and the role of the researchers and developers was to support the network manager regarding the theoretical understanding of networks and their management as well as the practices of managing a development network. These network managers were from different levels of the municipal organization, but mainly from the sub-departmental level or above. Only in the INFORMAL network was the manager from the areal unit level in the home care sub-department.

In the municipality of Vantaa, the active network members were from all levels of municipal organizations, whereas in Espoo, the members represented mainly sector-, department-, and unit-supervisor-level employees, leaving the customer care level un-presented. In addition to these, active members for each of the developed network stakeholders were identified to be regularly informed of the development done by the network and invited to seminars held by the project. Also, in Vantaa, other development networks in the project were considered stakeholders and regularly informed of the development done by the networks. Customers were also seen as stakeholders, but in most of the networks, network members failed to create a regular and continuous role for these customers in the development, mainly due to the rejection of the idea by the municipal authorities.

The project organization consisted of the project steering group, the elderly care steering group of Vantaa, the key network members, and seven separate networks in the municipalities Espoo and Vantaa. In Espoo, there was no separate steering group for the project, since the project was designed to be in the hands of the few managers from the department level. The steering group of the project met a couple of times per year, and the steering group of Vantaa – several times a year. The people from Aalto and Laurea also met regularly to reflect on the development of each of the development networks and to plan future development as well as to evaluate the current development.

6.2.2 Project Practices

A network coordinator hired to the project in Vantaa had an important role in the project. She was present in all meetings, both in the project and the elderly care organization in Vantaa. From her position, she reflected on how each of the networks in Vantaa progressed and whether any overlap existed in the work of the development networks. The project management, together with the researchers and the developers from Aalto and Laurea, designed the yearly seminars for the organization of the whole project.

Throughout the project, the actual development and work in the networks was performed by the key member network and the active network members, which included the developers from each of the networks. In Figure 17, this work is indicated in the middle of the figure as workshops and network workshops. The key member network met a couple of times a month, first to plan the coming workshops and then – to facilitate these workshops. Facilitation and coordination of the networking activities was mainly the responsibility of the key members of each network. Later, as the process evolved and the pro-

ject came closer to the end, network members from the municipalities took on the responsibility of coordinating development and facilitating the workshops

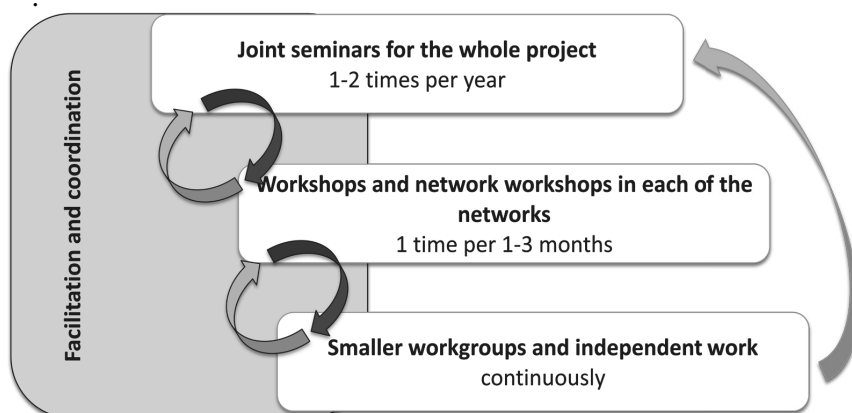


Figure 17. The organization and practices for the networks.

The network members were designed to meet one to three times a month in a workshop, where the development mainly took place. Some of these workshops were network workshops, which means that selected stakeholders were invited to participate and contribute to the development. In each of the networks, independent work was also done outside the workshops. Independent work was designed to further the development and to involve the originating organizations of the network members in the development. For example, in one of the networks, the members were assigned to contact and invite those absent in one of the workshops as well as update them on the latest information on the development in the network. Some of the networks were further divided into sub-networks that took the responsibility of one of the designed development targets. The sub-networks met regularly, including outside the workshops.

6.2.3 The development networks in the DCWSA project

As mentioned earlier, in both of the participating cities, several networks were created. In Vantaa, four networks were created, and in Espoo – three. In the following, I will shortly present the municipalities and explain the idea of each of the networks.

The networks in Vantaa

Vantaa is the fourth most populated city in Finland with a population of 208,310 (January 31, 2014). The city encompasses 240.34 square kilometers and is divided into seven districts. All seven districts have their own areal home care and other health- and social-care-related services, although the municipal health and social care is steered centrally and is sector-based. In Vantaa, the networks were developed to increase the equality between the different districts and inter-sectorial collaboration in all districts. The overall aim of all the networks was the creation of such services that would contribute to

the municipal strategy of enhancing elderly peoples' ability to live at home. Networking was seen as the means to respond to the increasingly complex customer needs and diminishing resources to organize and produce the services. (Vantaa, 2016)

VIKSU - Age political program

GERO - From day services to gerontology center

HOME - Home care renewal

INFORMAL - Developing supporting services for caregivers

The networks in Espoo

Espoo is a municipality in southern Finland, west from the capital Helsinki. Like Vantaa, Espoo also belongs to the Helsinki Metropolitan area. 12 percent of the population is 65 years old or older, while the total population of Espoo is about 255 000. Among Finnish cities, Espoo is a high earner, with a tax income of 4774 per capita (in 2010). Espoo is also a growing city, with an estimated population growth of up to 300 000 by the year 2030. The city of Espoo consists of five larger and two smaller city districts. (Espoo, 2015)

As in Vantaa, in Espoo, health and social care is divided into districts. Elderly care services in Espoo aim to support living at home through preventive and participative services and guide as well, by offering a selection of different services. In cases when living at home is not possible, Espoo offers a selection of solutions to care outside the home; however, from elderly of over 75 years old, about 90 percent live at home, and 1400 elderly in total who live at home receive 24-hour home care available. Examples of services provided to elderly on top of general health and social care services are senior guidance service, eight service centers that offer services to elderly, free municipal gym and sport for elderly over 68 years old, and different kinds of group exercises that support physical and mental wellbeing. (Espoo, 2015)

COLLABORATION - The network of home and disabled care

ACUTE - Network for acute care for elderly

GERO - Geriatric specialist teams

6.3 Pre-understanding through the ActiveNet project

From the beginning of 2006, researchers conducted an interview study in the municipalities of Espoo and Vantaa. The interview study was called ActiveNet (2006 to 2008), and it played an important role in selecting the context of the dialogical action research study and helped create the pre-understanding of the field of elderly care in the public sector. I am presenting the ActiveNet project here, because pre-understanding is essential in action research, especially in dialogical action research. (Hoholm and Araujo, 2011) ActiveNet also had an important role in creating trust between the home care organization and the researchers and in helping the researchers to create an understanding of the praxis. This included learning the language suitable for dialogue that later, during the dialogical action research, would serve as the interface between

science, that is marked by theory and the scientific attitude, and the world of the practitioner, that is marked by praxis and the natural attitude of everyday life. (Mårtensson and Lee, 2004)

In the ActiveNet project, four cases (different types of development projects) were studied, and later, based on the findings, home care was chosen as the main topic of the action research project. The networks in ActiveNet were chosen from both public and private sector, and the aim was to understand what kinds of networks were created to achieve the development goals in each of the cases.

The main data collection method in the ActiveNet research project was interviews. The interviews started with meetings with the managers of elderly care organizations in both of the municipalities that participated in the ActiveNet and, later, in the action research project. Together with the managers, the researchers determined the networks to study and from whom to begin the interviewing process. In each of the four studied networks, the interviews were aimed at creating an open dialogue and establishing an open trustful relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. (Holstein and Gudrum, 1995) This kind of an interview follows a structure where there is a main question, the required probes, and follow-up questions. (Mårtensson and Lee, 2004) Each interviewee was also asked who should be interviewed next or the names came up in the conversation during the interview. This follows the idea and the principles of so-called snowball sampling. All interviews were recorded and transcribed by professionals from the recorded tapes. Nvivo was used as the analysis tool to identify reoccurring words, establish how many times networks were brought up by the interviewees, and to identify different actors in each of the cases.

Interviews were conducted with the managers of elderly care in both municipalities, specialists in the elderly care, home care workers and their supervisors, elderly care workers working for the church, employees from third-sector organizations, and informal care givers in both municipalities. Through the study, I became more familiar with the organization of home care in the public sector. I understood the role of existing structures in the municipal organizations and learned about the role of these organizations in the Finnish elderly care service production. For example, I understood what the role of municipal organizations is in supporting informal care provided at home by the close relatives of elderly.

During the project, I interviewed elderly people who were living at home and were taken care of by their close relatives or were taking care of their close relative, often also elderly. I visited their homes to better understand the conditions they were living in and their relationship to the municipal service production, as well as the services they needed to acquire from the private or third-sector service providers, in addition to the services provided by the public sector. I feel that this experience of interviewing customers is what played the most significant role in helping me understand the results of the whole research project and the need for change. These interviews also gave me the motivation to continue studying elderly care and look for a more participatory

research method. I felt that the knowledge customers had was essential to the creation of change that would serve the practitioners in the field; and during ActiveNet, I felt my first urge to find a method that ensures a balance that makes improvements possible both in the practice and in scientific knowledge.

The results from the interviews were regularly discussed with the elderly care managers, reported to the investors of the research project and to the scientific community in several conferences in Finland and abroad. One of the most important arenas for discussion about the interviews and the results of the analysis were workshops held regularly with the managers of both of the municipalities and the representatives from Japanese and other Finnish universities. The results from the interview study indicated that only in one of the studied cases were there signs of an actual existing network. This network was between research institutes and private companies and situated in one physical location. The cases from the public sector, between municipal organizations, showed little signs of a network-type of collaboration. The signs that were looked for included, for example, jointly decided and agreed goals for development, existing negotiation practices and trust and commitment towards other members of the network. Also, the interviewees mainly referred to networks and networking when they were talking about their own social networks they had built in their own area to help them serve their customers and cope with workloads.

In a 2007 seminar in Sendai Japan, the manager of elderly and disabled care from the municipality of Vantaa gave a response to a presentation about the findings of the ActiveNet study and expressed the need for a change. The presented study concluded that within the service production for the elderly, there are no identifiable networks in the form that the researchers originally used to define a network. (Järvensivu and Nykänen, 2008; Nykänen and Järvensivu, 2008) What the manager expressed is that they knew there were no networks, and they understood that networks were needed to respond to the current and future service need. He turned to the researchers and asked them to help elderly care achieve this change into a more collaborative service production within elderly care service production. He presented us with the question of how they could achieve that. This question marked the beginning of the dialogical action research project.

6.4 Data collection and analysis of the collected data

After presenting the participating municipalities, giving an overview of the project organization, and presenting the idea and the role of the ActiveNet project in creating the necessary pre-understanding before the dialogical action research process, I will here explain how the data was collected and analyzed as well as how the knowledge developed through the dialogue during the dialogical action research process in the DCWSA project.

In case studies, theory-based selection and other predetermined criteria selection can be used to select cases instead of the use of statistical factors. (Eisenhardt, 1989) In this study, the selection process was done in four phases,

starting from choosing the phenomena to the selection of the actual network processes to report in this dissertation. The phases include content, context, processes, and the processes chosen to be reported in this dissertation.

Table 3. Research types and methods.

RESEARCH TYPES	RESEARCH TOPICS AND METHODS
Interview study to gain pre-understanding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 networks • Open theme interviews • Snowball sampling ✓ To understand the studied phenomenon ✓ To determine the change needed ✓ Who are the studied community ✓ What kinds of networks exist
Several data collection methods during the action research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 networks • Researchs' diary • Memos from meetings and workshops • Workshop programs • Group work • Recordings and videos • Photos • Feedback
Evaluation of the change at the last phase of the project and after the project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Group interviews year before the end of the project and at the end of the project • Key actor interviews half a year after the re-search project

During the action research process (Driving Change in Welfare Services for the Aged), eight networks were studied, and several data collection methods used (Table 3). Workshops were the main forum for both the development and the dialogue of the participative research. During these workshops, group work, recordings, videos, and feedback forms were used to capture the development of the change. After the action research process, the change was evaluated by conducting key actor and group interviews.

6.4.1 Context of the study

The context was selected for the following four reasons, which also explain why networking in the two municipalities presents a representative phenomenon to study the process of networking, network management, and the enabling of these by the public manager in the departmental level.

Firstly, getting access to public organizations in the scale that was possible with the two municipalities is both unusual and valuable. Secondly, both of the participating municipalities were large enough to provide multifaceted data and enable the creation of several networks. Thirdly, apart from the size and the challenge of organizing the service production for the increasing number of elderly citizens, the two municipalities have a very different management culture, which suggests more versatile data of the phenomenon as well as more diverse cases. Fourthly, the managers of elderly care on the department level were very motivated to participate in the research project and to provide the needed resources. For example, the researchers participating had access to internal meetings, were provided with all the relevant materials, regarding the elderly care service production in the elderly care organizations, had the possi-

bility to interact with the personnel, and collect data in ways dialogical action research requires.

6.4.2 Content of the study

The selection regarding the content of the study was made together with the department-level managers of elderly care and it was the basis for the determined change that was the goal of the dialogical action research process. (cf. Gummesson, 1991) In this research project, the change was defined as **the process of moving from a rather unorganized, ad hoc-type of collaboration into a network-type, systematic collaboration between different, at this stage, mainly municipal organizations**. This included both creating networks between relevant organizations as well as increasing the level of network and network management knowledge in the participating organizations. The main objective was to create services that would support elderly people's living at home. For example, in the Vantaa municipality, the following three objectives were written down, whereas in the Espoo municipality, only the third objective was chosen as the focus of the project.

1. The creation of an age political strategy, which would engage the whole municipality to take the responsibility of the elderly in supporting the quality of their lives. The strategy should also engage all organizations in all of the sectors in the Vantaa municipality and be discussed with municipal citizens.
2. New collaborative procedures between different municipal organizations as well as service innovations to support elderly living at home meaningfully and for as long as possible. This objective seeks to find more efficient ways to correspond to the increasing amount of elderly customers that also have more complex problems, while the municipality is struggling with economic and personnel-related problems.
3. Increasing the personnel's knowledge regarding networks and network management, as well as of what the other organizations do in the district with the same customers, understanding of how to create networks in different levels of organization, and network management. This includes taking responsibility for their own work and empowering the customer-level personnel to create their own networks to support them in providing customer-oriented services.

6.4.3 Research process

On the basis of their paradigms, pre-understanding, and given access to empirical data via their role as a change agent, action scientists develop an understanding of the specific decision, implementation, and change process in cases they are involved in. They generate a specific theory, which is then tested and modified through action. (Gummesson, 1991, 178) Science in action research comes from the research process, where theory, action, and analysis follow each other in a cyclical process. (Gummesson, 1991) This action research proc-

ess entails three levels of iterative cycles: one of the whole project network, ones of the each individual network, and one of the researcher.

The process of the dialogical action research is illustrated in Figure 18. The process had eleven main actions in total. These actions belong to the individual development networks, the project network, or to the researcher. To mark the beginning of the research process done by the researcher, the actions of the researcher are on the left side of Figure 18. In the middle, I have placed the actions of the project network, and on the right – the main actions of the project, which are the individual and iterative cycles of planning, acting, and reflecting of all the seven development networks.

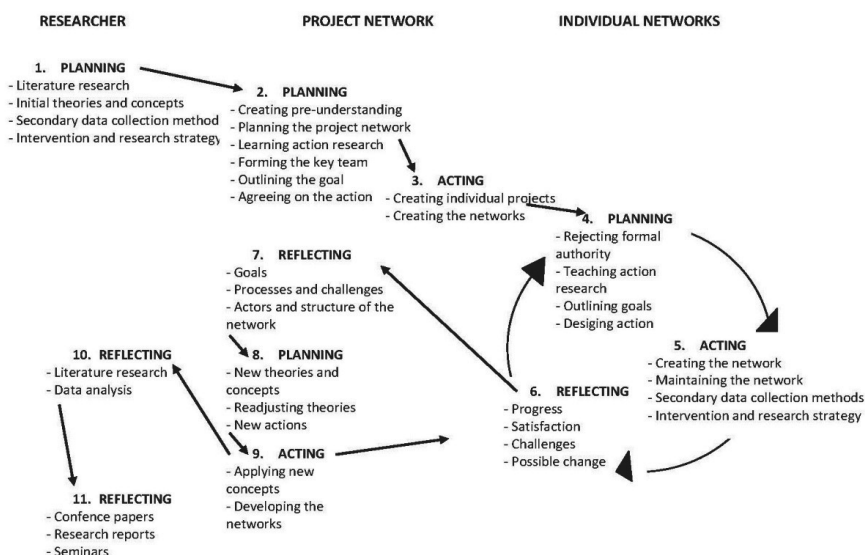


Figure 18. The iterative action research process.

The action research process started with me, as the researcher, getting familiar with the context, developing understanding of the existing practices, and choosing the theoretical frameworks and concepts of the study (1. Planning). Understanding of the theories and concepts came mainly from the previous project (ActiveNet), during which, the pre-understanding of the social and health care service system and organization of elderly care was created. ActiveNet had an important role in this, since it has been stated that only after sufficient pre-understanding is created does the researcher have the required understanding to start formulating and designing change together with the community. (Gilchrist, 2004)

As an action researcher, I was to be part of the process until I would report the research results (11. Acting). During the action research process (from 1. Planning to 11. Acting), I was in charge of the theoretical framework and the theoretical concepts and steered the development of the individual networks to the desired direction. The steering refers to the role of the researcher in reflecting and evaluating the empirical experience in the public management

theories of networks and network management. In this role, I continuously wrote conference papers and other articles to reflect and adjust my empirical understanding of the relevant theories and vice versa. Also, I followed the iterative cycle of the project network and the chosen individual network processes to develop theory in an iterative, cyclical, and non-linear manner. Analyzing the theories and the framework happened during the research process, and the theories used were revised several times alongside the research process. (Gummesson, 1991) In action research, continuous writing always has an important role in revising the theories and analyzing the empirical findings.

However, in action research, the role of the researcher is not solely to document the real-time processes that occur, instead, the researcher has an important role in actively generating empirical data for the research purposes and in solving problems that occur. (Hoholm and Araujo, 2011) In network research, this role may also include legitimizing the formation of the network by bringing the members of the network together and the role may even expand to solving occurring challenges and conflicts, such as the conflicts between the organizational and network roles (see, for example, Goduscheit et al., 2008).

For the researcher, the emphasis in action research shifted towards the project network and the planning of the project. The project network included actors from the research institutes and municipalities, who planned the project and defined its goals together (2. Planning). For the municipalities, it was mainly the elderly care management that was involved in the planning of the research process and in determining the actual points in the organization where the change should occur, for example, home care, informal care collaboration between home and disabled care. Therefore, one could claim that this project started with pre-determined goals, which is closer to the traditional action research ideology than the ideology of dialogical action research process. (Maurer and Githens, 2004) However, in the interviews conducted in the ActiveNet project, the personnel of home care, as well as the customers, brought up the same need for change.

One of the first tasks of the project network was to initiate and plan the individual networking processes. This included inviting potential members to join networking (3. Acting). After the first members were selected and engaged in the project, they were given the responsibility to take the first actions in planning the iterative cycles of action of each of the individual network they belonged to (4. Planning). Already at this phase, the main emphasis of action was on the individual networks.

The role of the researcher at this point was to bring in the selected theories to have discussions with an open dialogue without trying to teach the members of the networks about the existing different understandings regarding networks and network management. Based on the dialogue regarding the theoretical and practical understandings, the individual networks together with the project network were able to design the action and outline the goal of the action in their networks.

To continue with the action in each of the individual networks, the acting in the first cycles of these networks meant, for example, the creation of the net-

work, and later – concentration on the development of the context (5. Acting). In the later rounds of the cycle, acting, on the other hand, meant maintaining the network and implementing the solution created in the originating organizations. Reflecting on the individual network level meant the evaluation of acting and comparing the results to plan within each of the networks separately (6. Reflecting). In the later rounds of the cycle, the network planned adjustments to the structure and to the goals of the network. This process of individual networks will be explained in each of the cases separately.

From the individual iterative cycles of each of the created networks, the process regularly returned to the project network, since it reflected the planning, acting, and reflecting cycle of each individual network twice a year (7. Reflecting). The role of the project network was to plan and suggest new action based on the reflection both regarding the action of the project network itself and in the individual networks (8. Planning). During this planning, the researchers can choose new theories and frameworks based on the reflection and even the goals of the networks can be adjusted when needed (9. Acting; 10. Reflecting).

6.4.4 Collecting data during the research process

Action research in general is a mixed method approach (Maurer and Githens, 2010), and during this research process, the data was collected through multiple empirical, sources including interviews, different types of documents, observation, and active participation. Following the systematic theory development and the iterative cycle of the dialogical action research, the analysis of the data was done in cycles throughout the process, reflected upon, and finally, new action was designed based on the analysis and the findings from the previous cycle. This happened in all three levels of iterative action (Figure 18). The emphasis on the importance of research methods and data collection varied during the research process, which meant that at some point, the main data collection method was the dialogue with the practitioners, while at some other point, for example at the end of the process, the main data collection method was conducting key actor interviews. How data collection and analysis changed during the process and how different actors took the responsibility of different kinds of data collection methods and analysis is shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Data collection and analysis during the research process.

	Planning phase	Acting phase	Reflecting phase
Researcher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Earlier research on the topic, both academic and research done by the practitioners - Meetings with key actors and specialist from elderly and home care - Memos from meetings - Network and network management theories 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Active participation and dialogue in workshops - Regular meetings with management and project management - Participation in key networks - Individual feedback from members of networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Memos and meetings with practitioners - Regularly kept diary - Reports from practitioners from other phases of action research - Action plans from the project and individual networks - Conference papers - Network and network management theories, later public management theories
Project networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meetings with researchers and experts in the field - Dialogue with employees - Participation in the steering committee meetings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meetings with key actors of project network - Participation in workshops - Participation in key networks in each network - Presenting the reflections and results of international collaborations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Seminars for the project network - Steering committee meetings - Memos from meetings - Seminars - International collaboration
Individual networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meetings with researchers and developers from Laurea - Feedback from steering committee meetings and elderly care managers - Theoretical understanding of networks and their management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Group work in workshops - Feedback forms from workshops - Open dialogue about feedback 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dialogue during group work and with colleagues - Discussions and presentations in seminars - Participation in Vantaa steering committee meetings

The beginning of the dialogical action research project included discussions through a dialogue between the researcher and the practitioners to determine how the identified challenge of the lack of collaborative practices between organizations could be solved through a change process and how the actors should proceed with the change. This is typical to the dialogical action research, especially while it recognizes the role of the knowledge of the practitioner in the praxis and its part in assessing and diagnosing the empirical situation, which the researcher is planning to intervene. (Mårtensson and Lee, 2004) Because of the pre-understanding from the ActiveNet, the process quickly moved to planning the action itself. This kind of planning of action is critical in dialogical action research and requires very careful planning of the techniques that allow both the dialogue and documenting it. (Maurer and Githens, 2010)

The idea was to plan an employee-driven change, where the employees of the elderly care organizations would take the responsibility of working with the researchers, instead of continuous participation of the management of elderly care. As explained earlier, the hierarchical nature of the researched organization, however, meant that at this point, the practitioners were represented by the management, and the researchers gave them a role in designing the research and especially in creating the measures to evaluate the desired outcome of the change. It is a challenge in dialogical action research to overcome the extensive managerial participation, which managers easily adopt, since in dialogical action research, a manager may actually risk authority, as this type of research questions the existing practices and structures, including the power

structures. From the researchers' point of view, it was also important to ensure that the change process would follow the process and rules of dialogical action research. This meant designing the process with the intent to bring about change and improvement in the prevailing practices together, emphasizing a learning cycle typical to action research processes, including the phases of action, feedback, and reflection. (Wooddell, 2009)

The data collected at this phase of the research project included interviews, discussions and memos from the meetings with the practitioners. Experiences from the meetings were analyzed in the researcher's journal and in the meetings between the researchers and the developers from Laurea (Table 4).

Collecting and analyzing the data about networking

During the action phases of the dialogical action process (see Table 4), one of the main goals of the project was to create networks and a theoretical model of networking that would serve the practice on all eight case development networks. The analysis of the process of creating networks was guided by the existing theories of developing a network and the phases identified by earlier research. In the selected theories, the number of phases seemed to vary between three to four, and in the project, four different phases were selected as the starting point. After collecting data for a sufficient time – about a year – the researchers who participated in the project began the analysis of the collected data, which included memos from meetings with the management, workshop agendas and memos, results of the individual assignments as well as researcher diaries about the incidents and progress of the development of the networks.

The first task was to gather all the data collected so far and read it with special attention to the functions of the network, the managers of the networks, and the managers of the public organizations. This idea of looking into the functions came from Agranoff and McGuire (2001) and their well-known theory of four network management functions. The idea of the networking process based on the pre-understanding from the ActiveNet project and the chosen theoretical models of networking process is shown in Figure 19. This model guided the development of the new theoretical model of networking based on the dialogical action research data. At this phase, the idea was that there would be a network and different actions that would either take the network further in the process or force it to go back and repeat previous actions until the network reaches the desired results.

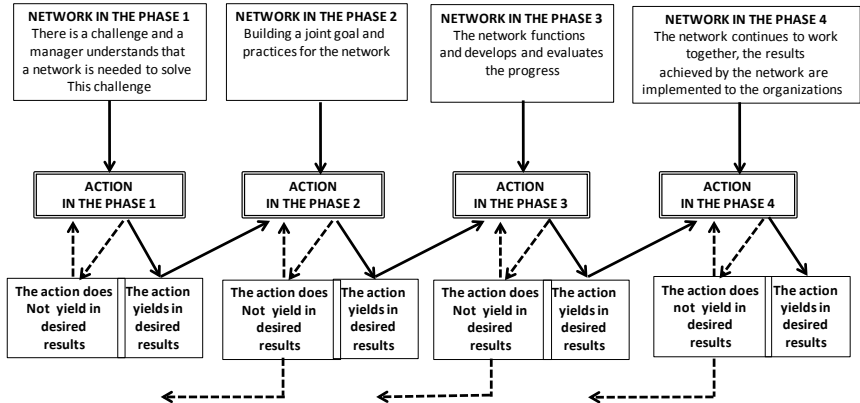


Figure 19. The initial conceptualization of the networking process.

Three researchers read the collected data independently and made their own notes about the functions they found important to the process of network development. In the first meeting to conceptualize the process, the researchers placed the identified functions in a timeline. The next step was to agree on the important functions and group them into phases. The first network process description was made on a white paper on the wall with the functions written on post-it notes. Already at this phase the functions were identifiable to be either the functions of the network or the functions of the management. After the researchers agreed on the functions and the phases of the process, they photographed and transferred the process description into electronic form to be able to present it to the developers from Laurea and the practitioners (see Appendix 1). These discussions further developed the description of the process of networking.

At this point, the network development process was called the networking process and included four phases. The first phase concentrated on identifying a challenge and inviting the potential network members to solve the challenge. The next phase included finding a shared understanding and practices to guide the collaboration. The third phase was identified as the systematic working towards the identified goal, and the last phase was seen as the implementation phase. This model of networking was also presented to the practitioners, managers, employees, and stakeholders and discussed in several workshops to collect feedback. The first version of the process was then modified again.

What I have described here regarding the development of the conceptualization of the process of networking belongs to the active phase of the research process, that was guided by continuous dialogue and reflection with the practitioners. After this active dialogical action research process and change, there was still the reflection phase for me as a researcher (Figure 18). During this reflection phase, I continued analyzing the collected data and feedback about networking and reflected these findings in the theoretical discussion on networking process (Table 4). My decision to concentrate on public management research in my dissertation forced me to adjust my understanding of the networking process, and in the end, I decided to rename the phases and describe

the phases differently than what we had done during the active phase of the dialogical action research process. The main difference to the earlier understanding of the phases was the names of the phases and highlighting the role of the first phase in the process as something that mainly happens inside an organization, but affects the rest of the process. This new understanding of the first phase as an important part of the whole process, although mainly done inside an organization, was one of the key findings regarding the role of the public manager in networking processes and, therefore, in presenting a solution to the paradox of public management.

In creating the final description of the process of networking, I went through the earlier versions of the process during the active phase, the network member interviews, where the process was discussed by the selected members of each of the individual networks, the researcher diaries, and memos from both meetings with the management and from all relevant workshops. During this phase the key actors were also interviewed to depict which of the changes had actually remained with the organizations and what kind of role networks had in the organizations after the active phase of the dialogical action research process. The key actor interviews were especially important to the understanding of the fourth phase of the networking process, since this phase was largely in the hands of the practitioners themselves and continued after the active phase of the research process ended.

Collecting data and analyzing the role of the public manager

At the beginning of the research process, the researchers assumed the public manager to have a strong active role in networking. This came mainly from the existing network management literature, which often assumed this role for the public manager, but also from the elderly care managers' strong role in the ActiveNet project and at the beginning phase of the dialogical action research process. During ActiveNet, the discussions were mainly held with these managers, which emphasized the role of management in the creation and the management of networks.

At the beginning of the dialogical action research process, managers also had a very important role, which fed the assumption of the public manager from the elderly care department as the network manager. Discussions and dialogue with the managers of elderly care were the main data collection method at the beginning. From early on however, the two municipalities took a very different approach to the management of the networks. In Vantaa, the manager of the elderly care made it clear that he would not manage the networks, but would assign this role to the most suitable persons in his organization. In Espoo, the elderly care manager expressed the desire to manage the networks and also to invite the manager of the health care department to manage one of the networks. He assigned the management of one of the networks to the manager of home care. At the beginning of the research process, the researchers did not have a role in assigning the network managers or suggesting the type of role or participation the elderly care managers could adopt in the networks.

Observation and active participation in the very differently managed networks started to raise the question of the role of the elderly care and other organizational managers in managing the networks. In networks where the elderly and health care managers adopted the role of the network manager, there was a considerable amount of resistance towards the development. Dialogue with the members of these networks showed that the strong role of the organizational manager raised the question of the real motivation behind building the networks. The members of the networks managed by the elderly and health care manager told the researchers directly that they felt the networks were built only to promote the ideas of the managers, that the decisions were already made, and the networks had no real say in how the organizations or the services were developed. These dialogues with the members of the networks is what brought up the need to understand the role of the public manager better and also to question the effect of remaining the same during the whole process of networking. My role as the researcher was to reflect on this and revise my theoretical framework. Therefore, I began to read more about public management and the paradox of public management. During the action phases of the dialogical action research process, I started to bring up this paradox to the practitioners to gain a better understanding of the role and the participation of the public manager in enabling networking in the kind of hierarchical context that elderly care service organization in the municipalities was.

The enabling effect of the public manager from the department or sector level of elderly care became my main interest at the later phase of the research project, after the process of networking was depicted, and the network management functions were established. I started to pay special attention to the role of the public manager and the feedback from the members of the networks. I also compared the feedback from different networks and looked at the results of the development of the networks. I noticed that the members of networks where the public manager did not adopt the role of the network manager expressed a feeling of empowerment. Also, during all the interviews in the middle of the project, at the end phase of the project, and after the active phase of the project, the members felt more empowered and trusted compared to the networks where the public manager adopted and kept the role of the network manager throughout the process of networking. Also, individual networks where the public manager of the elderly or health care department managed the network had a much shorter lifeline than the networks that were managed with lower level managers.

All these findings from the active phase of the dialogical action research process motivated me to question the role of the public manager in actively managing the networks and lead me to the suggested final results, which include different levels of participation and roles the public manager can adopt during the process of networking.

7. Process of networking in three case networks

The idea behind creating the development networks for the service production in this project has, from the beginning, been to bring continuity to the municipal development with the aim of the networks functioning after the research project was finished and, to some extent, their existence being embedded or integrated in the hierarchical structure. While the composition of these networks was most likely to change after the project, the core relationships were hopefully to stay the same, and some type of collaboration between the actors to continue.

This empirical part of the dissertation describes three processes of networking and illustrates how the hierarchical organization influenced and shaped networking, how the public manager participated in these networks, what kind of roles and participation the manager adopted, and what kind of impacts these actions had on networking. I also pay attention to the internal and external incidents that have had an effect in the networking and have either required managerial actions or were created by managerial interaction or a lack of it.

7.1 The developed networks

The networks presented here include an inter-organizational development network, an inter-organizational professional service and development network, and an inter-organizational network for service organization and production. The studied networks have been developed based on a need identified in the municipal organizations, and the networks operate mainly inside the municipalities, still spread over different municipal sectors, departments, and units. The networks created were:

Vantaa Municipality

1. VIKSU - Age political program

Viksu is a collaboration with another project in Vantaa and managed by the Mayor of the City of Vantaa. The development of the program encompasses all the municipal organizations, citizens in the municipality, and third- and private sector, making this the largest and only truly inter-organizational network in the DCWSA project. The program aims at envisioning how the welfare services for the elderly can be guaranteed in the municipality and how the program should act as the general guideline for public, private, and third-sector service organizers as well as

all the citizens of the municipality. This network is designed so that it will regularly discuss the developed ideas with the public in order to make it a property of the whole municipality. The home and disabled care manager (department-level) is an active member in this network, but is to remain in the role of a network member, instead of the network manager.

2. GERO - From day services to gerontology center

The basis of this development network is the renewal of day care for the elderly, which was done in 2008, and within this network development process, the aim is to follow how the new model is taken into action, support the knowledge of day care personnel, and further develop the day care model. This network is linked to the strategic goal of the elderly and disabled care organization for years 2008-2010. As the general aim of this network is to develop day services to ensure a better fit with customer needs, the network concentrates on developing network knowledge and knowhow and on increasing collaboration in producing day services that are to be organized into gerontology centers. The organizational manager of elderly and disabled care, sector-level, is not actively involved in this network, but attends some of the larger network workshops.

3. HOME - Home care renewal

The basis for the development of this network is in the ActiveNet study, that aimed to map the prevailing networks in home care and came to the conclusion that there was only little of such collaboration that would fit the description of networking. The aim of the development is to ensure that the service processes are seamless, create measures of effectiveness and quality of home care, and increase the productivity of home care. The HOME network further develops the home care organization's existing collaborative practices with other municipal organizations. The public manager of elderly and disabled care is not actively involved in this network, but attends some of the larger network workshops.

4. INFORMAL - Developing supporting services for caregivers

The aim of the informal care development is to create new services for the informal care givers with the perspective of prevention and ensuring living at home for as long as possible. The network focuses on the development of services outside financial support, enhancing the publicity and general knowledge of informal care, and developing different forms of peer support services. The public manager of elderly and disabled care is not an active participant in this network. The network manager comes from the areal home care on the customer level.

Espoo Municipality

1. COLLABORATION - The network of home and disabled care

This network is initiated by the home care managers and negotiated between the managers of home care and disabled care. The network aims at developing the services for shared customers and increasing the understanding of the provided services by both organizations in order to provide more integrated services to the customers. The network also aims at improving the communication and collaboration between the manager and supervisor levels in the organizations, making customer-level employees more aware of each other's services, and creating more collaboration on the customer level. The network manager in this network comes from the sub-department level, and the manager of elderly care is not an active network member, but supervises and steers the work of the network from the hierarchical position as the elderly care manager.

2. ACUTE - Network for acute care for elderly

The development of the acute care started before the beginning of the DCWSA project, and the project joined in the development in 2008 and continued with the network through 2009. The network for acute care is an inter-organizational network that spans over many public, private, and third-sector organizations. The aim of this development network is to build an Espoo-wide network that will develop and manage the process of acute care for elderly patients. The manager of the elderly care is the manager of this network and works closely together with the health care manager from the sector level.

3. GERO - Geriatric specialist teams

There was some existing development that was continued in the DCWSA project, and the goal for the network came from this earlier development. The network aims to renew the way the geriatric teams function and to clarify their meaning and role in social and health care. This is done by keeping the ultimate goal of supporting living at home for as long as possible in mind. The network also aims at creating a support network for the geriatric teams, that will continue after the development project finishes. The sector-level manager of elderly care takes turns with the health care manager in acting as the network manager.

Inside the municipality, the initiative for the creation of these networks came from the management of elderly care departments, and later, these networks spread to other municipal organizations and to some third- and private sector organizations. In most of the cases, the networks were created to solve a challenge in the initiating organization and to respond to the need to find new service solutions for the elderly care customers as well as new ways of producing these services.

7.2 Project organization and practices

Here, I will explain how the project was organized. In the hierarchical context of municipalities, there are several layers and groups of actors that are relevant to any network operating in this context (Figure 20)

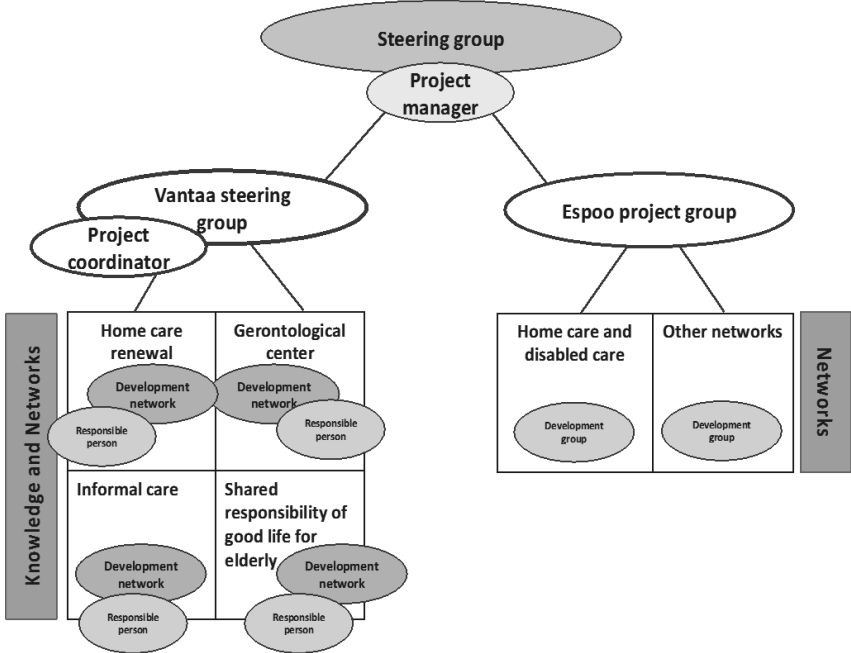


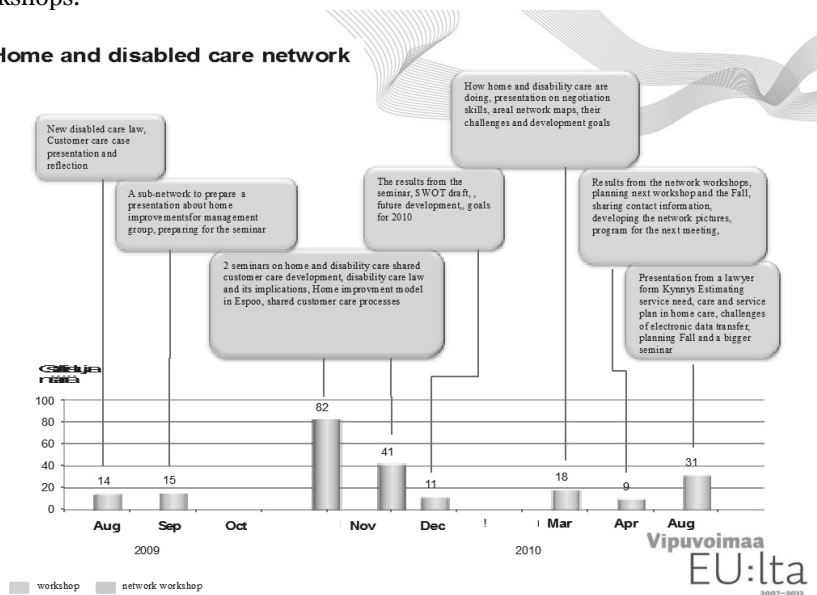
Figure 20. The organization of the project.

In the project, the large number of actors and the complicated service organization and production was approached by creating a working method and structure that allowed a smaller amount of so-called active members of the network, but at the same time involved a larger number of actors that participated in the network activities when needed. The number of these network members varied from around 10 to 50. The key members were those who took responsibility for creating the network and facilitated the practicalities of the network. These members were from different levels of the municipal organization, from the sector-level management to the employers working with the customers.

The larger group of actors was “activated” when the network required its resources and was referred to as active stakeholders. They were not only stakeholders, since they participated in the network activities; still they were not actual members of the network either, as they did not need to commit to active participation or take responsibility for the networking as the actual members of the network had to. To this group of actors were part of, for example, the representatives from the research institutes and the management level of the participating municipalities. These members shared the main responsibility of the project itself and included leaders from the research institutes, the steering and executive board for the project, and the municipal managers.

The project plan took all the aforementioned groups of actors into account in planning the action in the various levels of the project. The networks had the authority to decide the organization of their networking process within the guidelines developed for the project. Facilitation and coordination of the project was to be done by the project management group and the steering group of the project, while the coordination of networking was mainly the responsibility of the key members in each of the networks. The network members from the municipalities were designed to later take this responsibility and, in some networks, also the responsibility to coordinate the development and facilitation of workshops.

Home and disabled care network



Home and disabled care network

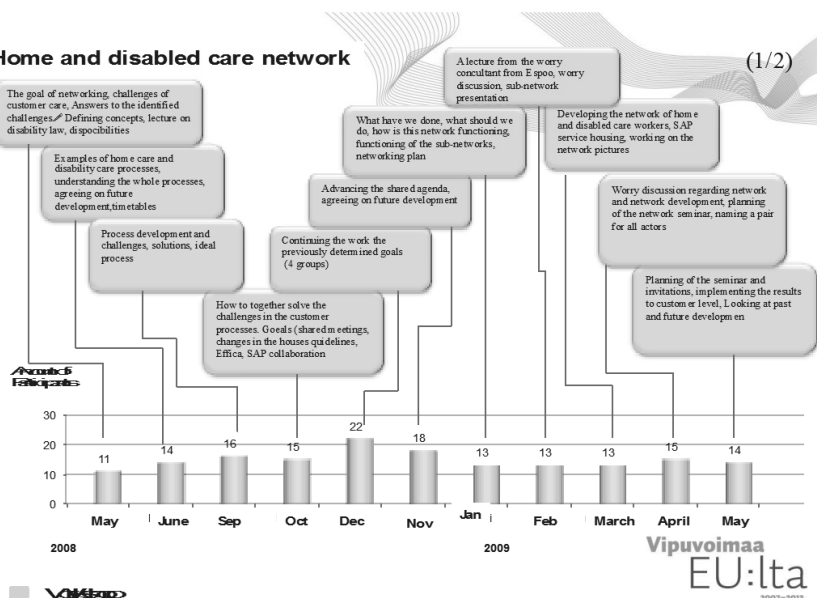


Figure 21. The the development in the workshops in the home care network (Espoo).

Figure 21 shows the development process of the home and disability care network (Collaboration). The figure describes how the network regularly held workshops, divided itself into sub-networks to take responsibility of a development target, and organized a network workshop where the members of the network invited relevant stakeholders from their organizations. The figure also shows how the network reported development before the end of each year and started each year with a plan for the following months until summer break. The project organization stopped following the network and the development process in August 2010, and the responsibility of the network and all development work was transferred to the municipality and both elderly care organizations.

7.2.1 Development entities in the participating municipalities

Much of the characteristics of Finnish social and health care organization and production have been described earlier in Chapter 2. Here, I will explain the participating municipalities and the circumstances that lead to the action research project and formation of the networks as well as illustrate the level of hierarchy in the health and social care service production in the elderly care department in both of the municipalities.

Development entity in the Vantaa municipality

In the Vantaa municipality, participation in the action research project was relatively extensive within elderly care, and most of the collaborative activities were carried out by the elderly care organization. An exception was the age political program, which was planned to encompass the whole city and to be an inter-organizational network that would span over all the relevant organizations and the citizens of the municipality. Due to the spread of this network, the initiating elderly care organization asked the mayor of the city to manage this network. In Vantaa, the main actors in the project were from the social and health care sector, elderly care, disabled care, and health care. The created networks also span leisure services, voluntary work, third-sector, and private service producers.

Figure 22 shows the organization of the social and health care sector in the municipality of Vantaa and how elderly and disabled care is one of the four departments in the social and health care sector. To understand the development in the networks, it is essential to understand how health care is separate from the elderly care organization.

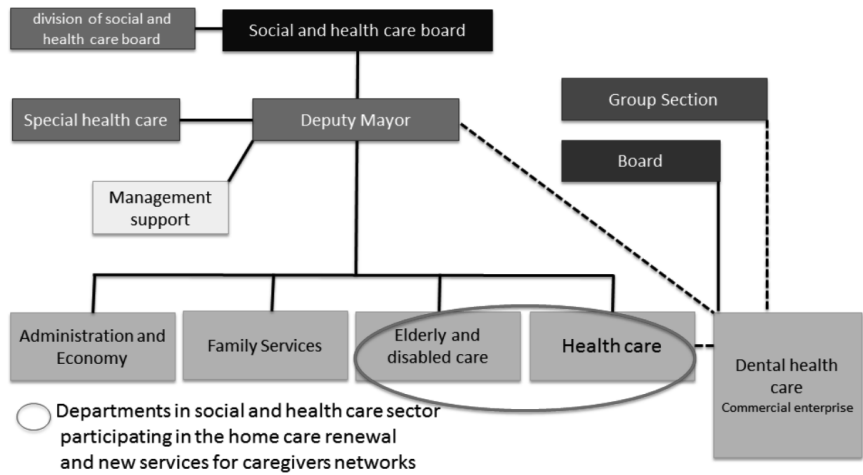


Figure 22. The organization of the social and health care sector in Vantaa.

To illustrate the spread of development in the Vantaa municipality, Figure 23 displays the project themes and the development targets. A theme in the figure represents a network that is formed to develop the theme throughout the project. Further, the dashed lines portray the nature of this project as a dynamic project, where the development changes and the ownership of a development theme might change.

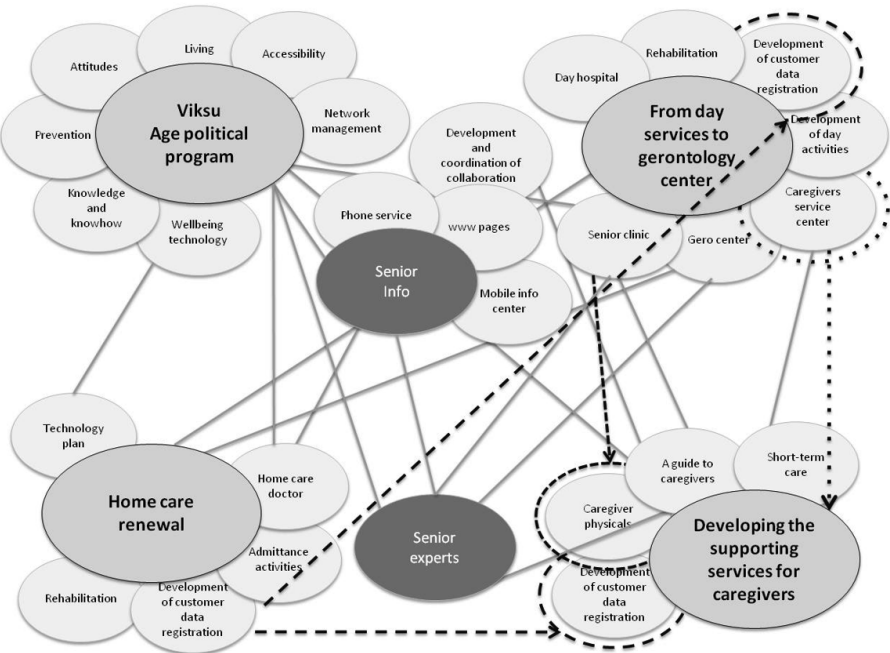


Figure 23. Municipal development themes and their development goals.

In figure 23, the lines show how the specific development targets were transferred from their original theme to another. The need for change of ownership

regarding the development targets was observed in the joint seminars or by the municipality's coordinator, who took part in each of the networks' activities. For example, caregiver physicals were originally developed in the network "From day services to a gerontology center" (GERO), but later transferred to "developing the supporting services for caregivers" (INFORMAL). Similarly, caregivers' service center was, at the beginning, developed by two networks separately, but later developed together in joint workshops.

The development entity in the Espoo municipality

In the Espoo municipality, development work was concentrated on creating service networks and creating management practices for these networks. The development targets were not decided beforehand, only the fact that the development work would be done in the home care department. The researchers from Aalto commenced the project by having open discussions with the elderly care manager both about what networks could bring to the organization and what kind of change the elderly care organization would benefit from. Based on these discussions, the home care department was chosen as the project participant. It was felt that this department was under a lot of pressure and had a role in the service production that emphasized the importance of collaboration. The practitioners from the home care department were to decide the development targets within the framework given by the manager of the elderly care organization.

In Spring 2008, Aalto researchers and the home care department's management level negotiated and chose more concrete development targets and potential network members with whom to develop the networks. The first network was created between home care and the disabled service organization in order to create more systematic collaborative procedures between these two organizations. The first actions to create this network were taken already in Spring 2008. These actions and the networking process will be described in this case chapter as the networking process of home and disabled care (COLLABORATION)

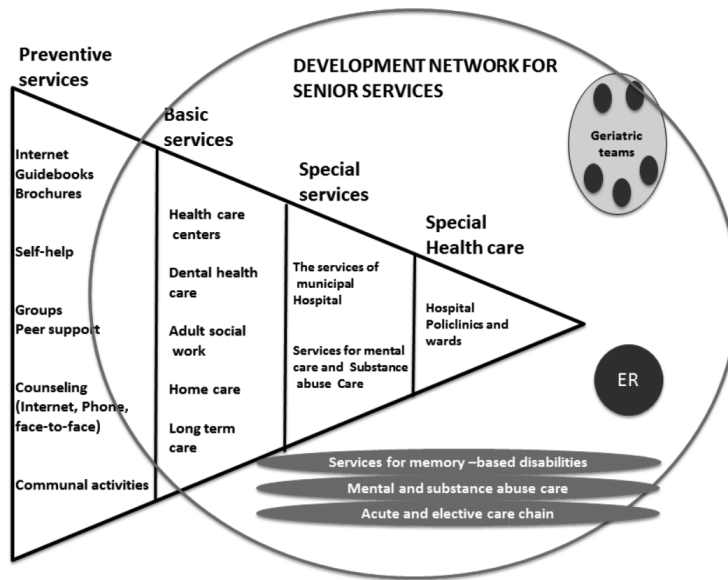


Figure 24. The development entity in Espoo.

In Autumn 2008, two additional networks were initiated between home care and health care around acute health care for home care patients (ACUTE) and supported living in home through preventive care (GERO). The acute care network was active for a year (2009), after which, the development work was done in an inter-municipal collaboration network outside the project. Figure 24 gives an overview of the development work in Espoo elderly and health care organizations. The action research process was to touch all this development by bringing in network management knowhow to the development projects, some of which were already functioning, when this project started in Espoo. The main work within the action research project was done with basic services, in which home care organization belongs.

7.3 VANTAA: HOME - Home care renewal network

The home care renewal network (HOME Network) was initiated by the elderly and disabled care department manager, who, based on his experience and earlier research results (see Järvensivu and Nykänen, 2008), decided that elderly and disabled care service organization would benefit from participating in the DCWSA project and from the network and network management knowhow the participation offered. The potential benefit for the home care unit came from being able to create a new type of service solutions to the home care service production as well as from creating more systematic network-type collaborative practices. At the beginning of the development project, the elderly and disabled care manager formulated the two-fold aim of the processes of networking for the HOME network:

- Create formal collaborative networks to create new services.
- Create formal and informal coordination networks to integrate services in certain areas of the municipality by creating possibilities for the personnel of the municipal organizations to know each other.

While the planning of this network started at the beginning of 2008, the network organized the first workshop as late as September 2008. This relatively long planning period was mainly due to the placed importance of the development of home care and the approaching re-organization of the home care unit. The manager of the elderly and disabled care department wanted to confirm that the development would address the critical issues of the new home care organization as well as ensure that the network would have members from all relevant layers of the elderly care department. The participating sub-department and different levels of units are shown in Figure 25.

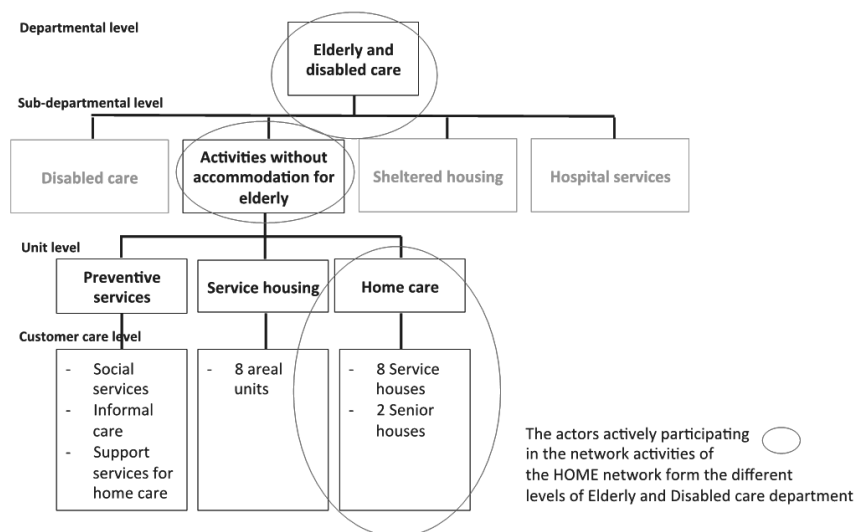


Figure 25. The participating sub-department and units in the HOME network.

Figure 26 provides an overview of the process of networking of the HOME network and shows how planning of the process ended in September 2008, when the first workshops were held. The first workshop marks the beginning of the construction of the network phase. The figure also suggests that collaborating for the solution phase, where most of the efforts were concentrated on the development of the services of the home care, instead of constructing the network, started in February 2009. The final phase was the implementation of the results into the elderly and disabled care department and home care unit and was followed from the beginning of 2010 until April 2011.

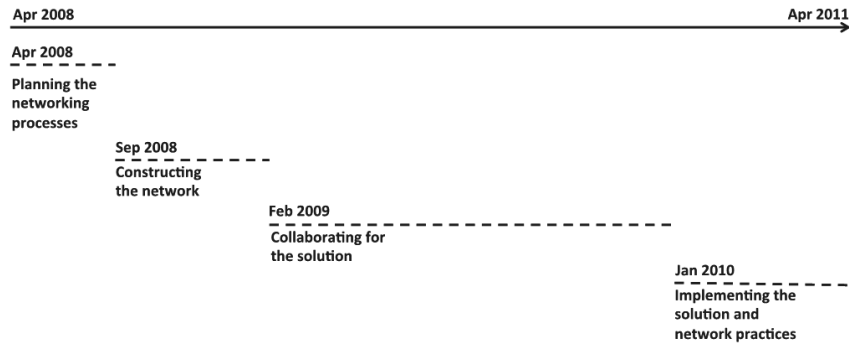


Figure 26. The timeline of the HOME network in Vantaa.

The creation of this network and the development work done by this network was at this point planned to take place in workshops, larger network workshops, and in smaller sub-network meetings. The members would also be encouraged to do individual work between the workshops and participate in seminars for the duration of the whole project, including all the networks and meetings between the home care organizations of the two participating municipalities, Vantaa and Espoo. In each of the workshops, time was allocated to open discussions, and also, something as simple as coffee breaks would be held to allow members of the network to get to know each other and form ties to facilitate the creation of mutual trust and commitment.

Different kinds of discussion methods were used to facilitate discussion and ensure that all the members of the network would have the opportunity to express their opinion. The need for the facilitation of trust and commitment between the members is well expressed in the research journal: *“In their organizational work, it was expressed [that] such times were rare and the members of the network were spread around the municipality, without having facilities or opportunities supporting them to get to know each other.”*

As networking as a whole lasted a relatively long time, it became evident that the composition of the network would change, and several changes did occur during this process. Unfortunately, there were several changes in the key network as well, and only the researcher from Aalto remained the same throughout the whole process. The actual network manager, which always came from the municipality, changed three times. The first manager retired at the end of 2009, followed by a temporary network manager. This temporary network manager came from a higher organizational level, and during her time, the network had direct access to the elderly care steering group, which was the direction with the final say in the matters regarding the network. The last network manager was new to the municipality and was from the sub-departmental level.

Evaluation was an incremental part of each of the networks in the DCWSA project and in the HOME network; the evaluation of the development and the network itself gained momentum during the year 2009. The HOME network and the achievements during networking were evaluated and reported twice a year both to the DCWSA project steering group and to the elderly and disabled

care steering group. As part of the evaluation, the constant evaluation of the network and the development work done was carried out through a short standard questionnaire, that participants filled in after every workshop. The answers were always discussed in the next workshop, and adjustments were made according to the feedback. In this network, especially due to the changing of the network manager, the manager of elderly and disabled care was kept very well-informed about the progress of this network and the changes in the composition of the network.

7.3.1 Planning the process of networking for HOME network

A considerable amount of work was done in the departmental level of the elderly and disabled care organization, before the actual collaborative actions were able to begin. Figure 27 shows how much of the work was done in the departmental management level during the planning phase. The actors in this level were the steering group and the manager of elderly and disabled care.

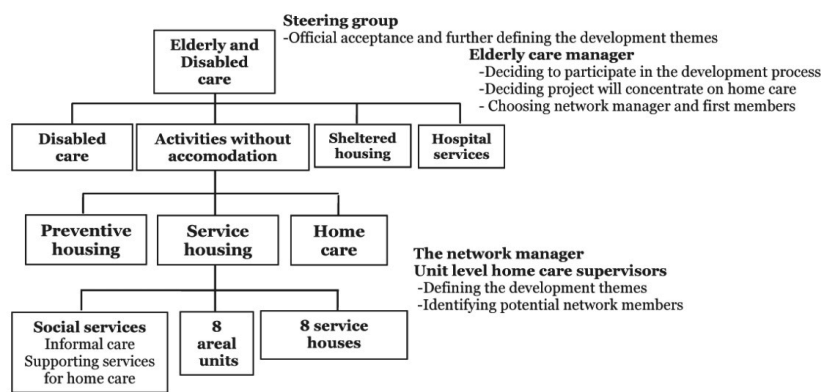


Figure 27. The main actions during planning the process of networking phase in HOME network in Vantaa.

The strong involvement of the departmental-level management is demonstrated by the fact that at the very beginning, the main actor from the municipality was the public manager of elderly and disabled care. The manager worked together with one of his sub-ordinates and the developers from Laurea, and, later, with researchers from Aalto in designing the project and presenting the project to the elderly and disabled care steering group for official acceptance. It became evident that in this early phase of planning the HOME network, the participation and support from this manager was essential to the creation of the network.

As the organizing organization, the elderly and disabled care department showed high commitment to the creation of the HOME network. At the beginning the commitment was mainly visible in the actions of the elderly and disabled care manager and a specialist from the same department. The manager de-

voted his and the specialist's time to the initiation of the DCWSA project and asked for required mandates for the whole project and the HOME network. This means that the manager brought up the project and his support in different official meetings, which was required for the participation of the rest of the organization and the collaboration with other municipal organizations as well as getting the required funding and allocation of work time to participate in networking.

Researcher's note from the research diary

When the collaborative activities finally started, the responsibility of the development of the HOME network shifted from the elderly and disabled care manager to the developers, researchers, and the project coordinator from the home care unit, who later had a major role in this network as the link between the network (HOME network) and the hierarchy (elderly and disabled care department). Later, the elderly and disabled care manager from the department level had little direct contact with the network, but remained the chairperson of the DCWSA project steering group and the elderly and disabled care steering group and, thus, had influence as well as control when the HOME network needed it.

Prior to the construction of the network phase, even before the selection of the network members, the development themes were identified by the developers, researchers and the manager of the elderly and disabled care. The potential themes of the development were also discussed and worked on in a municipality-wide seminar that opened the DCWSA project and was concentrated mainly on the current issues and future needs of the home care service production in the municipality. After that, the key members of the network, the home care supervisors, and some stakeholders defined the development themes in meetings that were held in different regional home care units around the municipality. This was done during late spring 2008. Finally, the steering group of the elderly and disabled care, which had accepted the project, coordinated future networking by defining the development themes further and by suggesting with whom the network should collaborate. At this point, the themes included:

- Functional home care processes
- Utilization of networks
- Development and more effective use of service measurements
- Improvement of productivity.

Identifying the network members

The researchers expressed that they considered it important to involve employees from all relevant organizational levels in networking, not just actors from different organizations. This was followed to a certain degree, but the regional home care units were represented mainly through regional home care supervisors.

Researcher's note from the research diary

During the first phase of the process of networking, the manager, the developers, and the researchers identified the possible organizations and the potential network members to collaborate with. Only the network manager was assigned to the network among the elderly and disabled care personnel at this point. The manager of elderly and disabled care decided who would be the network manager by assigning a manager from the home care unit level to that role. The other potential members of the network, who were identified to possess the needed resources, were contacted either by the DCWSA project manager and the project coordinator or the public manager from the department (the public manager) or the sub-department level, depending on the organizational status of the person invited.

The choice of the network manager caused concern among the project personnel, including the newly hired network coordinator, whose task, as an employee of the municipality, is to coordinate between the different networks and between the department and sub-department levels and the HOME network, which mainly represent unit-level personnel. Regarding the network manager, the concern is more about the personal qualities of the manager than of her organizational role. There seems to be relatively many people with whom the manager is not getting along, or people who are not getting along with her. Some people are expressing their concern about this manager's ability to create the needed trust towards herself as the network manager or towards the network in the other levels of the elderly and social care department.

Researcher's note from the research diary

Although the department-level manager did not directly invite the majority of the members to the network, the manager's view of the importance of creating and participating in networking was elaborated to the elderly and disabled care organization as a whole and in addition to the selected members and their direct supervisors in other organizations, for example, the health care department. The elderly and disabled care manager met the health care organization's department-level manager to discuss common challenges as well as the existence of shared customers in the care of elderly citizens in the municipality. The meeting was organized to motivate the health care department to participate in the development of the care for the elderly in the municipality through committing to the process of networking and other collaborative activities. The discussion with the elderly care manager convinced the manager of health care of the importance of collaborating, and the manager was committed to supporting the health care organization's participation in the HOME network.

What I want to emphasize from this phase, which here is called the planning of the process of networking, is that the managerial influence and participation was high, and managerial participation was crucial in securing the attendance of the employees of these organizations in networking. The collaborative actions between these two organizations, the elderly and disabled care and health care, would not have been possible without face-to-face negotiations between the departmental-level managers of these two organizations.

7.3.2 Constructing the HOME network

“Here, one really gets to know people. It makes a difference with how one contacts them.”

HOME network evaluation interview 2009

The initiating group that consisted of the researchers, a developer, the elderly and disabled care manager, and the specialist identified the need for change and the home care unit as the main participating organization as well as decided to approach the health care organization about participating in the collaborative actions. The development goals and the further identification of more precise challenges to solve in the HOME network were done with a broader composition of actors from the elderly and disabled care department. The aim of identifying more precise challenges was to understand what kind of process of networking, the composition of the network, and development targets would benefit the home care unit the most, both in inter-organizational and inter-personal levels.

At this point, the first network members were invited to the network. These first members of the HOME network were the unit-level regional home care supervisors. During late spring 2008 (May and June), these supervisors met with the researchers and discussed the challenges in home care service production in order to find the development targets. As a result, this group of early network members identified five challenges that should be addressed by the HOME network:

- **The first challenge** was directly related to the collaboration of personnel with different organizations and the commencement of care from the customer's point of view. Looking at the complexity of service production from this point of view revealed that there were several service producers from different sectors providing services to the elderly, but the customers were very often the only ones aware of the service.
- **The second challenge** was related to the first one and highlighted the fact that the care of the elderly often did not include the relatives of the elderly. Although the relatives were invited to be involved in the development of the care plan (always made with upon first contact with a customer), the group felt this plan alone does not sufficiently engage relatives into the care of the elderly.
- **As the third challenge**, the group named the fact that home care was resourced to provide only a certain type of care, while the elderly often had a broader set of service needs. This was especially relevant in regards to the social care-related needs. I would also suggest that this was partly due to the lack of economic and human resources and partly because of the strategic decision to not produce integrated care, where all aspects of wellbeing would be taken into account. The group also

stressed that home care produces reactive care, instead of proactive care.

- **As the fourth challenge**, the group articulated that job satisfaction was low in the home care sub-department.

When it comes to the change to be pursued by the HOME network in the home care service production, the shared understanding was that both on the inter-organizational and the inter-personal level, many of the aforementioned challenges could be solved by collaborating in a more systematic way and by linking networking with the strategy of the elderly and disabled care department. Following that understanding, it was proposed that the home care unit would strengthen the relationships with the organizations in each of the municipal regions. At this point, the collaboration with health care centers from the health care department was already chosen as the priority. It was understood that this would create areal networks in all districts, which would help create shared practices between the organizations and, at the same time, create opportunities for the customer care-level personnel to get to know each other.

Figure 28 describes the main collaborative and managerial actions during this phase and shows that even in the second phase of the process, the role of the management level is considerable. Both the manager of the elderly and disabled care and the steering group of the department played an important role in commencing the construction of the network. The steering group evaluated the proposal for the network and had a role in defining the goals of development. The department-level manager of elderly and disabled care showed support for the network, as well as participated in negotiations with other organizations, to collaborate in the theme of home care development. In this phase, the unit and customer care levels began their work in the project, while the sub-departmental level stayed away from the active development work in the HOME network.

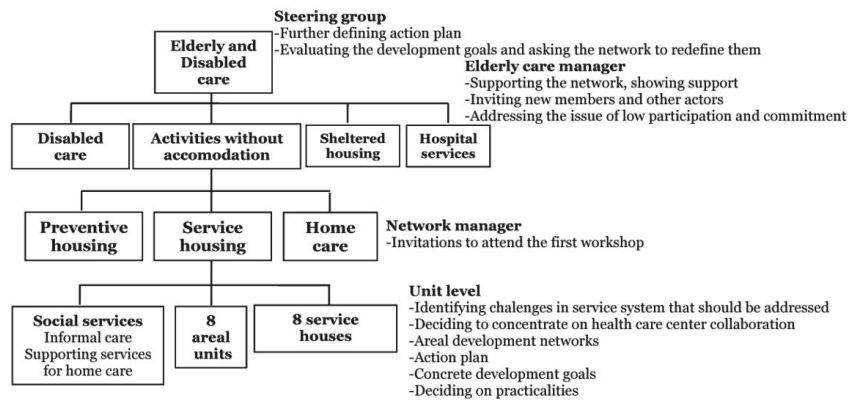


Figure 28. The main actions during constructing the network phase in the HOME network in Vantaa

When the necessary planning was done, and the key network was ready to invite potential members to the first workshop, the network manager took the responsibility of personally sending the invitations to attend the first workshop. These first invited members of the network were from unit and customer care levels, mainly from the elderly and disabled care organization. The first workshop was held in September 2008. In this workshop, network members familiarized themselves with the existing knowledge about previous and ongoing home care development and research results in the municipality.

“In our project, the goals are clear.”

HOME network evaluation interview, 2009.

The network was mandated to transform the development themes into concrete goals, and from the first workshops on, based on their own experience and the initial plans, the members of the network began the development of an action plan for the HOME network and defined the broader themes into concrete development goals. The network evaluated the composition of the network at this stage and reflected on the composition of the development themes of the network. The network decided on the practicalities, including how often the network would meet and what the medium would be for communication between the network members and towards different stakeholders. As suggested in the initial schedule developed by the researchers and developers, the network decided to meet once a month on average, do independent assignments between the workshops, share information on a continuous basis, and organize network workshops for bigger audiences.

In November 2008, after a couple of workshops, the steering group of the project asked the network to redefine their action plan, instead of approving the one the network manager and the project coordinator presented for the steering group on behalf of the network. The motive for redefining the action

plan and giving the network new guidelines for development came from the new organizational strategy of elderly and disabled care that was published earlier that month. The HOME network's following reflection and readjustment of the goals was a point where the role of the network coordinator was emphasized as the link between the network and the organization, especially in this network, where the network manager came from a relatively low level of the hierarchy, and the department-level manager of elderly and disabled care knowingly remained outside the network.

From early on, the network coordinator became a very influential member in the network, especially since the appointed network manager was not able to create a mutual trusting relationship with the members of the network. The project coordinator is taking a lot of responsibility, and as she works closely together with the manager of the elderly and disabled care, she is the one appealing for required authorizations from the hierarchical organization, even if she lacks authority in the hierarchical organization. This is made possible by her long experience working in the organization and the mutual respect between her and the manager of elderly and disabled care. The coordinator is not only the link between the organization and the network, but she is also taking responsibility of being the link between the networks created in the DCWSA project in Vantaa.

Researcher's note from the research diary

Regarding the early development in this network, this was one of the last networks in the project to begin collaboration, and due to this fact and the recent organizational change, there was a lot of pressure to commence with the development goals and to define them as more precise development targets as well as assign responsibilities. During the first months of the development, a considerable amount of collaborative action was therefore placed on defining the goals and targets of networking, which resulted in some of the network members openly expressing feeling a lot of pressure to connect the fast paced organizational work and work in the HOME network. They expressed that networking required not only time, but also new types of resources, taking on new responsibilities outside the role and the responsibility assigned in the organization. Another source of pressure was the hierarchy, where a lot of decisions about the network were made on behalf of the network. An example of this is redefining of the goals done by the steering group, which the network members found unsettling and expressed a negative effect on their trust towards networking as a means to develop services in this kind of municipal hierarchical context.

"At the beginning of this process, I was thinking that this will dry out in its own impossibility!"

HOME network evaluation interview 2009

The pressure and seemingly lowering trust towards the network's ability to fulfill its purpose in the hierarchical context made the key network understand

that neither the originating organizations, nor the chosen network members were properly informed about the role of the network and the fact that the chosen members represented their organizations in the network. It was also not clear to the members of the network that the manager of elderly and disabled care aimed at making this kind of collaborative action in networks part of normal work and not networking be something separate and extra on top of the everyday work in the organization.

While working on the construction of the network, the HOME network has been able to generate an atmosphere that supports open discussions and provides the members of the network an opportunity to get to know each other. Despite the pressure to produce results, the network has been allowing time for the creation of trust and commitment. Open discussions and the drama method have been good examples of the means to support trust-building and commitment. The drama method was used in a situation where the members expressed their lack of faith in networking as a development method, in being frustrated with the pressure from both the organization and the network, and where the key members themselves were still going through a learning process regarding their roles and responsibilities in networking.

Researcher's note from the research diary

7.3.3 Collaborating for the solution for the HOME network

We have to arrange a workshop about network management to all those managers, whose subordinates participate in the networks. Otherwise, this won't work!

Researcher's note from the research diary

The collaborating for the solution phase started in February 2009, when the first network workshop for a larger audience was held. The phase continued until Fall 2010, when the development gradually shifted from the project network to the home care unit. The separation of the construction and collaboration phases is not clear in this networking process. At times, the development work took over the construction of the network, but during this phase, efforts were made to finalize the composition of the network.

Figure 29 depicts the main actions of this phase and the interaction with the elderly and disabled care organization and the HOME network. We can see that all the levels of the home and disabled care department were involved in this phase and that the steering group participated in the process by discussing and suggesting joint activities with the health care department. The figure also shows how, during this phase, the network manager changed, and a new temporary network manager from the sub-departmental level took over the role. This meant that during this period, the network temporarily spread to the sub-departmental level in the hierarchical organization. The main action during this phase, however, happened in the unit and customer care levels.

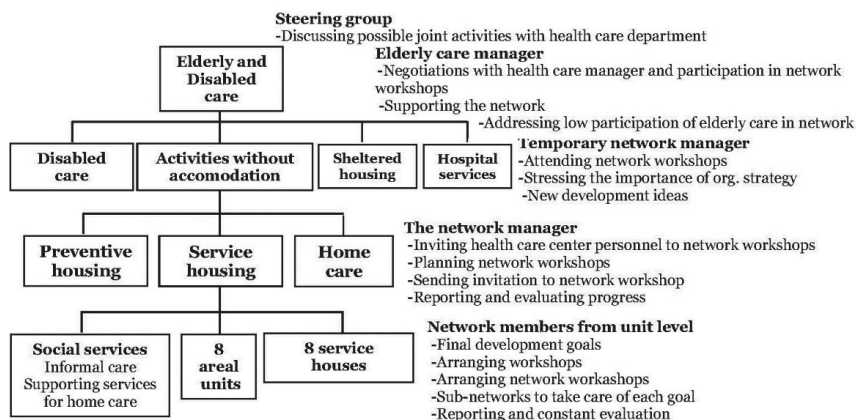


Figure 29. The main actions during collaborating for the solution phase in the HOME network in Vantaa

Members of the network who mainly came from the customer care level defined the final development goals, arranged all the workshops, and divided the network into sub-networks to take care of the development targets that were formulated during this phase. Also, the continuous evaluation and done reporting of the network's results and performance twice a year were performed by these members. The network manager and the project coordinator had continuous discussions with the department-level manager to keep him informed of the development and issues in the development and in networking.

At the beginning of this phase, the network started working on the prioritized development theme, the collaboration with the health care department, by holding two network workshops. In addition to these workshops, during spring 2009, the network also continued its work on the development goals in their own workshops and turned the goals into more concrete development targets.

The home care organization's steering group redefined the goals for the network twice, by stressing the importance of documenting the shared process of patient care as well as the technology development plan for home care. Based on the work done by the network and the suggestions from the steering group, the following three final development targets of the network were:

- The creation of collaborative activities with health centers and rehabilitation
- The improvement of patient data documentation
- The development of a technology plan for elderly care

To achieve the targets set with the help of the steering group, the network divided itself into three sub-networks, which each took responsibility for a specific target. These sub-networks began their work in Spring 2009 by each creating a development plan, which they would follow and update alongside networking. The sub-networks were to develop their themes both in the workshops and between them. A sub-network consisted of a member from the

HOME network's key network and a couple of other members from the HOME network. In constructing these sub-networks, the aim was to create a mix of members from different participating organizations and levels of hierarchy.

In this case description, I will mainly follow the development of the main theme, which was the collaboration with health center and health center rehabilitation personnel. The sub-networks developed the two other themes independently, and their ideas were discussed and redefined in the workshops on a regular basis and finally accepted by the steering group. Key network members and the network coordinator kept the project and the manager of elderly and disabled care informed about the development done in these sub-networks.

After summer break in 2009, networking continued with a shared project seminar, where all the networks from the Espoo and Vantaa municipalities participated and presented their achievements and future plans for the development. The goal of this seminar was not only to present the networks but also to find the possible overlap in development work, regarding the whole project in Vantaa especially. In several conversations during different events, the seminar participants brought up that in the municipal context, this kind of an overlap was relatively common, and one of the factors why the developers in the municipality were somewhat frustrated with all development work they had earlier participated in. After the seminar, the development work concentrated on the decided development targets, and the sub-networks continued to take responsibility for their own specific goals. During Fall 2009, there was relatively little involvement from the hierarchy's municipal side, although changes in the municipal organization reflected on the composition of the network.

In addition to the seminar and the two types of workshops, the project included meetings with the home care organization of the municipality of Espoo. These meetings proved to be challenging, when it came to the empowerment of the personnel and sharing of the responsibility within the network, since the network manager used her organizational authority and decided to exclude network members from these meetings. The manager's decision was that only the unit manager and the areal home unit managers should participate in the meetings between the home care organizations of the two municipalities. This meant that the customer care level of the network was excluded not only from the meeting itself, but also from planning the meeting as well as the later meetings between the home care organizations of these two municipalities.

During 2009, the development in the HOME network faced some difficulties, and challenges rose from the personal characteristics of the network manager. For example, the information flow within the network was limited to a group of members, while others were left out. At times, decisions that concerned the whole network were made solely by the network manager, and the rest of the network members were only informed about these decisions.

During 2009, most of the work was concentrated on the development of the targets, while the development of the network was more and more in the background. Also, the changes in the home care organization impeded the momentum of the network. In an evaluation interview during 2009, a network mem-

ber expressed the state of the development well: *“We have had these big (organizational) changes, which are heavy for the personnel. But we have already taken small things into use that we have developed here. I don’t think we are going to pursue big changes and changing everything at once. It’s really easy to adapt to small changes, when the changes support existing work, in a way [that] helps and makes work easier. Good changes in small doses, they are easy to adapt to and take into use little by little. A big change is such a hard physical and mental burden to the personnel.”* (HOME network valuation interview, 2010)

Collaborating with the health care organization

Most of the development efforts during the collaborating for the solution phase were put into collaboration with the health care department. During Fall 2008 and early spring 2009, before the first network workshop, possible joint activities between the elderly and disabled care and the health care organizations were negotiated in several meetings between the public managers as well as in steering group meetings. Also, to help the progress of networking, the key network of the HOME network invited a representative from the health care center personnel to participate in the workshop planning process to ensure that the health care organization’s needs would be taken into account in the planning of the workshop. Also, the health care center manager in the sub-departmental level was contacted about the collaboration of these two organizations by the network manager and the project coordinator.

Based on the negotiations with the health care organization, the network decided to divide the network workshops and the health care organization’s personnel into a series of two separate network workshops. The first network workshops were held in February 2009 with the health center and in April 2009 with the health care rehabilitation personnel. The department-level managers from both of the participating organizations were present in both of these workshops as well as in the later network workshops. In the first actual workshop with the health care organization, the organizations decided on themes (Table 5) for joint collaboration activities, and later, their development and follow-up became the responsibility of the joint steering group that met regularly.

Table 5. Development themes with health care in the HOME network in Vantaa.

DEVELOPMENT THEMES WITH HEALTH CARE CENTERS	DEVELOPMENT THEMES WITH REHABILITATION
The requirements and forms of joint activities Utilizing shared customer/ patient data base Development of shared knowledge Development of the care process for the shared customer	The processes of shared customer/ patient care Development of shared know-how Shared network Shared care, service and rehabilitation plan Filing of customer/ patient information and utilization of each other's information

In this network workshop held in February, the new network manager from the sub-department level took a very active role, which caused some tension between those members of the network that were from the elderly and disabled care department. In the workshop, the elderly and disabled care manager stressed that the development and collaboration between elderly and disabled care and health care has to fit in the organizational strategy of elderly and disabled care, and this should in fact guide all development. At the same time, he also expressed his support for the collaboration.

Later during networking, one of the planned network workshops was delayed, because the health care organization was going through layoff-negotiations, which brought so much stress to the organization, that the management of health care manager felt that the personnel had no energy or required motivation to participate in the network activities at that time. The network felt disappointed, although understanding, and reacted to the cancellation by organizing a normal internal workshop, where the development themes were further worked on for the following network workshops with the health care organization.

Network management during collaborating for the solution phase

While there were several changes and challenges in the network management during this process of networking, I want to pay special attention to the network management, as I feel that the experience from this network is important to the understanding of network management and the roles and participation of the public manager in networking. This network had three network managers in total during the research process (2008 – 2011). The first change happened at the end of 2009, when a new temporary network manager started participating in the workshops to replace the first network manager and to introduce herself to the network and learn about networking. This change and the participation concerned the first network manager, who came from the unit level, since the next network manager came from the sub-department level.

This network suffers from the changing of the network manager, but also from the personality and negative relationships of the first network manager with some other personnel of the elderly and disabled care department. The first network manager brought her personal conflicts to the network and that chal-

lenges the collaboration with the sub-department-level manager, who is important to the network already due to the authority she possesses in the organization. While there are on-going inter-personal conflicts that affect the process of networking, there seems to be uneven communication between the key members of the network and the rest of the network. Several conflicts have emerged due to these facts and rivalry about the roles and authority of the managers within the organizational hierarchy.

When this sub-department-level manager became the temporary network manager, the lack of communication between the new and the previous network manager became evident at the beginning of her position as the network manager. The temporary network manager was not well-aware of the practicalities and the philosophy of the network, and therefore, at the beginning, her ideas clashed with the network's operating principles of shared decision-making and open communication.

Researcher's note from the research diary

The temporary network manager from the sub-department level in the elderly care organization took the role of the network manager from the beginning of 2010. While she took over this responsible role, she prioritized the reflection of the work done in the network in regards to the new organizational strategy of elderly and disabled care for that year. Also, as a very innovative person, the temporary network manager had many innovative development ideas and wanted the network to take on pursuing these ideas. The network members and the key network, however, felt that this conflicted with the principles of the network, which is why the municipality's network coordinator and the project manager from Laurea discussed the matter with the temporary network manager and were able to keep the focus of the development on the original themes. They achieved this by stressing the advice from the elderly and disabled care manager in both following the agreed line of development and giving the power of decision-making of what the network does to the network itself.

The conflict that had begun in the hierarchy between two managers in different levels of organizational hierarchy spread to the network. When the two managers were both working with the network, it became evident that there is only a fine line between organizational work and work in networks, especially from the managerial perspective. Conflicts and interpersonal problems follow the networks and create even bigger problems there than in the hierarchy, as the conflict effected everyone's trust towards the network management.

After solving the interpersonal conflicts and ensuring that the temporary network manager understood the idea of networking, the network was able to benefit from the participation of the sub-department-level manager. The network had direct contact to the sub-department level of the elderly and disabled care organization, which brought the network closer to the manager of elderly and disabled care again and also gave the network the feeling of having more influence and authority in the service production. A network coordinator was still needed in the network, but the network had more direct communication with the management of the elderly and disabled care. Having a network manager from the sub-department level with a higher level of authority also meant that a member of the network was able to make promises and decisions

about the issues that rose during a workshop or a network workshop. This gave the network an increased feeling of influence and the possibility to create solutions that would be taken into use in the organization.

7.3.4 Implementing the solution and the network practices to elderly care department

“The municipality is so big; it’s a challenge to employ the strategies and practices to different units.”

HOME network evaluation interview 2010

Although the implementation of the created practices and solutions was gradual and continuous since the beginning of the process of networking, the actual implementation phase started in January 2010, when the municipal actors took the responsibility of organizing the network and the normal internal workshops as well as of the overall implementation of the solutions to the home and health care organizations. Indeed, the network was designed so that all the relevant actors would be involved in the process of networking from early on, if not as actual members of the network, then as stakeholders, who would be regularly informed of what the network achieved. The idea was also that the stakeholders would be continuously encouraged to comment on what the network did and how the ideas would be applicable in all relevant organizations. This involvement of all the relevant stakeholders in turn was designed to diminish the challenges of the implementation.

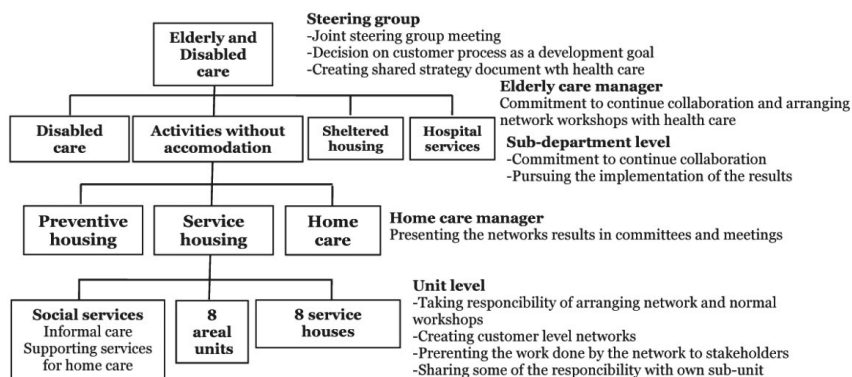


Figure 30. The main actions during implementation of the solution in the HOME network in Vantaa.

The active following of the implementation phase continued until the end of the project in early spring 2011. Figure 30 shows the main collaborative actions of this phase; in this figure, we can see how many of these actions happened in the department level of the organization. During the discussions with

the managers and personnel of elderly and disabled care, it became evident that in this kind of context, decisions of a certain level and importance have to be taken to the management for approval. During this phase, the steering group, for example, decided to continue collaboration with health care department, and the manager of elderly and disabled care continued the collaboration with the health care.

During this phase, the role of the network manager from the unit level of the elderly and disabled care department was to represent the network and present the development results in different official instances to the hierarchical organization. At this point, there was a new home care unit manager, who slowly took the role of the network manager and ownership of this phase together with the network.

“The management has issued that we, the personnel, can also do things, and we don’t have to ask permission for everything. The practices can be changed, but this requires a shared agreement.”

HOME network evaluation interview 2010

From the beginning of 2010, the role of the customer care level was, as they were empowered to, to arrange more areal network workshops and present the results of the process of networking to the different stakeholders in general. These network workshops were organized around the theme of the implementation of the results and creating permanent collaboration practices between the organizations as part of the normal work of these organizations. During Spring 2010, members of the network took the responsibility of organizing two workshops independently, without the support from the project organization. This meant that from the key network, the municipal member, the new network manager, facilitated the planning and the organization of these workshops.

While the organization started taking more responsibility of the implementation during Fall 2010, the development work took place simultaneously at the network and the municipal organization. Several of the ideas developed during networking were already implemented in all the three participating organizations: Home care, health care centers, and rehabilitation.

During Fall 2010, several of the main actions that can be seen in Figure 30 took place. Firstly, the management-level collaboration between the home care and health care organizations was secured by committing to regular joint steering group meetings. These meetings were written down into the organizational strategic document, which can be determined as a way of putting strategy into action or practice in this kind of hierarchical municipal context. Secondly, home care and health care organizations agreed to hold workshops on a regular basis in each of the seven areas of the municipality. The idea behind this agreement was to facilitate the creation of customer care-level cooperative networks in each of these areas. All of these development ideas gained ground in the strategic documents of each organization, and some of the organizations even created shared strategy documents as a result of this research project.

After the project, the collaboration was part of the home care organization's normal activities, although in a new format that was seen suitable and doable with the existing resources of the home care unit. For example, in February 2011, the steering groups of the participating departments met and agreed to continue the work by making descriptions of several of the service processes regarding shared customers and by creating the shared strategy document.

In addition, the home care organization took the responsibility of arranging more network workshops with health care center personnel in areas, where workshops were not arranged during the project. Another result from the HOME network is the fact that the actors who participated in the project as the members of the network were empowered to design the way they collaborate as part of their work and most importantly were aware of the existence of this power.

To conclude the development process and the results, I quote a member of the HOME network, who surmised the achievements of the network well in the evaluation interview at the end of 2010: *“When you listen to this evaluation, it becomes evident that there is a huge amount of things, small steps of progress. When we were starting this in Peltolantie premises in Fall 2008, I was wondering, “What is this thing?”. But now, I can see that in a couple of years, there has been so much joy and enthusiasm in the development work. Results have been achieved.”*

7.4 VANTAA: INFORMAL - Developing supporting services for caregivers

In workshops where outsiders have participated mainly from different non-profit organizations, I have realized how many different actors operate in the field that can join us in our work or are working in the field all the time. You don't normally know anything about them. Everyone is doing their own small piece, and it is really good that these big events spread knowledge.

INFORMAL network evaluation interview 2009

The INFORMAL network for developing services for the caregivers of elderly living at home started operating at an early phase of the action research project. Its original aim was to find new innovative ways to support the then-current informal care services. The three themes of development of the INFORMAL network came from the management and the earlier development of informal care in the municipality. At the beginning, the themes were:

- Development of non-financial support for caregivers
- Better communication towards the providers of informal care
- Increasing the possibilities for peer support

The general development themes of the DCWSA project further aligned with the development, and there was an understanding among the elderly and disabled care department and the project organization that this network should create services that are preventive in nature and support independent living at home. As the themes still remained on a relatively abstract level, the network was able to re-work the themes into more concrete development themes and, finally, into goals, although the steering group of elderly care realigned the goals and changed the scope of the development twice during the process of networking. Alongside the development of the themes, the network spent a considerable amount of time constructing the network itself, including creating trust among the members of the network towards both the other network members and networking as a way to develop service production in the municipal context.

From the beginning, the INFORMAL network systematically collected feedback after every workshop and discussed the collected feedback in the following workshop. This gave the members of the network a feeling of being heard and having a say in how the network operated. Figure 31 gives an overview of the networking in the INFORMAL network, which started December 2007 and continued until April 2011. The collaborating for the solution and implementing the solution and network practices phases were overlapping, but there was a relatively clear transition from the planning phase to constructing the network, and from there, to the collaboration for the solution phase.

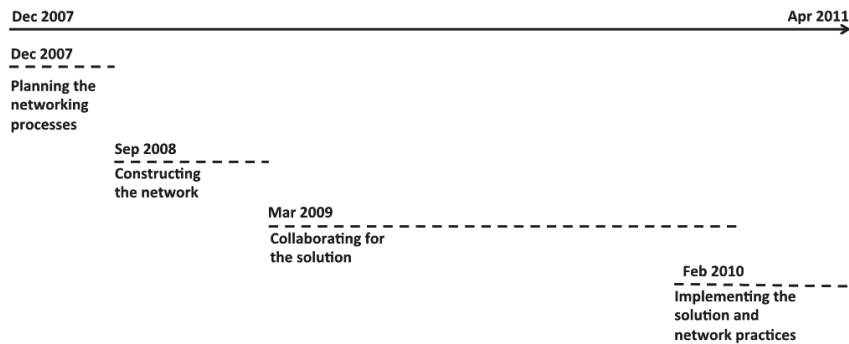


Figure 31. The process of developing informal care services in INFORMAL network in Vantaa.

The elderly social care unit is the home organization for employees who issue informal care support. The members of the network were chosen from home care organization, even if the network ended up including actors from several different units inside the elderly and disabled care organization. The units, which participated in the networking activities of informal care development, were: Day activities, home care, short-term care, social work, and 24-hour care. Figure 32 shows from where in the elderly and disabled care department hierarchy the network members came from. One noteworthy fact is that in this network, the members, including the network manager, came from the customer care level.

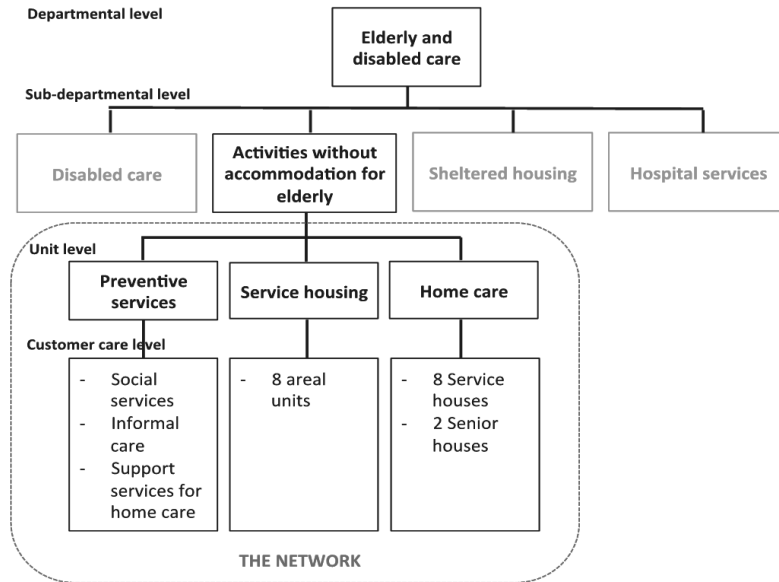


Figure 32. The members of the INFORMAL network in Vantaa

Before going to the process of networking, I will illustrate how informal care-related services spread over different organizations and how customers receive services from several different municipal, third-, and private sector actors on a continuous basis. Firstly, the recipients of informal care support may be entitled to day care services and additional financial support in addition to informal care support. Secondly, caregivers are entitled to a certain amount of free days, during which the municipality takes over the responsibility of caring for the elderly either in an institution or as a home care service.

To fully understand how informal care is spread over different organizations, we need to look at the process of informal care. This is depicted in Figure 33, created by the INFORMAL network at the beginning of the development process in order to identify issues and specific points of development.

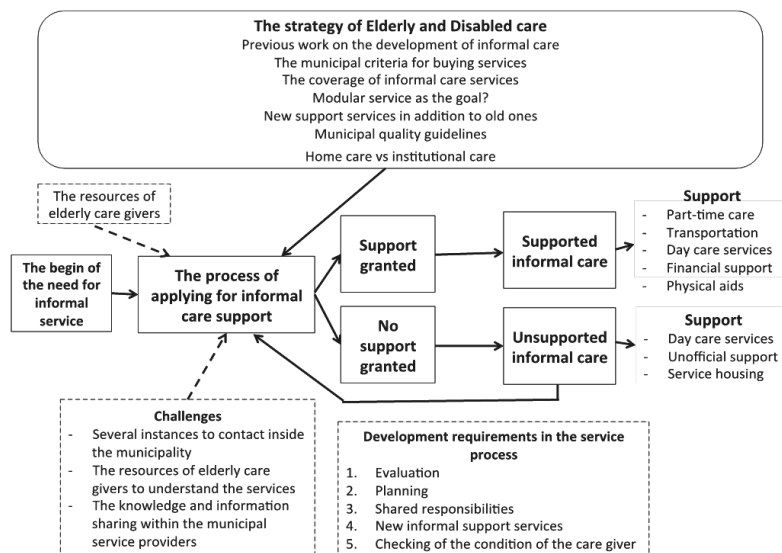


Figure 33. The process of informal care by the INFORMAL network.

The figure (33) shows how the elderly and disabled care organization's strategy guided the decision process of the informal care support. The decision made in the municipality can lead to a positive or a negative result regarding informal care support. A positive decision leads to supported informal care, while a negative – to unsupported care. Even those who are not granted supported informal care can attend day care services, get unofficial support, such as help from volunteers, and be entitled to living in a service house. The main difference between the supported and unsupported informal care are the different financial support instruments and the right to part-time care either in a municipal institution or at home as home care.

Together, Figures 32 and 33 give a good overview of the informal care services in the municipality of Vantaa, which is helpful in understanding where the network operates and why the network chose the specific development goals.

7.4.1 Planning the processes of networking for INFORMAL network

The beginning of networking in the INFORMAL network follows the early phases of the HOME network. In both of the networks the project got accepted in the same way and in both networks the department level manager decided on the development themes. Similarly, the elderly and disabled care manager had an important role during this phase in commencing the development and earning acceptance as well as showing his own motivation to develop informal care through networks. The concentration of the activities to the management level of the organization is shown in Figure 34, which depicts the main actions of this phase and the parts of the organization in which the actions took place.

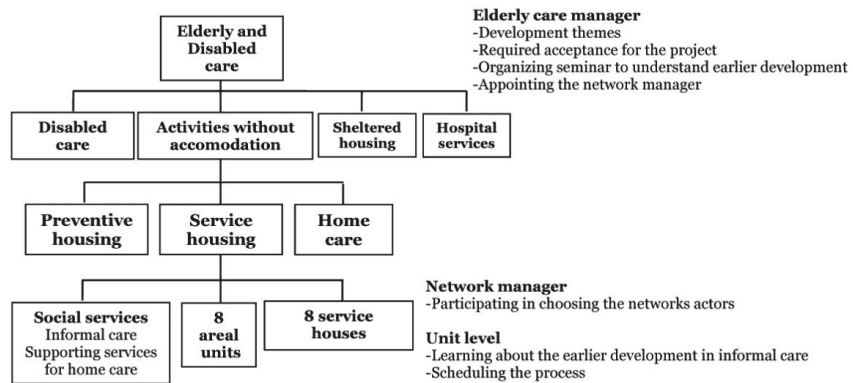


Figure 34. The main actions during planning the process of the networking phase in the INFORMAL network in Vantaa.

As the informal care and related services are spread over several organizational sub-departments and units, as is indicated in figure 34, the specification of more final development goals required the collaboration of several different sub-departments and units within the elderly and disabled care organization.

To begin with networking in the INFORMAL network, the DCWSA project organized a seminar on the topic of informal care in order to collect ideas and knowledge of all relevant actors in the municipality of Vantaa. The seminar brought up:

- The need for regular health controls and support for elderly caregivers
- The need to coordinate the municipal actors who provide services to informal caregivers
- The need to know and describe the customer care processes

The researchers from Aalto University, a developer from Laurea, and the network coordinator from Vantaa worked together on the seminar results to present these to the INFORMAL network in the first actual network meeting. As all following development work, the results from the seminar reflected the organizational strategy of elderly and disabled care department. At that time, the strategy emphasized:

- The following of national good practice guidelines for informal care
- Creating criteria for buying informal care-related services.
- Ensuring a better coverage of informal care in the municipality.
- Providing a variety of supporting services in addition to the current service offering.
- Creating quality recommendations to be used to increase the equality of the recipients of informal care in different areas of the municipality.

-

Based on the results of the seminar and comparing the strategy with the municipal strategy regarding informal care, the group of key members from the network together with the network coordinator identified three challenges of informal care that should be addressed by this network:

- Regarding informal care, there are various actors the customers have to contact inside the municipality to receive informal care services they are entitled to.
- The caregivers' understanding and knowledge of their rights to informal care and the service offering in the municipality are not sufficient.
- The marketing and communication channels about the services to informal caregivers and informal care recipients need to be developed.

7.4.2 Constructing the INFORMAL network

This is the point where the actual INFORMAL network started to form, as the group of key network members suggested a potential solution to the three identified challenges. This solution would be the theme sharing of information and knowledge in a network, that would concentrate on developing informal care in the municipality. Based on this initial development idea of the network, the key members began identifying potential network members, and this identification resulted in a network of members from different sub-departments and units within the elderly and disabled care department. The manager of elderly and disabled care chose the network manager from the customer care level among home care supervisors in areal home care units. At this point, the actors outside the elderly care organization were seen as stakeholders, who would be invited to the network workshops held regularly throughout the process of networking and kept informed about the development done by the network.

The first meeting with the key members, including the newly appointed network manager was held in June 2008. In this meeting, the INFORMAL network took a look at the earlier development on the theme of informal care and proposed some timetables and practicalities for the development such as the occurrence of workshops and network workshops.

In the beginning of Fall 2008, there was a shared feeling that the construction of the informal care development network was progressing well and was among the three most developed networks in the entire Vantaa municipality. The INFORMAL network held its first actual workshop with most of the network members in September 2008. In this workshop, the chosen network members learned about each other and familiarized themselves with the earlier development of informal care, as well as listened to a lecture on the underlying ideas and theories of networks and network management, the understanding of which was to be the basis of this network and the process of networking.

At the beginning of fall, there was an incident that seemingly affected the trust and commitment of the network towards the network and the members'

ability to make a change in the hierarchical organization. The network coordinator, who also participated in the activities of the INFORMAL network, expressed worry, concerning the possible overlap of the development in the different themes of the DCWSA project in Vantaa and anticipated by openly expressing that, at a later phase of the development, some of the networks of the project in Vantaa would be merged and rearranged to fit the development themes identified in the DCWSA project. She also said that there might be new teams with a coordinating role between the established networks.

Bringing up the fact that the network would possibly be rearranged and merged with another network at a later point of networking, and the DCWSA project is questionable when it is made into an event where the network members were to get to know each other and commence the process of trusting each other and trusting networking, as a way to develop services in the hierarchical context. The members of the network are supposed to commit to long-term collaboration and bringing up the temporary nature of the network is sending a signal of an outside authority that can disseminate the network or make decisions on behalf of the network. The message from the network coordinator also highlighted the fact that possible changes can be made outside the network to prioritize the good of the entire project, not this particular network.

Researcher's note from the research diary

Already after the first workshop, some of the stakeholders got involved in the activities of the INFORMAL network. The motivation for the involvement of the stakeholders came from the first individual assignment, which was given to the network members. The assignment was to discuss the development network with their colleagues or people they worked closely with and ask them for ideas regarding the development of informal care. The results of this assignment and later group work are shown in Table 6, where seven different ideas are classified into short- or long-term and practical or strategic. The number of members who did this assignment was less than half of all members, but at this early phase of networking, this was an expected result, since the members had not yet been able to create commitment towards the network or to accept their role in the network as representatives of their respective organizations.

Table 6. Development themes with health care in the HOME network in Vantaa.

	PRACTICAL ACTIONS	STRATEGIC ACTION
SHORT-TERM ACTION	<div>Short-term help to home</div> <div>Training of personnel<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Supervision- Customership- Supporting networks</div>	<div>Communication<ul style="list-style-type: none">- More informative internet site</div>
LONG-TERM ACTION	<div>Teaching and supervising caregivers</div> <div>The good of the customer</div> <div>Care free zones<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Easiness for customers to approach with their challenges</div>	<div>The well-being and benefit of the caregiver</div>

Only a month after the first workshop in October 2008, the network received a message from the steering group of the elderly and disabled care department, which stated that the focus of the development has broadened from the recipients of official informal care support to all caregivers in the municipality. This was a positive message and was received by the network well, but the message included a more negative rule to guide the development. This rule directed that the developed solutions should not have any impact on budget, meaning that no additional funding could be allocated to the new services, but would have to be produced with existing resources. This was a big disappointment to the network members.

Indeed, following this message from the steering group, in the October 2008 workshop, the members of the network expressed their distress about the continuity of the developed services and the motivation and commitment to support the network by the management of their respective organizations. This worry had an impact on the overall motivation, which was still seemingly low in the November workshop, where the network was to plan their first network workshop on the theme of informal care and, thus, include more stakeholders to the development of informal care.

Right from the beginning, the members in this network have been expressing their concern about the challenges of this kind of network to be able to change anything in the municipal service production. The overall attitude towards the network's legitimization seems low, and members are expressing their reluctance to participate and allocate their time to the network. The members of the network seem to be regarding participation in networking as a cost and are not able to see the potential benefits of having or being a representative of their own unit or sub-department in the network.

Researcher's note from the research diary

The network invited a selected number of personnel to the December 2008 network workshop from other municipal organizations, some customers, partners with whom the network members collaborated with on a continuous basis, and persons who were known to have deep insight in the field of informal care. Although the network manager took the responsibility of inviting these actors, a few network members invited their customers personally to the workshop and also arranged transport to the location and back home.

In the December network workshop, the manager of the sub-department level held a speech from the perspective of the elderly care organization in Vantaa. She pointed out that citizens were getting older, and the strategy to prepare for this change was to increase the services provided at home, including informal care services. According to her, the municipality was emphasizing the ability of citizens to choose their services. The manager also highlighted that the elderly expected more variety and better quality of services, and that service organization and production in Vantaa was steered by the national quality guidelines, which emphasized openness, participation, collaboration, and the overall change for the citizens to affect the services offered in a municipality. The manager also mentioned the economic situation in the municipality, which required a rapid change in the service structure and more effective service production. Still, she wanted to emphasize that the creativity of personnel is encouraged in this situation.

The management culture in Vantaa is open and encourages also the managers to openly discuss their feelings and ideas with the personnel. This was shown in this speech.

Researcher's note from the research diary

To illustrate the effect of the personal relations in this particular networking process, I bring forth an incident from the December 2008 workshop. One of the invited actors was the home care manager from the unit level, who also was the network manager of the HOME network. The network manager of INFORMAL network, who worked under this home care manager in the hierarchical organization, invited her. A day before the network workshop the home care manager called the INFORMAL network manager to tell her that she has no time for the development of informal care and moreover no interest in it. The INFORMAL network manager found this very disturbing as the home care manager represented the municipality in a work group, which developed informal care in a consortium of municipalities and also had an important role in the municipal informal care service development. Due to the important role of the HOME network manager in the informal care in the municipality the INFORMAL network manager felt that the lack of support was more of a personal kind, an attack towards her as a person, and based on a need to have a network manager that represented some other level or unit of elderly and disabled care department.

During the first fall of networking (2008), the key members of the network mostly learned how to work together and established a shared understanding of how the network should be managed. The INFORMAL network manager

did not get support from her own supervisors; in fact, the home care manager wanted to replace the network manager and make her a member of the network without managerial responsibilities. The key network did not support this, nor did the network manager herself accept the idea.

The manager of the INFORMAL network is from the customer care level, a supervisor of an areal home care unit. This means that the network lacks legitimacy to make any decisions concerning the hierarchical organization and the network. The lack of hierarchical status clearly reflects on the behavior of the network manager, and she seems somewhat unsure of what she should do in the workshops and what kind of a role to adopt. The members of the network, however, are not showing a lack of confidence in the network manager, although they understand that she has limited resources and authority regarding making the needed decisions.

The network manager felt a lot of pressure about her role as the network manager of the INFORMAL network; this pressure resulted in a conflict between the network manager and one of the key network members. This conflict was discussed openly in a session where the DCWSA project manager and the network coordinator acted as moderators. The insecurity of the network manager about her ability to manage the network had made her misinterpret the behavior of the others as a critique towards her as a person and as the network manager. In other words, because she did not trust herself and her ability to act as the network manager, she did not seem to be able to trust the others or their support.

Researcher's note from the research diary

The organization of the DCWSA project felt a lot of pressure at the beginning of 2009. The manager of the elderly and disabled care department emphasized the need for concrete results in a very short run, both personally and as the chairman of the steering group. The manager communicated his trust in networking at a time when the municipality was trying to cope with the upcoming increase of elderly by 125 percent in the following 15 years.

This pressure was shared with the INFORMAL network, which was still working on defining the final goals of the development of informal care. The reason the network was still working on the final goals was mainly due to the changes in the overall purpose of the network. However, the network felt pressure to define the goals and start the development work, and the members of this network were reminded of being behind schedule compared to other networks in the DCWSA project. The network felt that it had tight guidelines for the development, since the goals were to fit the organizational strategy and to answer the challenges identified earlier (Table 7).

Table 7. Organizational strategy, identified challenges, and the final development goals for the INFORMAL network.

The highlights of the municipal strategy for informal care	Identified challenges in the service production	The development goals for the project
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Following of established good practices of informal care - Creating criteria for buying services -Providing a variety of supporting services in addition to current services -Creating quality recommendations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Various actors to contact inside the municipality is challenging - Caregivers understanding and knowledge regarding their right to services and support -The marketing channels for the services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Development of additional services -A guide to informal care services in the municipality -Informal care activity center -Health checks for caregivers over 65

The first workshops during 2009 were used to work on the action plan of the network, to finally define the development goals, and plan the subsequent actions. The basis for the development was laid out in the network workshop, where the development themes were discussed and worked on in groups. As a result, the network had three development goals:

- Development of additional new services.
- Guide to informal care services.
- Informal care activity center.

Despite the pressure from the organization, the INFORMAL network decided to dedicate most of the February 2009 workshop to the creation of trust and commitment by using the drama method, which would help them get to know each other better. The use of this method was part of the getting to know each other activity, which shows in Figure 35 as one of the main activities in the network level (areal units and customer care). The figure also shows that most of the actions in this phase took place in the network level and how the steering group had an impact on the actions of the network on several occasions during this phase.

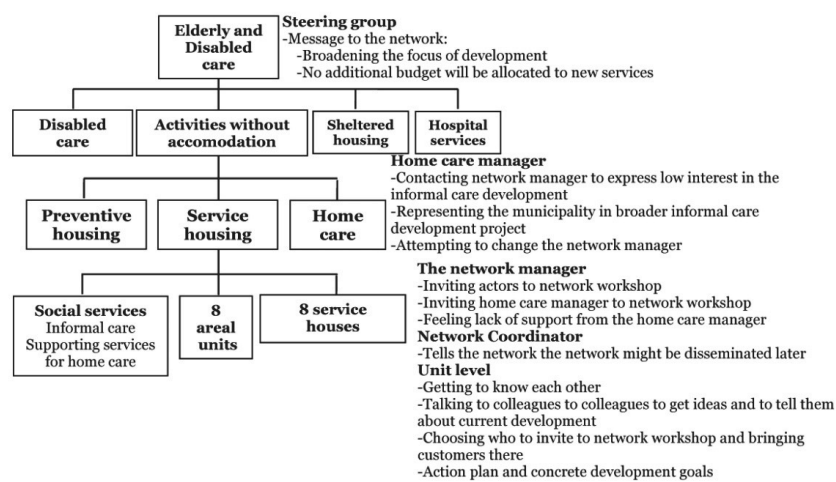


Figure 35. The main actions during constructing the network phase in the INFORMAL network in Vantaa.

From the management level, the most influential and participative manager was the home care manager from the unit level, who openly showed her lack of trust towards the INFORMAL network manager working under her. The sub-department level had little effect on this phase of networking in the INFORMAL care network.

7.4.3 Collaborating for the solution for the INFORMAL network

The collaborating for the solution phase got underway when the development themes were chosen, the action plan – drafted, and the network started working on the three development themes. The main actions of the INFORMAL network during this phase are depicted in Figure 36. At the beginning of this phase, the network formulated a suggestion regarding the themes of the development. This suggestion was rejected by the steering group, and the INFORMAL network had to start over with one of the development themes they had chosen. The figure also shows how the sub-department and unit levels were mostly absent from the development of informal care during this phase.

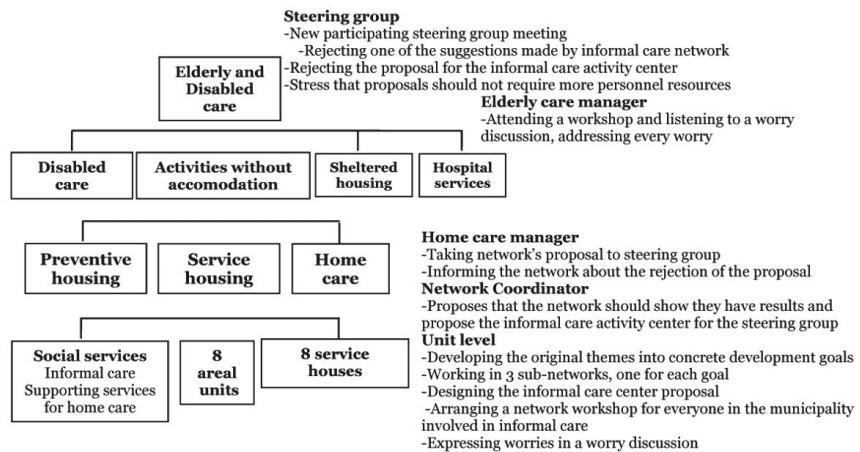


Figure 36. The main actions during collaborating for the solution phase in INFORMAL network in Vantaa.

At the beginning of this phase, in March 2009, the network organized a network workshop to involve the stakeholders in the process of networking. In this network workshop, the attendance was low among the home care personnel, but the attendance among the actors from other municipal and third-sector organizations was higher. This has come up in other networks, as well; that it is sometimes easier to think of other organizations when inviting actors to a network or to a single network workshop than your own organizations.

After the network workshop, the network invited the department-level manager from elderly and disabled care to attend a workshop; this is seen in Figure 36. In this workshop, the members of the network shared their worries about the progress of networking in the INFORMAL network as well as the challenges in their own work. The key network members initiated this discussion, because it was felt that the network members had a lot of stress, and all of them had not fully accepted their role in the network as representatives of their organization. It was coincidental that the elderly and disabled care manager would attend this workshop, but it happened that the elderly care manager responded to the worries of the members of the network and ensured that the network is important, and there is trust towards the network's ability to create new services and find solutions to the existing challenges of informal care service production. The presence of the elderly care manager was brought up in many conversations in a positive way later during networking.

After these workshops, during Spring 2009, the network concentrated on further developing the themes into concrete goals to achieve during this phase of networking. At this early phase of development, the network concentrated on the development of the informal care activity center by visiting a similar center in the neighboring municipality. Also, after the worry discussion workshop, the network members decided that they do not have the ability to write a full guide about informal care services in the municipality, as was ori-

ginally planned. Instead, the group that had been given the responsibility of creating the guide preferred to write a brochure that would inform the elderly and their close relatives about the basic services and contacts to get more information about informal care services and other support in the municipality.

At this point, all three development themes were worked on, and each theme was assigned to a responsible sub-network that would work independently and, at times, take the results of their development to the workshops, where the network would complete the development together. Even if the network felt it had made progress with development, the project's network coordinator brought up pressure from the hierarchy to have more concrete results. The network coordinator suggested that the network would prepare a proposal for an informal care activity center, such as the one they had visited earlier in Helsinki, although in a smaller scale, to the DCWSA network steering group meeting.

In their meeting in August (2009), the steering group of elderly and disabled care did not approve the proposal for the activity center. The main argument was that the proposed center would take too much of the municipal personnel's resources. A counter proposal from the steering group was that such a center could be carried out in collaboration with non-profit organizations. This August steering group meeting was held in a new manner. The earlier rejection of the INFORMAL network's plan had raised a discussion about whether the steering group was working in too hierarchical a manner and whether, in order to show trust and commitment towards the networks, it should change the way it works.

When it comes to the steering group of elderly and disabled care in Vantaa, it is evident that there are actors in a deciding role that have no active role in the project and in the networks. This creates some tension, when these actors still have strong opinions about the project as well as suggestions of how things should proceed from their point of view. In general, the role of the Vantaa steering group is very strong in this network, and it raised the question of whether this network truly achieves the independence and trust it should achieve in this organizational context. This is the reason why the project organization has to attend to this issue, take initiative, and suggest a new, more participative steering group meeting. A more participative steering group would be one where a network, which has a proposal for the steering group, is allowed to send a representative to the meeting to present the ideas of the network and then bring the news from the steering group directly back to the network.

Researcher's note from the research diary

In practice, networks that had a proposal for the steering group were invited to present their proposal and to hear the arguments and the final decision from the steering group members. In addition to the new participants in the steering group meeting, there was a group work session, where the proposals were discussed and worked on. It seemed that this kind of work, where the different levels of hierarchy are present in decision-making, was challenging because of the different levels of analysis and different language of the parties involved.

As an observant in the meeting, I witnessed several misunderstandings between the management level participants of the steering group and the personnel representatives.

The result from the steering group meeting was discussed in the September 2009 workshop. The network could accept the result, since they had had a representative in the meeting, and that representative, together with the network manager, explained and described the discussion the proposal raised in the meeting and what kind of an argument was raised regarding the decision. The network allocated time in the workshop to create a new idea to replace the earlier proposal. The network coordinator, for her part, drove the network towards a new concrete proposal that would meet the criteria expressed by the steering group. Later, the network manager promised to take the new proposal further in the hierarchical organization.

By the end of the year 2009, the development themes finally found their final form and stabilized into concrete solutions to the identified challenges and the chosen development goals. In the INFORMAL network, the phases of development and implementation were somewhat overlapping; for example, the members of the network took responsibility for piloting the developed solutions as they were developed. This was possible, because the network manager was the direct boss to these members of the network and could accept the use of resources, as long as the piloting did not have any other budget effects. For example, in November, Parkki (short-term care up to several hours) had started in one of the day care centers for the elderly in Vantaa. In addition, the recruitment of volunteers had started earlier, and the network manager continued to meet and recruit potential volunteers. Also, the informal care brochure was being developed.

7.4.4 Implementing the solution and network practices into the informal care system

In the INFORMAL network, the implementation phase started in Spring 2010. This phase involved all the levels of the hierarchical organization of the elderly and disabled care department, as is depicted in Figure 37. At this point, the original network had to be extended, since the original network members came from the customer care level of the organization and had no authority to make changes in the service production of the informal care services.

In February 2010, the network held a network workshop to present their results and get feedback from different actors in the municipality. The aim of this workshop was to further develop the pilots and get more resources for the implementation of the pilots of short-term care for the informal caregivers in the municipality.

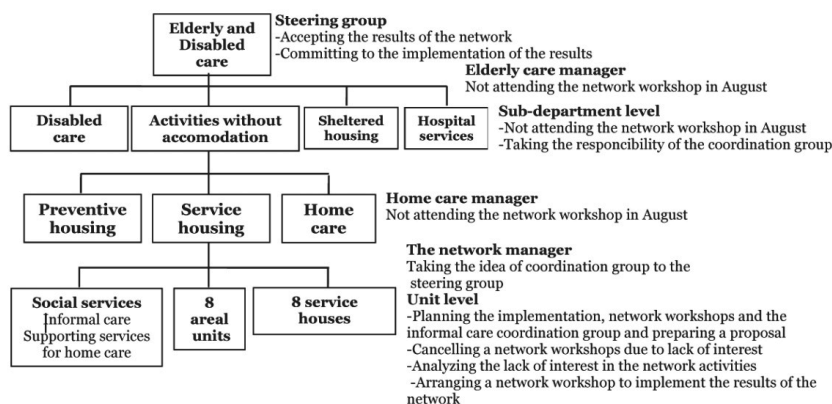


Figure 37. The main actions during implementation of the solution in the INFORMAL network in Vantaa.

One of the main actions in preparing for the implementation of the developed solutions was to design a network workshop and invite local volunteers, third-sector organizations, Vantaa employees, lecturers, and researchers from universities to attend the workshops. These actors were invited following the comments from the Vantaa elderly and disabled care steering group, regarding finding replacement resources to municipal employees for the pilot of short-term care. In this workshop, the sub-departmental or department level were not present (Figure 37).

What the network had achieved at this point was screening the situation of the informal caregivers in the municipality, the service process, the broadening of the scope of the development, the roles, and responsibilities of the actors in the informal care service production and taking the plan of further development of informal care to the steering group of the municipality. At this point, the network allocated a considerable amount of time in planning the spread of the pilots to different districts in the municipality. Some possible solutions to this were delegating this to Laurea students and making it part of their studies.

By the end of Spring 2010, the network completed the development of the informal care brochure and evaluated the two other development goals, where the short-term care service was in the pilot stage. After this, the network was able to fully concentrate on the implementation and spreading of the results of networking to the rest of the municipality. One of the related issues was including some of the stakeholders into the network and inviting them to become members of the network.

Organizing network workshops was one of the main means the INFORMAL network to implement the results of their development. One workshop was planned for the end of the year 2010. In the workshop, the network concluded that they should collaborate more with non-profit organizations that represent informal caregivers. The network also wrote down the results at that point:

- Adding more information about informal care to the municipal internet page.
- Senior health care check-ups.
- Short-term care service pilot.

At the end of 2010, the implementation faced a challenge when a planned network workshop had to be canceled due to a lack of interest. It was felt that the absence of the management level made the workshop seem redundant, even if the purpose of the network workshop was important. This purpose was to present the results of the development done in the network and get legitimization for the implementation of the results, especially the pilots, within the elderly and disabled care. As mentioned earlier, the network manager was from the areal unit level and lacked authority to make decisions regarding the whole municipality.

The network felt that the network workshop would have been essential and discussed possible reasons for the low interest of the management level to take part in the development and the implementation of the informal care services developed by the INFORMAL network. A feeling that was shared among the members of the network was that since the activities of informal care were spread over many departments, sub-departments and units, there is no one in charge and willing to take the overall responsibility. This meant that the responsibility fell on the network manager, who did not possess the required authority in the hierarchy.

The implementation phase continued in 2011, when the INFORMAL network organized a new network workshop. The aim of this workshop was to discuss how the development results could be implemented into the hierarchical structure. The network wanted to create shared responsibility for the implementation of the results, and it was indeed able to invite the management level of the department and the sub-department of the elderly and disabled care organization to this network workshop.

The most important achievement of this network workshop was the creation of the idea of an informal care coordination group that would take the responsibility for the implementation of the results of the INFORMAL network after the end of the research project as well as coordinating further development. The INFORMAL coordination network should take the responsibility of forming the objectives, agreeing on timetables, roles, and responsibilities, resources to be made available as well as the distribution of information. The initiative to form the coordination group that would be led by the sub-department-level manager was taken to the steering group by the network manager.

In the network workshop, the developers also reported the current state of the implementation of both the results of the process of networking and the implementation of the INFORMAL network itself into the hierarchical organization. At this phase, the informal care activity center was piloted as a short-term care service, where an informal care recipient could be left for a few hours. This pilot was working in one area of Vantaa and was organized by volunteers. Also, the day services unit for the elderly was working directly with

informal care, and at this point, three service houses were considering providing similar type of short-term care solutions for informal care patients. It was also felt that the home care unit was more supportive of informal care at this point of the DCWSA project. An additional development result of the informal care development was a senior health clinic that was inspecting all elderly who were taking care of their close relatives.

7.5 ESPOO: COLLABORATION - The network of home and disabled care organizations

It's a really good thing that here (during the networking) one has met people, (who work with same customers) and therefore, in the future, dealing with them is easier when we have actually met and worked together.

Espoo evaluation interview 2010 the developers in municipality Espoo

The COLLABORATION network was part of the development within the DCWSA project in the municipality of Espoo. As explained earlier, in this municipality, the main aim of the project was to create networks and increase knowledge regarding networks and their management among the management and personnel of the elderly care department. The COLLABORATION network between the home care sub-department and the disabled care department was aimed at creating a more systematic way to collaborate in a form of a network between the two organizations. The main motivation to create better collaborative practices was the fact that the personnel of these two organizations worked with the same customers. Some years before the DCWSA project, there was an organizational change that disrupted the existing areal collaboration of the customer care-level personnel between these two organizations. The change followed the overall tendency of the municipal organizations to move from areal to sector-based organization. Since this change interrupted the customer-level collaboration, it created a rather scattered municipal service production from the customer's point of view.

In the sub-department and unit-level management, as well as the customer care level, they understand the need for the systematic collaborative activities. There are, however, many organizational steps in between, and now, we are still in the situation, where we do not know how to reach the people who could help us and share the responsibility of attending to the needs of the customer.

Evaluation interview 2010 the developers in municipality Espoo

When it comes to the nature of networking in this municipality, I want to point out that much of the development work was done outside the workshops and the network by the department-level managers; the managers did all the planning and most of the decision-making in this network. Already at the beginning of this project, it became evident that the management culture in this municipality did not support empowerment of the personnel, and the mana-

gers had the habit of keeping the control in their own hands by doing as much of the work as possible themselves. Even if the elderly care manager did not participate in the network's workshops, he organized different types of meetings for the management level, where the decisions about the network and the development done by the network were made. The following opinion from a manager expressed in an evaluation interview is a good example of the prevailing management culture in the municipality:

In my opinion, the network cannot set goals, because I think that it is part of the whole municipality's strategy, whether the elderly are cared for in their own homes or not. The network does not have a say in this. That is decided by the political- and management-level officials in the municipality. Then, all actors in all levels can comment and give feedback to these strategic decisions. The managerial guidelines have to come from elsewhere than the network.

Evaluation interview 2010, a manager in the municipality Espoo

The members of this network came mainly from two organizations within the social and health care sector. The organization of social and health care in Espoo is shown in Figure 38, where the participating organizations are highlighted with red circles. Family and social care is a department-level organization, which is separate from the elderly care department. Home care in Espoo is a sub-department-level organization. In this project, the unit level of home care was strongly involved.

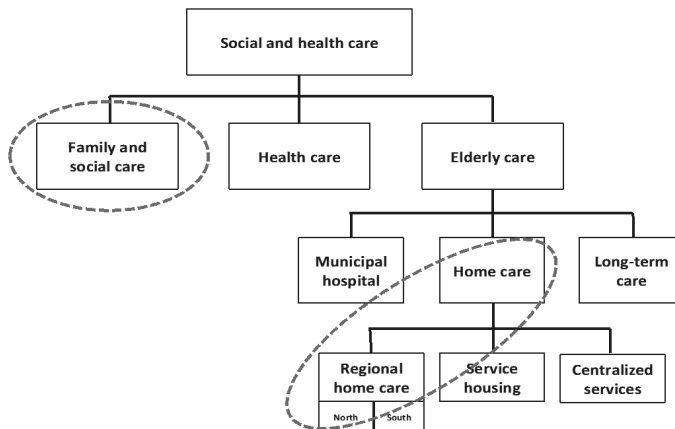


Figure 38. The organization of the elderly and disabled care sector in Espoo

To understand the later challenges in the collaboration in this network, it is essential to note the difference between the organization of elderly and disabled care departments, which in Espoo are separate (Figure 38). The social care department is flat without sub-departments or units, while the elderly care department is divided into three sub-departments, and the home care sub-department that is participating in this project – further into three units. Also, social care is carefully restricted and guided by several national laws and

policies, while in home care, the Finnish municipalities have more freedom to design how to organize and produce their services. Most of the members of this network came from the home care sub-department and the unit level of home care. A minority of the members came from the smaller disabled care department. These members included the department manager and social workers.

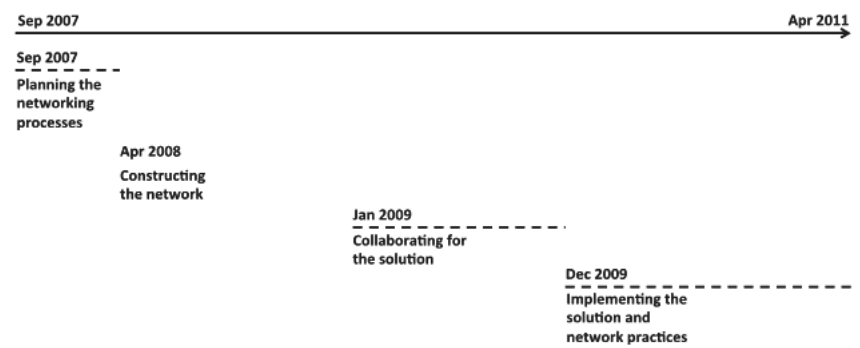


Figure 39. The process of networking in the COLLABORATION network in Espoo.

The first steps towards the collaboration between the home care sub-department and the social care department were taken September 2007, and networking continued until Spring 2011, when the municipal actors organized seminars independently from the DCWSA project to further tighten networking between the two organizations (Figure 39). The planning phase continued until April 2008, when the first workshop was held. In the COLLABORATION network, the planning phase was relatively long, since it lasted until April 2008, when the constructing the network phase started. Also, this second phase was relatively long, and the collaborating for the solution phase started only in January 2009, before the final phase of networking, which started December 2009.

7.5.1 Planning the processes of networking for the COLLABORATION network

Most of the work in this phase was done in the management level of the elderly care department. This is depicted in Figure 40, which shows what was needed in the beginning to start creating the network between these two organizations in Espoo.

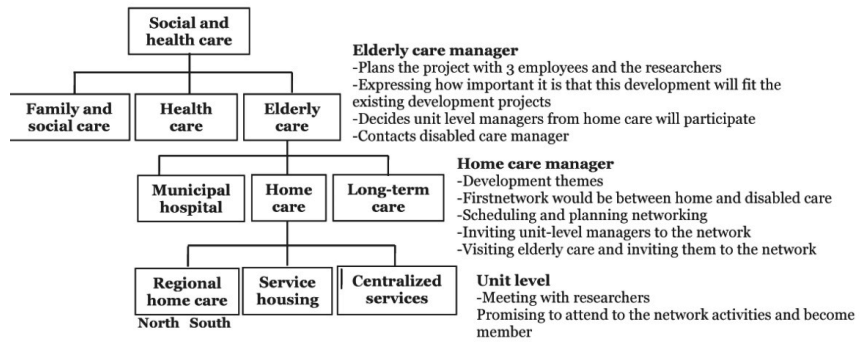


Figure 40. The main actions during planning the process of the networking phase in the COLLABORATION network in Espoo.

The basis for this network was laid out in September 2007, when the elderly care department's manager and three members of his personnel met with a researcher and decided to concentrate on the development of home care in the DCWSA project. To begin the creation of this network, the sub-department-level manager of home care, together with a unit-level home care manager, met with the researcher and defined the given development theme into the following three questions.

- What kinds of networks are needed?
- What kind of critical challenges can be identified?
- How can the identified challenges be solved through networks and network management?

The manager of elderly care was not present at the October meeting, but sent an email to those who were and expressed that even if he can see that the plan had gone forward, he expected to get a more detailed plan of how the development project will be integrated into the current and ongoing home care development. The elderly care manager also decided that the actors who would participate in the development would be unit-level managers from the home care organization. The managers were not asked whether they have any interest in participating in the project, but were simply assigned to this role, which raised some resistance among the unit-level managers throughout the process:

“Sometimes, it’s hard to organize time, and I feel guilty when I am away (from my normal work), and I get feedback that you are somewhere (else) again.”

Evaluation interview 2010, the developers in municipality Espoo

The planning of the COLLABORATION network continued in 2008, when a researcher and the sub-department-level manager of home care met and decided that the first development network would be between the home care sub-

department and the disabled care department and would concentrate on the service production network of elderly customers. They also scheduled the development and identified the tasks in organizing workshops and other related activities. As we can see from Figure 40, the manager of elderly care took the responsibility of presenting the project and the plan to the department-level manager of disabled care, while the home care manager took the responsibility of inviting actors from her own organization. To achieve this, the researchers from Aalto visited a meeting of unit-level home care managers and presented the idea of the COLLABORATION network together with the home care manager. In the March meeting, the home care managers made the official decision to start the development with the disabled care organization.

After this, the following task for the home care manager, who was to take over the role of the network manager, was to meet the department-level manager from disabled care to express her personal desire to work together with the disabled care department in this network. This was done when the researchers and the home care manager visited the disabled care manager meeting, where the home care manager “proposed” the disabled care to participate in the DCWSA project by creating the COLLABORATION network together with the home care sub-department.

7.5.2 Constructing the COLLABORATION network

The first workshop was held in April 2008. Although a lot of planning was made before the first workshop, there was a delay at the beginning, because many of the representatives from the home care organization were not present. After some calls were made, two of the chosen representatives came to the workshop late, and two informed the workshop that they are sick and will not be able to attend. The low attendance among the home care unit-level managers caused concern among the members that attended the workshop. The members from disabled care brought up the fact that home care was represented by the manager level, while they are customer-level employees. These two events showed low confidence in the project, and the atmosphere was visibly suspicious.

This kind of group work never brings any results; it is totally useless.

Member of the network in the 1st workshop

After the introduction, the network learned about the basic idea behind the network and the whole DCWSA project. It was highlighted that trust, openness, and joint problem-solving would be required in order to create a successful networking process. The discussion about the ownership of the development work was held in this first workshop. Little by little, during this workshop, the attending members of the network understood that this project could offer a new and different way of developing practices and potentially show that there can be a new kind of continuity and concrete results in the project-type of development work in the municipality. The planned continuity of the network, as a more permanent way of working together, was seen as an

important motivation for commitment. The first independent assignment for the network was given at the first workshop, and it was to think of new potential members the network would need to solve the challenges in customer care identified during group work. Based on the suggestions, new members were invited to the network, as shown in Figure 41.

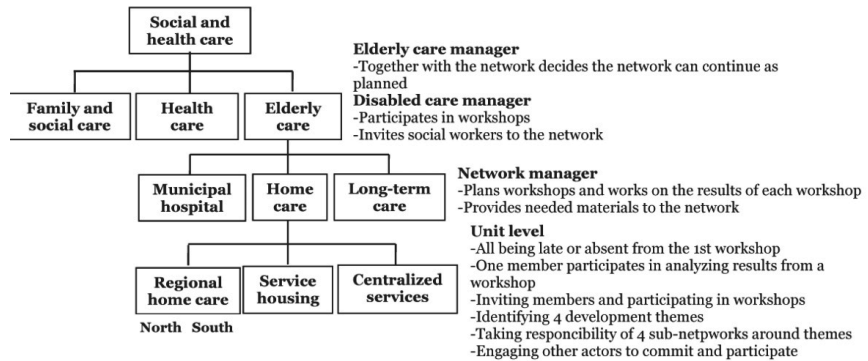


Figure 41. The main actions during constructing the network phase in the COLLABORATION network in Espoo.

In this network, a considerable amount of work was done outside the network, in the key network member meetings, which included sub-department- or department-level managers and researchers (Figure 41). After the first workshop, the home care manager, together with one unit-level manager, met the researchers and worked on the material from the first workshop. The elderly care manager decided to invite new members to the network, as suggested in the first workshop.

In June 2008, the second workshop was held, and in this workshop, the motivation seemed high, and the members of the network expressed their appreciation for having a platform for shared discussion between the home and disabled care that had been non-existent since the latest organizational change, which broke the old areal collaborative practices. In this workshop, the network worked on the joint customer processes to identify the development goals for the COLLABORATION network. At this point, the development was guided by a more abstract and broad development theme, which mainly included the development of a network, where both home care and disabled care would participate.

After the two workshops and the key member meetings, the network sent invitations to new potential members. The third workshop was again planned by a small group of selected members. In the planning meeting, the network manager, a social worker, and the researcher went through the first draft of the shared customer process and looked for challenges in the process. The municipal actors expressed that this network should not be concerned about the actual service process, because it concerns a bigger set of service providers and

that development would not be in the hands of this network. The group identified three challenges that are situated at the beginning and end phases of the described customer care process:

- When a customer is in a hospital, not all the relevant actors are invited to a meeting, where the care and release from the hospital are planned. Similarly, in these situations, there is often confusion regarding the responsibilities and ownership of the customer's case.
- The making of the actual care and service plan and service decisions are separate actions, which lead to a shattered service entity.
- The follow-up period of the received care, when the service providers should have similar alignment of service policies.

The attendance in the October 2008 workshop was low, and an open discussion on the matter resulted in the decision that the network members would take the responsibility of inviting the members, who were not present, to the next workshop and, at the same time, discuss the content of the workshop these members missed. This assignment was discussed in the following workshop and the members, who were contacted about their absence, expressed that they felt important and had realized how their participation counted and affected the whole network. After this discussion, the development work about the customer processes and the challenges identified previously continued. The network discussed them from both the practical and strategic perspectives. Finally, in the November workshop, the network agreed on four different themes of development.

- Services for the marginalized customers, who fall outside the service network.
- Directing the customers towards the existing services.
- Creation and coordination of a shared care plan with other municipal actors.
- The development of home improvement practices for the elderly.

Within these themes, the network saw that flexible collaboration and understanding of the processes in their entirety was important. After the workshop, the network manager met with the manager of elderly care, and together, they decided that the network could continue as planned, which meant that the elderly care manager approved the development themes agreed upon in the November workshop. The commitment to the development grew strong during the first year of the development. A member of the network expressed this in the November workshop: *It feels that unit-level managers should be everywhere. It helps that our own supervisor is committed to this and prioritized this on our behalf, and thinks this is important. Who is the source of commitment, and who holds the strings; it makes all the difference.*

7.5.3 Collaboration for the solution in the COLLABORATION network

In January 2009, the network divided itself into four sub-networks, and from this point on, the network concentrated on the development of the decided themes. The network prepared for this phase by looking at the development needs on short- and long-term, and strategic and operational levels and planned the work of the sub-networks. The four sub-networks were:

- The home improvement network. This network consists of actors from around the municipality.
- Development of service housing aims at calculating the real costs of home care compared to service housing or institutional care.
- Customers that fall between the services, because they do not fill the service requirement, is the theme of the network managed by an elderly person, who belongs to the elderly committee. This network works closely in collaboration with the managers of elderly and health care.
- Planning the shared care plan (SAP) that was named as one of the development goals of this network.

In Figure 42, I have described the main events of this phase of networking and again showed in which levels of the organization these occur. What you can see from this figure is that a lot of actions have occurred at the management level of the organization, which includes the three departments in the social and health care organization. This fact shows how the managers of this network were involved in the development through keeping the decision-making of issues related to the development at the management level. What I have not addressed in the figure is the fact that the decision of the continuation of this network was done by the manager of the social and health care sector on a yearly basis.

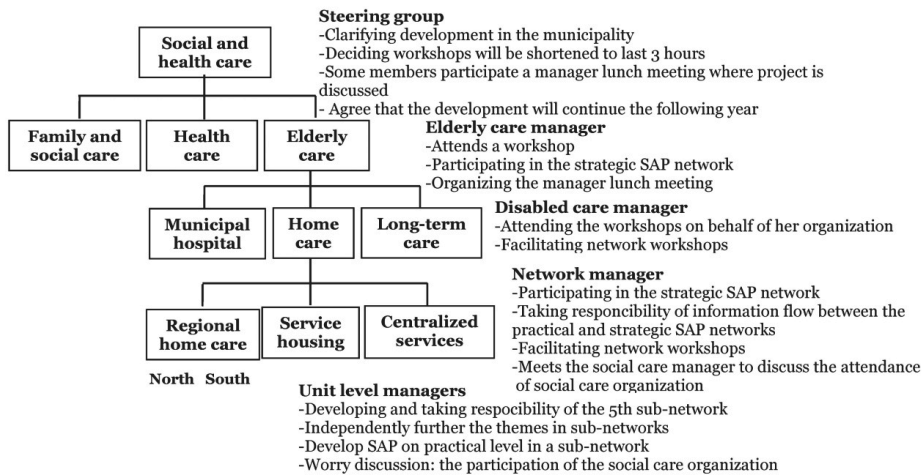


Figure 42. The main actions during collaborating for the solution phase in the COLLABORATION network in Espoo.

At the beginning of the year, the network was concerned about the possible lack of commitment and support from the management level. It was seen that the involvement of the management level would be important for the network. The allocation of work time to the network activities was considered especially important. On a relative note, the network decided to relieve their burden of combining other work and work on networks by shortening the future workshops to two to three hours, from the original four hours.

One example of the emphasis on the management level in the municipality Espoo is the incident of SAP development. In January 2009, another network was created in the municipality to solve the same challenge in the service production, as a SAP sub-network inside the COLLABORATION care network. This network worked on the strategic level and consisted of managers in the department and sub-department levels. When the overlap was recognized, this management-level network suggested that the operational-level sub-network would be integrated into the strategic one. However, the sub-network itself saw no overlap between these two networks, since the networks were developing the theme on different levels and concentrating on different issues. All actors agreed that coordination between these networks would be needed. The home care manager decided to take the responsibility of the coordination between the networks.

The developers in this network are expressing their concern about their role in the development of elderly care services. They are feeling that there are several development networks, but they are not invited to join or are even informed about these networks. The general feeling seems to be that the managers are only interested in the strategic-level development, where they participate themselves, and the development close to practices done closer to the

customer level is not that interesting to the managers and not seen as important.

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Researcher's note from the research diary

After the discussion about the two networks and their potential overlap, a lunch meeting between the researchers and the managers of the social and health care sector was held to discuss the issues of the development entity in Espoo and how the ongoing development fit the municipal strategy in the municipality of Espoo. In the lunch meeting, the issue of overlap between the two projects was brought up again. At the meeting, it became evident that there were issues in the SAP development in the municipality other than the overlap of the two networks, since another important group of people was excluded from the strategic level development. The group was the managers of home care in the areal level. The results of this development would, however, have a major impact on their everyday work. When this topic was brought up, the manager of health care did not see this as an issue, but the manager of elderly care saw this as a mistake and took the responsibility of inviting the home care managers to take part in the development of SAP. In the meeting, the managers also decided that from that point on, workshops would last three hours, instead of four, and that the new manager of social care would be invited to the workshops.

By April, there had been several negative incidents that made the network decide to have a worry discussion during a workshop. One of the themes of this worry discussion was the absence of members in the workshops. The concern was that the absence was a sign of a lack of both trust and commitment. As one of the reasons for the lack of trust and commitment, the network identified the uncertainty of the results of this network to be implemented in the hierarchical organization. The network was also concerned about what happens to the network when there are several independently working sub-networks that seemed to have taken ownership of the development goal of their sub-network. Some members of the network also felt that there seemed to be more commitment and trust within and towards the sub-networks than towards the COLLABORATION network. Another major concern brought up was the economic situation of Finland and the municipality.

Another concern within the network rose up during Spring 2009, due to the fact that the employees from the social care sub-department were not attending the network workshops. To tackle this concern, first the network and then the managers of the social and health care sector decided that the project

should try to find a solution to this concern and meet with the disabled care manager. This meeting was arranged before summer, in May. The manager of disabled care ensured that her organization is committed to the network, and the manager herself would start attending the workshops. The manager felt that the employees of her organization were overworked and had no time to allocate to the development. As the manager, she made the decision on their behalf. She felt that it was important to use the funding that the organizations had for the development, and that collaboration with home care was essential to her organization.

The new disabled care manager, who joined the social care organization in quite a late phase of the development project, has a lot of ideas of how their services should be developed, and what kind of resources they need, and also have to give to the COLLABORATION network. It also seems that the manager feels that when she attends the workshops, she can better direct the development to get the kind of reports from the network that she needs to make decisions in her organization. One could say that the participation of this new manager is changing the nature of the networking. Her strong personality is directing the development towards her organization's need.

Researcher's note from the research diary

In the meeting after the May workshops, the researchers and the managers decided on the development during the following fall. In the fall workshops, the network would further develop the shared customer processes, the case descriptions, and home improvements for the elderly, and in addition, to organize two seminars for the employees of the disabled and home care organizations.

The first workshop after the summer holidays was held in August. In this workshop, the manager of disabled care brought up the lack of resources the organization had in the time of several new legislations that had effected the organization, and many of which increased the work load of the social care workers. The elderly care manager visited this August workshop without warning. The network was somewhat confused about this appearance, but the visit was seen as a positive sign of interest on the elderly care manager's part. The manager expressed that for him, seeing the atmosphere the network collaborated in was very important.

When we, in the disabled care, are having a year of changes, I am the new organizational manager, and several social workers have changed as well. So, I'm somewhat sorry for them (the other network members) about the fact that the input from the manager and us, the social workers, might have been a little too small. From our organization, the participants can be mainly normal social workers. Certain social workers are, however, really committed.

The disabled care manager in the August workshop

In October, the steering groups of disabled and home care met in a joint steering group meeting, organized by the managers of elderly and health care. The aim of the meeting was to clarify all development work done in the municipality. It was felt that there was a considerable amount of overlap in the ongoing development in the municipality, while the resources for all development were scarce. Therefore, it was expressed that the entity of development in the sector must be streamlined, and there should only be five development networks, instead of the existing twelve projects. This need to reduce the number of development projects and form development networks gave rise to the discussion of the criteria to use in choosing which development projects should remain; for example, should the point of view of the customer be prioritized or that of the organization? To solve this issue, the steering groups decided to create a group among themselves that would take the responsibility of finding the right criteria and suggesting the projects to prioritize.

In September, it was time to bring the home improvement sub-network's results back to the whole network, discuss these results, and see how the network could ensure that the results were embedded into the service organization of the social and health care sector. What was peculiar about this presentation of the results of the sub-network was that the network manager of this sub-network had not invited the other members of the sub-network to attend the workshop. The network manager explained that she had so much work at the moment, that there was no time to invite the members from this sub-network.

The results of the home improvement network emphasized that in this type of hierarchical service production system, the proposed home improvements would require a responsible coordinator, since the service is spread over several organizations in different sectors, departments, and hierarchical levels of the organization. The suggestion was that the coordination could be achieved by forming a small unit, directly under the social and health care sector. The next step forward with home improvements was to bring it to the steering group meeting of home and social care. A group of four members of the network, including the network manager, took the responsibility of preparing the suggestion for the steering group meeting.

In November, the network organized two larger workshops for the employees of both organizations with the aim of increasing the employees' knowledge of each other and of the understanding that they treat the same customers. The managers of home and social care shared the responsibility of facilitating the workshops. The home care manager promised to ensure that the lower levels of management from home care organizations invited their employees to attend.

At this point of the development, we, the researchers, are feeling that facilitating and managing this network is heavy. This feels heavy, especially in comparison to the networks in Vantaa. One reason for this could be the fact that in Vantaa, all networks have a responsible person from the municipality within the key network, while in Espoo, a lot of responsibility is on the shoulders of the researchers. The network is taking less responsibility, and the willingness to make

decisions and commit is just not there. One reason for this could be that the managers are so eager to take all the responsibilities themselves, and there is no room for other members of the network to take responsibility. This is not only visible during the network workshops, but especially in the way the planning of the networking is done by the managers, especially the elderly care manager.

Researcher's note from the research diary

By the end of October 2009, the researchers were informed that the development in Espoo would continue in 2010. This decision was made by the manager above the social and health care sector and discussed in the steering group meeting of the social and health care departments in December. Before this meeting, a group of actors met to further develop the new network model discussed in the previous joint steering group meeting. This small group consisted of one researcher, the managers of the health and elderly care departments, and one specialist from the health care organization.

This kind of work in smaller groups and bringing a finished suggestion to the steering group was part of the normal hierarchical development in the municipality. The suggestion followed this type of development and included smaller groups responsible for themes that were identified within the development in the participating organizations. There would be a larger network that would be responsible for the entirety of the development, into which the smaller groups would bring their finished results.

The participants of the steering group meeting brought up the need for a network that ties the units together. This kind of network was seen as a forum for collaboration. The manager of health care emphasized the right measures for all action and customer services, as she saw these measures would show that something is accomplished in the unit level. The manager of elderly care, on the other hand, felt that the networks also need measures, not only the units.

7.5.4 Implementing the solution and the network practices in the COLLABORATION network

The implementation of the results of this network started in December 2009. It is to be noted that in this project, the aim was to implement the network itself as well as the results of the development. In December 2009, the network organized two network workshops that mark the beginning of the implementation phase. The network took the responsibility of network workshops already at the development phase and designed the workshop and group work to be done in the workshops. The implementation phase of the COLLABORATION network is described in Figure 43.

The two network workshops, that mark the beginning of the implementation of the solution and network practices phase, were designed to be similar, and the participants had the freedom to decide which one they would attend. In total, these two network workshops reached about 130 actors from the municipality. What describes the challenges of the latter phases of this collaboration is clear only in the attendance of the disabled care manager from the social

care department in the first workshop. The participants of the first workshop raised their concern about the attendance of the social care department, since only the manager of the department was present in the workshop. The participants wondered how the collaboration between the two organizations could be possible, if only the personnel of the other organization attended the joint events.

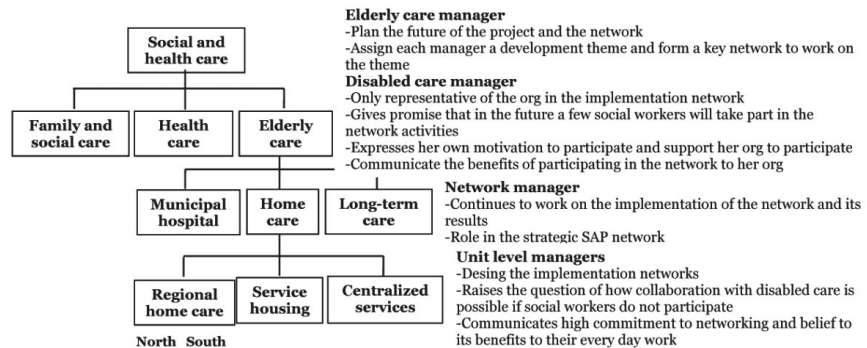


Figure 43. The main actions during implementation of the solution in the COLLABORATION network in Espoo.

This concern of the participants of the workshops brought up a dialogue between the participants and the manager of disabled care. The manager responded that the aim is to get a few social workers to participate in the network events regularly. She also expressed that she was motivated herself and would continue participating in the network activities, and moreover, that her participation translates as the participation of the whole organization. She also felt that the development done in the network and the network itself had been beneficial to the disabled care organization.

At this point, the researchers felt that the networking of the two larger network workshops was gaining results. The researchers could hear the members talk about the network positively and, finally at this point, the understanding was that networking is part of normal work, a way to reach the organizational and personal work goals, not something separate from the everyday work in the hierarchical position. One home care employee described the benefits of the collaboration in the 2010 evaluation interview: *“Maybe one concrete thing is that the social worker now has a face, is known, and is no longer some institution that makes these scary distant decisions somewhere. Also, they think and work for the best of a person (elderly). It is now easier to contact and even ask if they would go visit a customer’s home together with us.”*

After the two network workshops, the implementation of the results of this network continued as part of the everyday work, both in the home care sub-department and in the disabled care department. The home improvement sub-network’s suggestion was accepted by the municipal elderly care steering

committee and was found a place in the organizational structure. The sub-network of the development of service housing was able to calculate the real cost of home care, and these results were widely published and discussed in the elderly and health care departments. What happened to the SAP sub-network, that was part of this network, was that the other network in the higher level of the organization took over this network, and some parts of it moved into the other development group.

During the implementation phase, the project organization in Espoo, which included the researchers and the managers of elderly, health and home care, together with a couple of other high-level managers met to plan the future of networking and the whole DCWSA project in Espoo. The idea these managers had was for each of them to take responsibility of a development theme and, in an interval of a few months to half a year, to meet with a wider network to discuss the development done by this key network of managers. The project did not follow how this plan was actualized.

8. Analysis and results of the empirical findings

Here, I will analyze and discuss the empirical findings from the case study of the three networks together with the theoretical framework and the research questions. The aim of this dissertation has been to understand where the paradox of public management comes from and to examine how the public manager can cope with the management of both the hierarchical organization and the networks. In the theoretical framework and the research questions, I suggest that we need to begin with understanding the process of networking and the actions that should be classified as network management.

In presenting the analysis of the case study, I will discuss each of the phases through the process, the network management, and the participation and roles of the public manager. After discussing each of the phases, I compose the analysis of the final model of the networking process into the matrix of network management that presents the earlier network management functions and the new functions found in this study. Finally, as the main contribution of this study, I will present the model of the participation and roles of the public manager in enabling networking.

8.1 Planning the process of networking phase

Planning the process of networking refers to the actions done in an organization to create an atmosphere and conditions that support networking. This means allocating resources and motivating employees to participate in networking. Organizations have their own level of readiness to engage in collaboration, as their conditions, including organizational strategy, may support or hinder networking. The phase of planning the process of networking effects the form and the effectiveness of the later phases of the networking (Doz, Olk and Ring, 2000), which highlights the importance of understanding this phase as a part of networking, even if it mainly takes place inside an organization.

In the studied organizations, this phase was mainly in the hands of the elderly care managers in the department level. The public manager was the one to lay the foundation for networking through direct involvement in the actions of this phase, which supports Das and Teng (1998), who have found that an organizational manager enables the process of networking not only by changing the structure of the organization to support networking, but also by creating an atmosphere that supports networking, for example, by simply bringing the support for networking. During this first phase of networking, the role of the

public manager from the department level was significant and even critical in all three networks, which supports the findings from Mandell (2004) and indicates that the public manager has an important role in the beginning phase of the process of networking and his/her involvement can even be necessary at this early phase.

What further emphasizes the department- or sector-level manager's role in the phase of planning the process of networking is connected to the strategy of the organization. Namely, before permission to form a network is given, there has to be a shared understanding that the network fits the organizational strategy. This evaluation took place in all the case networks, and the task was assigned to the public manager in the departmental level. After ensuring the overall fit with the organizational strategy, the managers wanted to engage in planning the networking processes by creating general guidelines to direct networking from the beginning. In the case networks, this meant that the manager outlined at least the principal development themes, and the personnel was presented with a clear plan of networking and its role in the development work in the department, sub-departments, and units of elderly care.

In all the three participating organizations, the beginning of the networking process required authorization from either the sector- or department-level managers, as well as from the steering group of the department, and even from the steering group of the sector. This is another factor that stresses the involvement of the department- or sector-level manager in this phase of networking, as the manager has to have a clear plan for the development to gain acceptance from the higher levels of the hierarchy. In all of the networks, the department-level manager defined the aim of the development, and, in both of the municipalities, the networks and the development were aligned to the existing organizational strategy. In Espoo, there was a strong managerial understanding that the strategy should guide all development and that the strategy is to be done by the management.

In all the networks, the public manager from the department-level brought up the idea of creating the network in the organization and initiated the process of networking. In Vantaa, the manager of the elderly and disabled care organization let others decide who the network members should be and the choice of aim and the themes was done collectively by a larger group of municipal actors. In Espoo, all these decisions were made by the manager of the elderly care department.

To sum up the findings of planning the processes of the networking phase in the cases, I would like to stress the importance of understanding that each of the participating organizations has their own readiness to participate in the network activities. This readiness is created during this first phase of networking. Later during the process of networking, this readiness is transformed into the network's collective conditions that create an atmosphere, conditions, and structure to support networking. It is also important to note that the role of the public manager from the department level is important, and the participation either as a member of the network or from an organizational position is clearly required during the planning of the process of networking.

8.1.1 Managerial actions during the planning the process of networking

As stated before, the process of networking is initiated by an organizational need and a belief that this need is most effectively and successfully addressed through a network. During planning of the process of a networking phase, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between the actions that belong to the public manager and the actions that belong to a network manager, since this phase mainly takes place inside an organization. The managerial actions in this phase include, for example, the identification of the right participants and resources within the organization. In the inter-organizational context, this can also mean the identification of other potential organizations. In the researched networks, these tasks fell to the elderly care manager, mainly since many of these tasks were done before appointing the network manager. Such tasks include presenting the idea of networking and its potential benefits for the elderly care service production to the higher levels of the municipal organization (see, for example, the organizational charts in chapter 2).

In Vantaa HOME and INFORMAL networks, the network manager was identified among the first members from the home and disabled care organization. Later, the chosen network manager participated in the identification of other potential members. Also, in Espoo, the chosen network manager supported the elderly care manager in finding the right members to the network, while the decision of the network manager was made solely by the elderly care manager in the department level.

After gaining permission for the creation of the network and appointing the network manager, the next managerial task is to sell the idea of networking to potential partners. The main responsibility of selling the idea by motivating, inspiring, and committing the potential partner organizations was on the shoulders of the elderly care manager. In the networks where the network manager was appointed and was from the sub-departmental level, the network manager took part in these activities in a supporting role. In all the three case networks, the network manager was a person with extensive experience working in the municipality and was well-connected, but the manager of the INFORMAL network, who came from the supervisor level close to the customers, had a very small role. Her role in motivating potential members of the network was concentrated mainly in the home care unit level in her own organization.

All network managers had an important role in inviting the organizational actors to the network, so that the networks would avoid the normal hierarchy-based appointing to a position by their superior, which could result in resistance, lack of motivation, and questioning of the appointment at later phases of networking. In Espoo, for example, the network manager participated in inviting the disabled care department to the collaboration by personally attending one of their meetings and talking to the manager of the department directly.

The network managers of HOME and COLLABORATION networks took part in planning the networking process and defining the development themes. The role of the network manager was to offer an opinion of the suggestions as an expert in home care development. What we were trying to achieve in these

networks was to remain in as abstract level as possible in the planning by the elderly care manager and the network manager. We researchers emphasized this, since some of the planning should be left to the network itself, in order to give its members the feeling of empowerment and to fully utilize their knowledge of producing home care services from their point of view. In the studied networks, the public manager decided on the development method and chose workshops as the main forum of development. Together with the potential members of each network, the network manager was able to decide on the timetables, as well as the kind of development tools and discussion methods would be used in the workshops and between them, as individual assignments or as sub-network responsibilities.

In this kind of a hierarchical context, there seem to be tasks that can only be performed by the department- or sector-level public manager, such as the elderly care manager, and many of the decisions made in the planning the process of networking phase are of such organizational importance, that they require permission from either the public manager from sector or department levels, or even the steering group of the organization. This limits the responsibility a network manager can assume at this early phase of networking. Also, while in this phase, a majority of all actions take place in the higher levels of the organization; the extent the network manager can affect this action depends on his or her own organizational level and authority in the organization. It can even be that there is no network manager at this phase of the process, but this role is fulfilled in the phase of constructing the network.

Public manager as Initiator or Enabler

To begin with, from all the four phases of networking, the role of the public manager from the sector and departmental levels was strongest in the planning of the process of networking phase. Supporting the earlier finding of Mandell (2004), there clearly is a minimum level of involvement of the public manager that is required. In this phase, the friction between the management of organizations and the management of networks was low, as the shaping of the planning of the process of networking phase took place inside the organization of elderly care and was created by the need to collaborate for a specific reason identified by the organization itself. That is, in this phase, there is some room and need for the public manager's role that influences networking by managing the hierarchy through the use of power and authority of the formal system, while in later phases, the informal systems of authority should be the basis for collaboration between the actors from different organizations.

As I already mentioned in the analysis of the managerial activities, during this phase, the network benefits the most from active participation of the public manager. Since this phase takes place mainly inside the organization, the public manager was even able to be the owner of this phase and, for example, use the reputation that stems from the organizational role and the position in the hierarchical system.

Based on the empirical research, I propose that defining and allocating organizational resources is the most essential managerial task in this phase, when it comes to successfully achieving the goal of this phase and beginning

the actual collaborative actions as a network. With this in mind I have defined the following two roles for the public manager in the planning of the process of networking phase: Initiator and Enabler.

As an *Initiator*, the public manager from the departmental or sector level is an active member of the network and initiates the creation of the network as well as takes the responsibility of the first actions in creating the network. The Initiator is the role that entails actions and tasks that to some extent have already been suggested by some of the previous public management research. This also implies the fact that many researchers have seen the planning phase as a part of the organizational activities and excluded the phase from the networking process. My findings suggest an important active role for the public manager in this first phase of networking.

The tasks of the Initiator include choosing and later, potentially inviting actors from their own and other organizations to join the network and creating a draft of an action plan for the network, which can be used in explaining the idea of the network to the organizational actors, who can authorize the networking, as well as to potential network members. As an Initiator, the public manager takes a risk to show trust and communicates long-term equity, which should be the perspectives of networking. (Das and Teng, 1998)

From an outside role, the public manager can act as an Enabler. This role is something new for the public manager's influence in the network activities, and it is the first in a new stream of enabling outside roles of the public manager. Regarding the framework of the study, this role supports the enabling influence of public management in the networks in a context such as the hierarchically organized elderly care production.

In the studied networks, the public manager worked closely with the network manager, and based on the findings of the study, it seems evident that there is room for the role of an outsider supporting the network manager, instead of taking the responsibility for most of the managerial tasks of this phase by, for example, allocating organizational resources to networking. The experience from Vantaa showed that when the network manager is from a higher level of the hierarchy, her influence, especially in their own organization, in inviting and motivating potential members to participate is high enough to ensure the success of this phase. One of the most important tasks of an Enabler is to appoint the right network manager that begins planning networking.

When we look at the actions of the department-level managers as Enablers, they had the role of changing the practices of the organization to support the collaborative activities and also of creating an atmosphere that supported networking, for example, by bringing forth this support both to the bodies higher up in the hierarchy as well as to the personnel. This includes the understanding of the prevailing norms, values, and culture of the organization and how these must support all types of collaborative activities. (Das and Teng, 1998) To be successful in this role, a public manager has to trust and allow the network manager and the personnel to contribute to the norms, values, and culture of the network as potential members of the network.

8.1.2 Constructing the network phase

The goal of the constructing the network phase is to create the network, which might even mean choosing the network manager, then choosing and inviting members to the network, and finally, taking the individual prior conditions of each of the participating organizations and adjusting them into shared conditions that enable and support networking.

The goals of this phase already describe the transition from the emphasis being in the organization towards the network as the main responsible actor. Based on the empirical study, I suggest that while the actions and the main responsibility gradually shift from the public manager from the departmental level towards the lower levels of the hierarchy and the chosen network members, the role of the public manager changes, and the need for active participation of the public manager lessens.

The motivation to engage in the constructing of the network phase is a product of supportive prior conditions, that are created during the planning of the networking phase, and the conscious decision to take a calculated risk from the organization and public manager's part. This means that the organization should already have an understanding of the desired benefits of networking. This could be, for example, how the process can contribute to achieving the organizational strategy.

While in the first phase of networking, the first members of the network are identified and contacted, the beginning of this second phase starts with actually inviting the potential members to the network meetings and workshops. How much time and effort this phase requires clearly depended on the readiness of each of the initial organization of the network members and the selected members to engage in networking. The research findings support the fact that the personal level of readiness is highly dependent on the readiness and support of the originating organizations of the members. In the cases, there was evidence that a lack of supporting structures and atmosphere in the originating organization can create pressure that results in a lack of motivation to participate in the construction of the network.

For example, despite the attempt to avoid assigning people to the network, this happened with some members of the network that came from home care in both the HOME and COLLABORATION networks. This was the result of the decision to concentrate on the development of home care, and it followed that some of the home care personnel were assigned based on their role in the organization. For example, the elderly care manager had decided that the home care managers from the areal unit levels would participate in the network activities. Some of these assigned members expressed a very negative attitude towards networking and against spending their time in networking activities. This hostility had a negative effect on the network members' attempt to coordinate and combine the requirements and practices of their originating hierarchical organizations and networks and prevented them from being willing to step away from their organizational roles and negotiate new information-based roles, which Agranoff and McGuire (2004) consider essential to successful networking. This generally takes time, as it requires creation of shared

norms, values, and culture, which constitute the network's new social control mechanisms. (Das and Teng, 1998)

To demonstrate the previous point about negative attitude towards networking, in the Vantaa HOME network, for example, the organization had earlier participated in several development projects, and at the beginning of this phase, the members expressed their lack of trust towards development projects, since they felt the development will end after the project again, and the results of the work done will disappear with the project.

In this phase, it was evident that communication is the key to success and a way to motivate the members of the network to participate. Open communication and negotiations ensured a shared understanding of the resource requirements and the benefits of being a member of the network, both from the personal and the organizational perspectives. Negotiations held at meetings before organizing a workshop and in the first workshops played an important role in finding a mutual agreement on the network structures, processes, and routines and in building network strategy.

In the case networks, the emphasis put into this phase varied considerably. It seemed that the lower in the hierarchy the network manager came from (unit, areal unit levels), the more emphasis was placed in building the network and especially building trust. It is not evident, however, why this was the case. Still, in the INFORMAL network, where the network manager came from the unit level close to the customer care level, the creation of trust was prioritized from the beginning of this phase, and only when the level of trust was jointly discussed and thought to be high did the network shift the emphasis to the development task itself. One explanation could be that when a network manager comes from this level does (s)he need to build trust and commitment to replace the lack of authority in the organization. In this network, the drama method and a worry discussion are examples of the methods used to create trust and commitment.

What marked the end of this phase was the trust and commitment expressed towards the other members of the network and the achieved shared understanding of what the network is going to develop and how the development should proceed. When these were agreed upon, and the members were committed to the network, did the action of the process of networking concentrate on the development of the solution.

Managerial actions during the construction of the network

As described earlier, constructing the network phase brings the members of the network together and creates a shared understanding of the purpose of networking by uniting different actors to work on the goal. To begin with, based on the experience from the development of the network during the four-year project, I claim that the most critical managerial action regarding the construction of the network is that of ensuring that this phase takes place. This is, however, challenging in the hierarchical context, since the constructing the network phase does not necessarily advance the creation of the solution or show tangible results regarding the goals and purpose of networking. In the hierarchy, there might be some impatience regarding finding the solution to

the identified challenges that guide networking. This can be partly a result of the hierarchical structure itself; for example, the manager of elderly care might feel the pressure to present results to the manager of social and health care, who has accepted the networking, but is far enough from the work done in the network to see the need to spend time in the creation of trust and commitment.

Network management actions and tasks in this phase included the facilitation of discussions and negotiations, during which, the members of the network tapped into the resources the network had and evaluated these resources together with the resource requirements. I suggest that one of the most important managerial tasks, that is part of the responsibilities of the network manager during this phase, is to ensure that the members of the network negotiate and develop rules for their internal interaction and adjust their culture and used language to suit the network in order to move closer to the shared purpose and goal of networking. This means facilitating discussions that reveal the operating rules that the members are expecting to bring to the network as well as the perceptions the members have about the purpose and goals of networking. It is easy to see the network manager having a role in this, since the network manager is one of the members of the network and, thereby, closer to the network than the public manager from the sector and department levels.

A managerial effort, that in the studied networks was assigned to the network managers, was also a creation of the sense of interdependency and trust among the members of the network and confidence towards the networking. This included creating communication channels and rules inside the network. Depending on the status of the network manager in the hierarchy, the public manager might have to assume a bigger role in creating communication channels towards all originating organizations and stakeholders. This means that the public manager should at this phase create, and later maintain, the portfolio of relationships (Ritter and Gemünden, 2003), while the network manager can be in charge of creating and maintaining the internal relationships and learning. To achieve this, coordination skills were clearly of special importance.

This phase takes time but, at the same time, does not produce tangible results, which the public managers can see as a waste of time or as idling in the networks. Already in this phase, the network can hear the question of what they have achieved or what kind of results they have to present. The network manager is in the position to act between the network and the public manager to ensure that there is time for trust and commitment. In the HOME and COLLABORATION networks, the manager of elderly care worked very closely with the network manager. In the INFORMAL care network, the network coordinator assumed this role of working closely with the elderly care manager, which, I suggest, is due to the position of the network manager in the hierarchy, which also meant that the network manager and the elderly care manager did not have a history of working together closely.

This phase highlights the public manager's ability and sensitivity to be able to listen and trust the network manager to be able to determine how much

time and effort should be placed in the construction of the network and especially on building trust and commitment.

Public manager as Facilitator and Supporter

The empirical findings suggest that during the constructing the network phase, the role of the public manager can still be strong without conflicting with the network-type of governance. For example, organizational reputation and authority were still needed to work for the benefit of the network. In the case, the public manager initiated the process of networking and had the ownership of the first phase of networking; here, the ownership should be gradually shifted to the network. A tight hold of the networking activities seemed to rush the network to move towards the creation of the solution and shorten the time and effort placed on the constructing the network phase.

The public manager can still have an active role in network activities. This role is as a Facilitator. It builds on the existing literature on the role of the public manager in networking, as well as on the empirical findings, based on which, there are situations where the participation of the manager is required. As an outsider, the manager can adopt the role of a Supporter. This requires a relatively independent network with an empowered network manager, who has influence and authority in the hierarchical organization, for example, a sub-department-level manager

In the studied cases, the public managers are having an important role in creating an atmosphere of empowerment to allow the network members not only to participate in networks, but also to make decisions and take responsibility. A member of the network can make decisions that are not strategic, but handle, for example, the use of time and resources in networking and taking responsibility of sharing the learning and the experience from the network to the home organization, for example, in the areal home care unit. 'It is not part of my job' is an excuse we heard a lot when it came to taking responsibility.

Researcher's note from the research diary

The Facilitator is a role the public manager can adopt as an active member of the network, and in this role, the manager actively participates in the creation of the network by facilitating interactions and negotiations and developing suitable control mechanisms, as well as placing special attention to the need for formal control mechanisms, which, studies show, have the potential to have a negative effect on trust. (see, Das and Teng, 1998) As a potential pitfall for strong managerial participation, the findings of this study propose that social control mechanisms should be mutually agreed upon, not decided by the public manager alone.

As an active member in the network, the Facilitator can facilitate the negotiations on the shared goal, the development of the network structure, and the resources each member should deliver to the network. A Facilitator creates opportunities for the creation of trust and commitment. In other words, during this phase, the public manager can take the responsibility of the management of the network either as the network manager or together with the net-

work manager. However, it is important to note that the use of hierarchical authority inside the network against members of the network is a potential cause of conflicts, especially in this phase. One example of such potential conflict in the studied network was emphasizing the immediate results of the process of networking over the creation of trust and commitment.

The Supporter is an enabling role, which the public manager can adopt, while remaining outside the network. From this role, the public manager is able to evaluate an organization's investment in networking and ensure that the participating members have enough support for their efforts to work and divide their time for both the organization and the network. Regarding the trust and control mechanisms issue, the manager from this outside position can ensure that the network is choosing the right type of control mechanisms. (Das and Tang, 1998)

As a Supporter, the manager also ensures that the right members have been invited to the network based on the resources and capabilities they have, instead of naming members based on their role in the hierarchical organization. Agranoff and McGuire (2004) use the term information-based empowerment to describe this kind of allocation of positions and roles in networks. Here, the public manager also creates a supporting atmosphere inside the organization as the network is being formed and the requirements of systematic networking take shape.

8.1.3 Collaborating for the solution

A well carried out constructing of the network phase allows the network to concentrate on the actual development task during the collaborating for the solution phase. During this phase, the emphasis is on achieving the goal of networking, and the construction of the network, that still takes place in the dynamic process of networking, mainly means reacting to the external pressures and the changes in the network structure or even the purpose and the goal of the network.

During the research process it became evident that various organizational pressures often affect the concentration on the development activities. In the studied networks, this required constant monitoring of the environment of the network. All case networks experienced a lot of changes that came from outside the network. A majority of these changes were related to the fact that the economic situation in Finland deteriorated, and this affected the municipalities directly. This economic downturn resulted in a tighter budget for the networks. In the INFORMAL network, for example, the original target group of developed services was narrowed down from including all informal caregivers in the municipality, to those who already had the official status of an informal caregiver.

What also describes this phase is the shared responsibility of the development the network should take. As the name suggests, the phase requires true collaboration between the participating organizations and the network members. This responsibility includes active communication and involvement of the stakeholders to the development. For the individual network member that

meant ensuring that their originating organizations were not only informed about the progress of the development, but also actively given a chance to express and share their opinion and expertise. I would claim that this kind of interaction with the originating organizations is a pre-requirement for the last phase of networking, which is the implementation of the results or the network structure itself, depending on the purpose of the network.

In the studied municipal hierarchically organized context, there had earlier been challenges in implementing new solutions into the service production. The elderly care management in both municipalities expressed the frustration that the rest of the organization did not apply their ideas, while the customer care level felt that the management tried to implement solutions that they did not need. It was clearly expressed by both sides that there was a lack of communication and more participative development methods were needed. In the case networks, the originating organizations were informed about the developments through larger network workshops and seminars that were held once or twice a year. One of the benefits of these workshops and seminars was identifying possible overlap in the municipal service development and receiving new resources from the stakeholders both regarding this and the following implementation phase. This is another example that illustrates the dynamic nature of networks.

The development in this phase can also include finding the best practices and visiting organizations that have developed and implemented something similar. In both HOME and INFORMAL networks, the network or a sub-network visited other municipalities that already had similar developments in place as was planned in their network. Also, collecting data to support the development is important; in the studied networks, data was collected about previous developments in the municipality, other municipalities' solutions for similar challenges, and international solutions for the elderly and home care service development.

Information sharing between the members of the networks was also crucial and helped the networks better understand the whole service production entity, which helped them in developing home care services and finding challenges that the customer faced in the whole service production, but which were invisible to the municipal members of the networks. In the COLLABORATION network, for example, the original idea was to create better and more systematic collaborative practices, but the discussions in the first network workshop with other actors, who also worked with the same customers extended the understanding of the challenge and resulted in inviting several new members to the network and, eventually, also in new development goals.

Since the municipal context is hierarchical and bureaucratic and the implementation of any solution always requires permission from the steering groups from different levels of the hierarchy, piloting is a common way to show how the developed solution works, as it is a way to test and perfect the solution before the final implementation into the service system.

Another important issue during the collaborating for the solution phase is evaluation. I have already discussed the dynamic nature of networking and

reaction to the changes in the network and its environment, and here, I want to highlight the importance of constant evaluation as an integral part of this phase. In the studied networks, the evaluation of the networking processes and the progress of the development was done both continuously and in regular intervals. After every workshop, the network manager collected feedback from the participants, and in the next workshops, this feedback was openly discussed with the network. Also, piloting was used as a way to evaluate the developed solution and its applicability to the service system.

Managerial actions during collaboration for the solution

While in this phase, the responsibility of the development and the ownership of the phase finally belongs to the network, the role of the network manager is also easier to separate from the role of the public manager. For example, I would claim that reacting to internal changes in the network is a task for the network manager. While this phase can last a long time, there might be several changes inside the network as well. In the HOME network, even the network manager changed three times during this phase, which required a lot of trust and commitment towards the purpose of the network from the rest. The change of the network manager each time was a test of the network members' unity and ownership of the network activities, since the network members had to take the responsibility of introducing the new network manager to the networking activities. In the HOME network, the first new network manager also put the purpose of the network to the test when she brought in new ideas that were based on her own organizational role and position.

In the case networks, the network manager had a role in monitoring the network and influencing the operating rules, the atmosphere, and changes in trust and commitment. There were many changes in the member composition of the networks as well, as some members changed their employer or were relocated to a position in the originating organization that did not allow or require participation in that network. Finding a new network manager is a responsibility of the public manager, but finding new network members to replace those who leave the network can be done by the network manager. The change in the composition of network members usually happened after summer break and frustrated the remaining members of the network, and the network manager had to facilitate open discussions with all the members of the network about the reasons and the consequences of these changes.

In the INFORMAL network, several members of the network left after summer break, and this required special effort from the network manager and support from the public manager to regain the trust of the network members towards the network and its importance. The remaining members of the INFORMAL network saw the departure of several members as a threat to the network and expressed frustration over having to introduce new members to the network and go through the effort of getting to know new people. The network manager, who was very close to the majority of the network members due to the positions in the hierarchy, had a big role in introducing new members and creating a more positive atmosphere in the network.

As the collaborating for the solution phase can last a long period of time, the level of trust and commitment is bound to change. The changes in the studied networks were triggered by internal conflicts, changes in the environment, and by conflicts between the network and the hierarchy. When the conflicts arise between the network and the hierarchy, the public manager has a strong role in solving these conflicts. Also, sometimes the actions of the public manager cause these conflicts. In one of the studied networks, in Espoo, for example, the public manager stressed that she was the one who would make the final decisions regarding the development and was willing to wait for the network's suggestion for the solution only for a limited time.

In Vantaa, the department-level public manager's decision to reject one of the suggestions of the HOME network in a steering group meeting lowered the motivation and trust towards networking. This required collaboration between the network manager and the public manager in finding a way to prevent these kinds of situations; and a decision was made to change how the steering group operates. This implies that the organization was so committed to networking as the way to develop home care services, that it was willing to change how it operated to ensure the success of the networking. This leads to one important finding of the study: The hierarchy and the public manager need to be flexible in supporting networking in later phases as well, not only in the collaborating for the solution phase.

One of the most important managerial actions during this phase was communication and knowledge transfer. These actions had three directions. Firstly, communication inside the organization must be ensured and all actors, including the members of the network and the stakeholders, be informed of everything that happens inside the network. Ensuring this was the responsibility of the public manager. In the studied networks, the failure to communicate with all the members caused conflicts, especially in the early stages of networking and every time new members were added to the network. Secondly, to ensure the legitimacy and fit with the originating organizations, a two-sided communication with the organizations has to be established and maintained. This calls for tight collaboration between the network and the public managers. Thirdly, the stakeholders of the network have to be communicated with and their knowledge used in the development, which, again, was done in collaboration between the network and the public manager.

Public manager as Expert and Connector

The analysis suggests that of all the four phases of the process of networking, it is during this phase when the role of the public manager can be the least participative, without the public management losing the enabling effect on this process. Depending on the effect and the participation of the public manager in the earlier phases of networking, the role of the public manager can potentially be very small, and the manager can concentrate on the role outside the network, the role as the public manager at the sector or department level.

During the phase of collaborating for the solution, the public manager can act as an information broker between the organization and the network and ensure that the network is aware of the possible changes in the organizational

context. To fulfill this task, the manager can be either an Expert or a Connector.

As an active network member, an Expert works as an equal to other members of the network, which means that in the process of networking, the manager steps away from the organizational role as the manager of the sector or the department and contributes to the network with knowledge from the field (for example, elderly care, health care, or social care) in hand. This kind of role as an equal member of the network is something new in the public management discussion, but empirical findings suggest that there is room for this kind of participation of the public manager. This kind of role is most suitable for networks that are strategic and closer to the responsibilities of the manager. I would, however, like to point out the potentiality of this role in other types of networks as well. In practice, this role is challenging, since enabling networking requires participation based on the knowledge of the public manager that can contribute to the network, but the use of authority and power associated with the role can have a negative effect on networking.

The Connector is a role outside the network. The most important action for the public manager as a Connector is to ensure the flow of information inside the organization regarding the network as well as to the network from other relevant organizations and stakeholders. In other words, the public manager acts vis-à-vis the network manager and is responsible for the information sharing inside the organization in the same way as the network manager is inside the network. This kind of a role emphasizes proactive information sharing and potentially increases the level of trust and commitment towards networking, which, in this study, was found critical to the success of the process of networking in a hierarchical context such as the studied elderly care service production.

8.1.4 Implementing the solution and the network practices

Using the same reasoning as before, regarding the planning of the process of networking phase, I assert that implementing the solution and the network practices is a separate phase in the process of networking. Here, we can again see a shift in the responsibility, as the focus turns back to the organization, and the network members have roles as change agents, instead of having the responsibility of the phase as a whole. Also, the main action takes place in the organization. This phase is also critical, since it influences the extent the organizations can capitalize on their participation in the networks.

Empirical findings indicate that the hierarchical nature of municipal organizations challenges the implementation of the solution and the systematic approach to networking, which includes communication with all the relevant actors. What also became evident is that the involvement of the stakeholders prepares the organization to the implementation and, at the same time, ensures that the network development corresponds to the requirements of the originating organizations.

In the studied networks, piloting was found to be a good way to perform the final adjustments to the solution created by the network, and at the same time,

piloting provided the network and the organizations an opportunity to work together to develop the final solution. Here, I again want to stress that I am analyzing the initiating organizations, and all of the participating organizations have their own implementation processes, decide the level of involvement in piloting, and have the final say in whether to implement the solution and/or which form of it.

What I also learned from the three case networks is that in this kind of a hierarchical context, the future of a network is uncertain after the creation of the targeted solution. In the studied networks, external funding ended together with the project, which partly explains the fact that the organizations tried to find a way to organize and further develop services without the networks as such.

The two municipalities ended up with different solutions for continuing the work of the networks. In Espoo, some of the development work was moved to the managerial level of elderly, disabled, and health care organizations. The researcher was left with the impression that there was no willingness to continue most of the development activities through networks and to assign the time and resources of personnel to the future development work. In Vantaa, the networks also did not continue in the same form as they were during the DCWSA project, but in Vantaa, the solutions created were made parts of the service production structure. In other words, changes were made in the organization to allow for and ensure the implementation of the services and collaborative practices created by the networks.

Managerial actions during implementation of the solution and the network practices

During this phase, the action shifts towards the organizations, and the role of the network changes, as does the role of the network manager. The network manager should be able to keep the network motivated and engaged during the whole implementation phase. This requires the right kind of resources for the network as well as the involvement of relevant actors. Based on the participative research, I argue that one of the main actors in this phase is again the public manager. How crucial the active participation of the public manager is depends on the role of the network manager in the hierarchical organization and how much authority he has from this organizational role.

Authority is required to complete this phase, since the implementation of the solution might require changes in the organizational structure and the operating mode. I would again emphasize the role of collaboration between the network and the public managers in achieving success in the implementation phase. A central aspect in the network manager's actions is the documentation of all phases of the networking process and especially the possible piloting that is done either in this or the previous phase of networking. Documentation is crucial, because during this phase, new actors are involved in networking, and it is essential for these new actors to understand what has been done and what the solution is. Moreover, the network manager may be requested to continue the dissemination of the network structure after the creation of the targeted

solution; this would further increase proper documentation and evaluation of networking.

Public manager as Driver and Structurer

The results suggest that the role of the public manager is again stronger in this implementation phase. Previous network and network management research fails to understand this importance, since the implementation phase is not widely studied as a part of the networking process in public management research. This is partly explained by the fact that the emphasis of action during this phase is shifting away from the network towards the organization, which has earlier offered a reason to exclude this phase from networking. However, the empirical results of this study strongly support the importance of including this phase into the process and regarding the actions of the public manager essential to the success of the implementation process.

The public manager can motivate the implementation from the hierarchical position or as a member of the network by ensuring the structural changes that are possibly needed in the organization to allow the implementation. The enabling roles in this phase are called Driver and Structurer.

As a Driver, the public manager is part of the network and adopts a double role of being part of the network and the public manager of a department or a sector. This kind of a double role refers to the paradox of public management and means delicate balancing between the roles of the network member and the public manager. What is important is the understanding of both roles and the actions that belong to them. In all the three networks, the manager personally ensured that the network had the resources to be part of the implementation of the solution and that relevant stakeholders were activated. A Driver motivates and, at the same time, ensures that the implementation is documented, the possible piloting phase is evaluated, and the solution is developed further based on the experiences of piloting and the early phases of implementation. This again calls for very close collaboration with the network manager.

Adopting the role of the Structurer brings clarity to the participation of the public manager, since the Structurer works from outside the network. A Structurer creates an atmosphere in the organization that supports implementation and gives the networks full support during the implementation phase. As the public manager, the Structurer has the possibility to change the structure of the organization as required by the implementation and also to affect the future of the network, for which there are several alternatives. After the implementation, the network can be disseminated, assigned another development target, or restructured for another purpose.

8.2 The final model of the process of networking

While earlier research has mainly concentrated on three phases of networking, the empirical findings from this study support the division of the process into four phases. This means adding planning and preparing for the collective actions to the process. Here, this phase is called planning the process of network-

king and refers to the actions done in an organization to prepare for the collective networking activities. In Table 8, I have listed the phases as well as the responsible actor, goal, and the main action unique to each phase. These three factors that indicate a phase follow from the findings of the empirical study and relate to the question of how the process of networking should be understood and planned in phases.

Table 8. The process of networking with four phases.

PLANNING THE PROCESS OF NETWORKING	CONSTRUCTING THE NETWORK	COLLABORATING FOR THE SOLUTION	IMPLEMENTING THE SOLUTION AND NETWORK/NETWORK PRACTICES
Main responsibility of the phase	Main responsibility of the phase	Main responsibility of the phase	Main responsibility of the phase
The organization	Individual actors	The network	The organization
Goal	Goal	Goal	Goal
To create an atmosphere inside the organization that enable and support inter-organizational networking	Construct a network by adjusting the goals of participating organizations into shared goal and conditions that support networking	Developing the solution and the network, reacting to the changes in the environment of the network and the network itself	Capitalize the gain from participating in the networking by implementing the solutions or the network to the prevailing structure
Main Actions	Main Actions	Main Actions	Main Actions
Determining the need for networking, allocating, empowering the personnel to participate	Determining the resource requirements for the network, finding and inviting members to the network, finding shared goal and establishing rules and practices for the network	Developing the solution and the network, reacting to the changes in the environment of the network and the network itself	Making the required changes to the service system and the structures of the organization to enable the implementation of the solution and/or the network and network practices.

To give structure to the process of networking, it is important to understand that during networking, the responsibility of a phase and its goal, as well as the actions of the network, shift from the organization to the network and back to the organization. This finding is clearly related to the role of the public manager in enabling networking and understanding the paradox of public management, as this indicates that the way the network receives the involvement of the public manager can change alongside this shift. An interesting finding from the case shows that the main responsibility of the actions at the beginning and in the implementation phase of networking belongs to the organization. In between these phases, the responsibility shifts first to the individual actors, and then to the network as a whole. The findings suggest that during these two middle phases, the responsibilities are further away from the public manager than during the first and the last phase.

What will also help in understanding the process of networking as a dynamic cyclical process is determining not only the goal of each phase but also the main action. In the first phase, the goal is to create an atmosphere and conditions inside an organization to support networking and the main action of the phase, including choosing and empowering the network members to participate and contribute to networking. The second phase aims at creating a collective entity of the individual members through the main actions of determining the shared goal, agreeing on the practices, creating trust and commitment, and

ensuring that the network is composed of members with all required resources. Finally, the third phase of networking aims at creating the solution, which is the original reason to organize a network. The main actions during this phase concentrate on the actions that support the development such as collecting data on best practices on the field of development and continuously evaluating the development, the network, and the environment where the network operates. When the network has achieved the goal of finding the solution or solutions to the identified challenges, it is ready to proceed to the final phase, where the main action is concentrated on ensuring that the solution can be implemented into the service production system. The goal is the implementation and documentation of the solution and, in some cases, also the implementation of the network as a solution to a challenge identified at the beginning of the networking process.

8.3 Network management during the process of networking

Earlier, I have discussed all the managerial actions I was able to identify from the case study and discussed both the network and the public managers' roles in these managerial actions. What I wanted to achieve with this discussion of the managerial actions in each of the phases was to identify and separate network management actions from all the managerial actions and discuss why these actions are part of managing the network and do not belong to more generic organizational management that would belong to the public manager in the sector or departmental level.

In Table 9, I have collected all the managerial actions that were identifiable from the findings of the literature review as well as the empirical study. I was able to identify five to nine managerial actions that are specific to a phase. These managerial actions are actions that are needed in order to create and maintain a network in the type of hierarchical service production context as is the studied public elderly care service production. These actions constitute network management, but in this matrix, I have still not specified who performs these actions; this will be discussed in presenting the model of enabling the process of networking. There, I argue which of these actions in each of the phases can be performed by the public manager with an enabling effect on the process of networking.

The contribution of this matrix is in identifying network management actions from all the managerial actions in the process of networking and in suggesting new managerial actions to be added to existing network management theories. This has been made possible by the better understanding and conceptualization of the phases of networking and the managerial actions during these phases.

Table 9. Managerial actions during the process of networking.

	1. Planning the process of net-working	2. Constructing the network	3. Collaborating for the solution	4. Implementing the solution and the network practices
Based on the literature review	1. Identifying the challenge solving of which requires a network 2. Identifying the right members and resources to the network from the organization 3. Contacting the first members to the network	1. Tapping the resources and knowledge the network needs and the members and share-holders posses 2. Identifying the operating rules, norms and perceptions prevailing in the network 3. Developing the rules of interaction and cultural adjustments 4. Changing the roles of the members from organization-based to network-based	1. Activating and deactivating members and share-holders according to the resource requirement of the network 2. Maintaining the established relationships inside the network and towards the stakeholders	
Based on the case study	1. Acquiring the necessary acceptance and permissions to begin net-working 2. Creating a structure and an atmosphere that supports networking in a systematic manner 3. Negotiating the participation of members of the organization 4. Negotiating the participation of other municipal units and departments 5. Motivating, inspiring and committing the chosen potential members of the network to participate in the collective activities 6. Forming the initial action plan	1. Creating the feeling of interdependency and trust towards networking as a development and collaboration method 2. Ensuring that there is trust between the members to enable commitment towards the other members of the network and the networking itself 3. Developing a proper set of relationships between towards all stakeholders especially the originating organization	1. Continuous evaluation of the environment of the network, especially the strategic development in the originating organization 2. Ensuring effective and continuous communication between the network and the organization 3. Continuous evaluation of the performance of the network and of the level of trust and commitment 4. Possible first pilots of different solutions and assessment of the solution based on the experience from the piloting	1. Ensuring that the network has resources to implement the solution or the network structure 2. Involving the right actors to the implementation 3. Using hierarchical authority to ensure the permissions and acceptance for the required changes in the organization 4. Piloting of the solutions Refocusing the network when continuity of the network is desired

What has guided me in separating network management from organizational management is the definition of network management proposed in this study. In defining network management, I adopted the view that network management is part of networking, and within this process, there are the managerial actions that facilitate and support networking. I am making a conscious decision here to exclude the actions that are done outside the network, including the possible actions of the public manager in influencing the process of networking by, for example, facilitating, enabling, or managing networks.

The aim of network management is to create conditions that support the process of networking inside the network and to react to the dynamic nature of networking as well as to ensure the communication between the networks, the hierarchical organization, and other stakeholders. In all of the studied networks, the network manager worked closely with the department-level manager, and information from the organization came to the network through the

network manager, as did the information from the network to the organization; in other words, the network manager was an important link between the networks and the hierarchical service production system. In a context like the public elderly care service production, the role of the network manager is also to negotiate the resource needs of the network and its members with the public manager from the department level.

In the matrix of the managerial actions of the process of networking, the actions follow the goal and the main actions of each of the phases presented earlier. In assigning managerial actions to each of the described phases, I have analyzed each of the phases separately, which has helped me in identifying the actions that are needed to enable the network to achieve the goal of each phase. For example, in the first phase, the first managerial action is the identification of a challenge that requires a network. The identification of the challenge is followed by the identification of the needed resources, potential members to the network, and finally, inviting these members to the network.

The matrix brings new light to the existing understanding of network management, especially through the understanding of the significance of the first phase of the whole process of networking and also by looking into the implementation as a separate phase and assigning managerial actions specific to this phase. From the matrix in Table 8, we can see that the managerial actions stretch from the network to the organization, which highlights the collaboration between the public manager and the network manager.

8.4 The final model of enabling networking in the public sector

In the framework of the study (Figure 9), I have suggested that the manager in a hierarchical bureaucracy, such as the hierarchically organized elderly care, influences the process of networking both through the management of the hierarchical organization and through direct participation in the networks. The final model of enabling networking concentrates on the managerial actions that enable networking, both as an active member in the network and from the position of the public manager in the department or sector levels.

The roles of the public manager in enabling networking discussed earlier are shown in Figure 44, where the roles are divided into roles inside the network, as an active member of the network (Initiator, Facilitator, Specialist, Driver), and ones outside the network, as the manager of department or sector (Enabler, Supporter, Connector, Structurist). I will summarize the enabling effect of each of these roles in all four phases of networking and explain how these roles are key to understanding the paradox of public management.

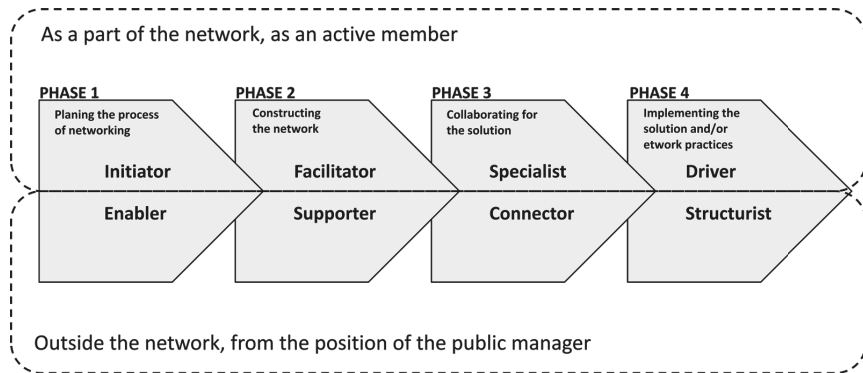


Figure 44. The enabling participation and roles of the public manager

Regarding the paradox of public management, one of the core findings of this study was that the public manager can participate in some phases or situations of the process of networking and remain outside in other phases and situations, without having a negative effect on the process of networking. (Mandell, 2001; Goldsmith and Eggers, 2004; Hampson, 2007) This finding relates to the dynamics of networking and indicates that the dynamic nature of networking requires dynamic and flexible management. This means that the role the public manager pursues successfully in one phase of the process might not have an enabling effect in another phase. Based on this finding, I conclude that the public manager should be open to changing their participation and their role during the process of networking. This conclusion is in line with the new requirement for more informal social interactions, instead of standing behind hierarchy-based formal positions. (Heinämäki, 2012, 65)

The findings of this study also show that at the beginning and at the last phase of the process of networking, the participation of the public manager is most likely to enable networking. During the first phase, active participation in networking in the role of the Initiator might even be required in order for the process of networking to begin. In the last phase, the manager might be required to adopt the role of the Driver, if the implementation of the solution requires considerable changes in the organization, and if the network manager does not have the required authority or knowhow to manage the implementation.

Constructing the network and collaborating for the solution are both phases, where the responsibility of actions and progress are within the responsibility of the network members and the network manager. During these phases, it is the most likely that an outside role as the public manager of the department or an organization has a positive enabling effect on the process of networking. The constructing the network and collaborating for the solution phases are more independent from the organization, and a very active role can prohibit collaboration instead of enabling it.

To illustrate how the model of enabling networking works and how the roles can change, I present the enabling roles of the public manager during a process of networking. This illustration is based on the analysis of the three cases and shown in Figure 45.

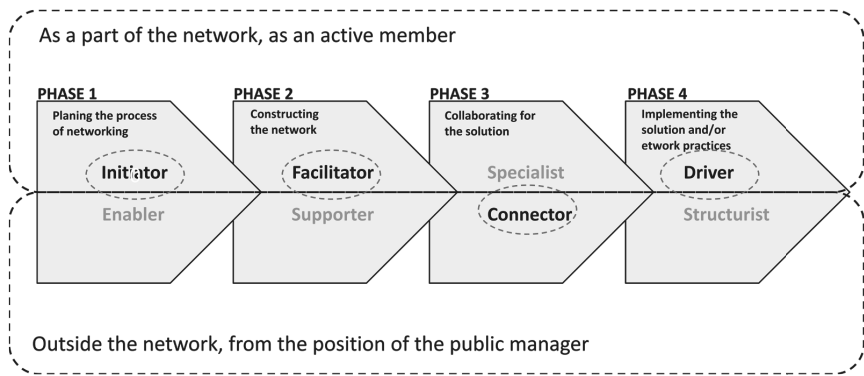


Figure 45. Enabling participation and roles in each of the phases of the process of networking

In the first phase, the public manager can be the Initiator and actively take responsibility of the creation of the network. Activities in this role would include making the initial plan of networking, acquiring permission for the creation of the network, mapping out the resource requirements of the network, and inviting actors with right resources to participate in the networking activities. The following phase would begin when the network was invited to the first meetings and the transition from individual actors to a collective unit with a shared understanding of the purpose of the network and the role of the creation of trust and commitment to the process of networking began. Here, the public manager can still have an active role as the Facilitator of these activities, as long as the goal of the phase is to create trust and commitment towards the other members of the network and the network activities as a means to collaborate or develop services. When the main action is finally concentrated on the development of the solution to solve the identified challenges, for example, in the service production in home care, then, the network should be ready to take responsibility of the development, and the public manager could enable networking from the hierarchical position as the Connector. This role emphasizes the importance of sharing information between the network and the hierarchy and relevant stakeholders. In the final phase, where the solution is implemented into the hierarchy, there is again a need for managerial involvement. Therefore, the public manager can enable the process of networking through the role of the Driver, who both motivates the network to implement the ideas and makes the required changes in the organization to ensure that the solution can be implemented.

9. Conclusions

In this research, my aim has been to create new understanding and develop the existing theories of public management by focusing on the paradox of public management. The paradox of public management refers to the role of a public manager in managing the hierarchically organized public organization and simultaneously operating in the more socially oriented organizations. The main research question has been “How can a public manager deal with the paradox of public management and establish an appropriate level of participation and suitable roles to enable the process of networking?”

By addressing this main question, this research adds to the existing theoretical and practical understanding of the public sector service organization and management. This study also provides valuable insight into the elderly care services, their organization and management from the network and network management perspectives. Better understanding of the elderly care service production is important, since the industrialized countries are aging rapidly. Studying elderly care services in the Finnish context is also valuable, since Finland is aging faster than the rest of the industrialized countries, coming second only to Japan. (Karisto, 2009) In the Finnish context, understanding networks, their management, and the role of the public manager is essential, as the municipalities are shifting towards network-type service production that can be referred to as a new network-type governance. (Heinämäki, 2012, 65) This means new ways to operate within the prevailing structures. In the public sector, these new ways take the form of implementation and policy networks. Implementation networks include cooperative, collaborative, and coordinative networks. (Agranoff and McGuire, 2001, 2003; Mandell, 2001) Implementation networks have been the focus of this study.

I have approached the main research question by analyzing the process of networking and by looking into the managerial actions during this process, firstly, by analyzing networking in the three case networks that operate in the field of elderly care service production and, secondly, by analyzing the interaction between the network and their hierarchical home organization, especially the actions of the public manager from the department level in enabling the process of networking in this hierarchical context, separately in each of the three networks.

To address the main research question, I have proposed three sub-questions:

1. How should the process of networking be organized to allow systematic network-type collaboration inside and between public organizations?
2. How do the managerial actions, including functions and more specific tasks, evolve during the process of networking?
3. To enable networking, how should the managerial participation and roles of the public manager evolve during the process of networking in each of the identified phases along the process?

9.1 Theoretical contribution of the study

The results of this study shed significant new light into public management and network management research by increasing the understanding of the paradox of public network management and by creating a theoretical framework of enabling the process of networking in the hierarchical context such as the public elderly care service production. When constructing the theoretical framework of this study, I have focused on how the organizational structure, organized according to the hierarchical principle, shapes the process of networking in the attempt to create and maintain the implementation networks. Some of the main public management researchers see the hierarchical structure as the prevailing condition where networks operate. (Mandell, 2001; Kenis and Provan, 2006; Keast and Hampson, 2008) My findings however illustrate that the networks in their current state in the studied public sector are close to an operating mode inside a hierarchical structure. One part of the contribution of this research comes from adding to the understanding of the process of networking and the other part from the understanding of enabling networking by the public manager.

I suggest that the use of dialogical action research has produced new kinds of information regarding the process of networking, the managerial functions, the role, and the participation of the public manager. By revealing the social structures, traditions, as well as power structures, of the researched community, the dialogical action research has also allowed for a better understanding of the dialogue between the network and the hierarchical organization, which, in turn, has fine-tuned the final theory of public network management in relation to the different roles of the public manager from the sector and department levels. (McNiff, 1995; Mårtensson and Lee, 2004) The level and focus of analysis in this study have revealed the importance of taking the different organizational levels, from where public managers come from, into account and does not assume that all public managers have or should pursue similar roles in the process of networking, and that their participation or lack thereof has a similar effect on the process of networking.

9.1.1 The process of networking

Regarding the organization of the process of networking, I have found factors that support dividing the process into four phases. The contribution of this research regarding the process of networking follows from being able to iden-

tify the main actions, goal, and the responsible actor for each of the phases. I have identified and described the following four: Planning the process of networking, constructing the network, collaborating for the solution, and implementing the solution and the network practices. This more detailed and dynamic description of the process of networking offers a more detailed and constructed theoretical model of the process and for managers and practitioners – a better understanding, through the definition of the goal and the main action of each of the phases. The new process model significantly improves our knowledge of the factors that can be used to identify and describe the phases of the process of networking. One particular finding regarding the process of networking is that the responsible actor changes during the process. This finding suggests that the changing main actor is tied to whether the main actions take place in the organization or in the network itself. At the beginning, during the planning the process of networking phase, for example, the actions mainly take place inside the organization that is initiating networking, and the main actor in this phase is the organization and the public manager. This implies that the success of this phase is in the hands of the public manager, since the manager creates conditions inside the organization that support networking.

At this phase, the idea of the network is born, and the first potential members of the network are identified. There is no network at this point, but since these actions inside the organization shape the latter phases of the process of networking, there is support for including this phase in the process. What also makes this phase relevant for the whole process of networking is that, here, some decisions for the network are already made, and for the transparency of the information, it is essential for the network members to understand how these decisions contribute to the success of the network.

Including the first phase in the process of networking is also essential to the understanding of the management requirements of the process of network, regarding both the network and the public manager. (Doz, 1996; Provan and Lemaire, 2012; Doz, Olk and Ring, 2000)

9.1.2 The enabling of networking by the public manager

The main contribution of this study comes from defining the participation and roles of the public manager that have an enabling effect in the process of networking in a hierarchically organized public service organization. The value of the results of this study in regards to the managerial involvement of the public manager is in suggesting and describing how the public manager can, and at times should, enable networking from the hierarchical position, both through authority and social connections. The results contribute to the quest for a more holistic and process-based understanding of network management. (Hibbers et al., 2008) This has been made possible through the used research method, that allows longitudinal and participative data of the managerial and networking practices.

Earlier network management research has been greatly influenced by the network management functions theory from Agranoff and McGuire (2001), offering researchers an understanding of what functions have to be performed

in a network in contrast to the four management functions or tasks in an organization. (Powell, 1990; Tsoukas, 1994; Agranoff and McGuire, 2001; McGuire, 2002; 2006) The lack of understanding of the dynamics of these functions or how they unfold alongside the process of networking have been challenges with this network management perspective. This study considerably deepens this general view and supports the suggested theoretical framework. The earlier understanding of the role of the public manager, regarding the paradox of public management, has not been able to contribute to the clear separation of the network management actions from the actions done in the organization from the role of the public manager. The separation of these actions however is crucial for the theory of public management, since the separation of these actions and roles questions the prevailing theoretical and practical understanding, according to which, the public manager adopts the role of the network manager or at least is an active member of the network and its activities during the whole process of networking.

In my conclusions, I also focus on the roles of an appointed network manager and the public manager in attending to these managerial actions in each of the phases. By analyzing the actions of the public and the appointed network managers in each of the three case networks, I have listed functions and tasks that have to be performed in the phases to ensure that the network reaches the goal. I have also taken a closer look into the functions and tasks of the public manager to be able to identify and separate the functions and tasks performed as part of the managerial functions in the hierarchy and those that are active and have direct involvement in the networking activities. I have conceptualized these managerial functions and tasks into participation and enabling roles of the public manager. Theoretically, my result challenges the prevailing assumption that the public manager adopts the role of the network manager and significantly expands our knowledge on the network management functions.

The most important managerial implication of the results of this study comes from clearly separating the managerial tasks of the public manager and those of the network manager. The finding is related to a very important suggestion, according to which, the hierarchical structure and the level/position in the hierarchical structure, where the public manager comes from, should be taken into account. In the earlier theoretical discussion, it was assumed that the public manager adopts the role of the network manager (for example, Mandell, 2001; Agranoff and McGuire, 2001); in light of the present study, this presumption is too generic and caused by the omission of a sufficient distinction between the different levels of management in the extant literature. When I talk about the public manager, I refer to the sector- or department-level managers. The network manager in this research has been a sub-department-, unit- or areal unit-level manager. I clearly separate the managerial tasks of the public manager and those of the network manager. According to my findings, defining the type of the public manager and network manager is essential in creating a better theoretical and practical understanding of the paradox of public management.

The aim of the public manager in the process of networking is to react to the changes that follow from the dynamic nature of the process of networking. The public manager has to understand that the managerial requirements change during networking and that constant monitoring of the process, as well as tight collaboration with the network manager, is desirable to achieve positive enabling of networking. This is because the paradox follows from certain requirements that come from managing a hierarchical organization in the public sector, and these requirements materialize only in the higher levels of hierarchical organizations, where the responsibility and authority lies.

9.2 Managerial implications of the study

To my knowledge, this study is the first extensive longitudinal study into the paradox of public management done in close collaboration with managers by following the rules of dialogical action research. This suggests a strong practical implication of the study in regards to coping with and solving the paradox of public management in practice. The results of this study are directly applicable to the management of elderly care in the Finnish public sector, and the findings from this context offer managers from other fields in public management a systematic and practice-oriented process view to deal with both the hierarchical context and the more socially oriented networks. The results provide new information to the actors in the public sector and actors in other organizations that co-operate with public organizations.

In the municipal hierarchy, the sector- and department-level managers have relatively influential roles in the municipal service organization, and both authority and responsibility follow from this position. Therefore, this study was focused on the enabling role of these managers as public managers and the sub-department and unit-level managers' role as the network managers. The study supports earlier research in showing how important the role of public managers from sector and department levels is in the beginning of the process of networking and how the role can change during the process, which implies much more dynamic management requirements and corresponding roles, that earlier research has implied. The network management functions discussion failed to suggest an order for these functions and tasks alongside the process of networking as well as combining the functions with corresponding phases in the process of networking. As a practical implication, however, this is essential to dealing with the paradox of public management.

A better understanding of the phases and the management actions connected to each of the phases helps the organization constantly monitor the process of networking as well as provide the reasoning and explanation for when it is important for the manager to let go of direct authoritative control of these processes by emphasizing the roles of trust and control in creating the network and building relationships between different participating organizations. The results also support earlier theories of public network management, that have highlighted the importance of both trust and commitment in networking, show how trust and commitment evolve, and what kind of a role they have in each of

the phases of the process of networking. A better understanding of the roles and responsibilities during the process of networking creates transparency and has the potential to increase both trust and commitment of all the actor of networks as well as the support of the hierarchical organizations in which the networks operate.

9.3 Limitation of the study and suggestions for future research

This study has been conducted in the Finnish public sector, a context that is very specific and unique. The organization of elderly care that is a part of the social and health care service organization and production has been the responsibility of individual municipalities. This is a very unique way of organizing elderly care and in the process of changing, even in Finland. The municipalities are hierarchically organized and bureaucratic. The fact that the municipalities have the responsibility of organizing the services has had an effect on their willingness and ability to collaborate. The number of elderly and their more complex service needs have created the need to collaborate, but at the same time, the way the municipal service organization is structured creates challenges for collaboration. This has made the context suitable for studying the process of networking in the public sector to create a theory of the paradox of the public management, but at the same time, it has some limitations. The results are very context-specific, and some implications might be applicable only in the Finnish context.

The created model of enabling networking in a hierarchically organized public sector is conceptual, and thus, lacking direct applicability to the practice as a model to follow in an attempt to create a network even in a similar context. In practice, the process of networking is not necessarily as linear as the conceptual model, but a more dynamic process, where progress and setbacks take turns. Similarly, the enabling effect in practice is not linear and simple, as in the conceptualization of the enabling of the process of networking. Due to the complexity of the events within the process of networking, the process and the phases may require different kind of participation and roles, as in the conceptual model of the enabling of the process of networking.

This study provides a solution to the paradox of public management, but more empirical research on the enabling in different contexts would add to the existing understanding of the paradox of public management. Critical evaluation of the conceptual model of enabling the process of networking in similar contexts would be an interesting topic for future research. Also, studying the absence of the public manager from the sector and department levels in the network activities and in enabling networking from the managerial role in the organization could be fruitful in adding to the existing understanding of the public network management. Studying the absence would shed new light on the understanding of the role of lower level managers in the process of networking and their ability to enable networking. It would also show how the hierarchical organization can adopt to the new network type of governance and empower lower level managers to enable networking processes by supporting

them in their role as the network manager, but also from the role of the sub-department or unit level manager.

In this study, the focus has been on the elderly care organization and mainly home care as the initiating organization regarding the creation of the networks. The results of this study, therefore, concentrate on the elderly care organization and the requirements of the initiating organization. For future research, it would be interesting to build on the results of this study by studying several or all of the organizations of the network members simultaneously. This kind of study would give us more data on the managerial requirements of networking with public organizations, more precisely, on enabling networking in different kinds of organizations and the interplay between the organizations from different sectors with the organizations from the public sector.

The aim of the action research project was to create a lasting change in the hierarchical municipal organizations, in regards to having the capability to collaborate more systematically in networks. In the prevailing network-type governance, the aim was to create new collaborative practices and create required and incremental changes in the hierarchical structures. During the action research project, the participating organizations had a different approach to the change process and achieved a different level of change in both practices and in the prevailing structures. Follow-up interviews were made six months after the action research process, and the results of this study already indicated different levels of change in the researched organizations. It would be interesting to follow-up with both organizations after several years have passed to gain a better understanding of the effect of networking in changing prevailing hierarchical practices. An interview study could be conducted with the managers and personnel, who participated in the research project, and for comparison, also with current managers, who have been employed after the change project. This kind of an interview study would also show how much of the knowledge of networks and network management has remained in the organization.

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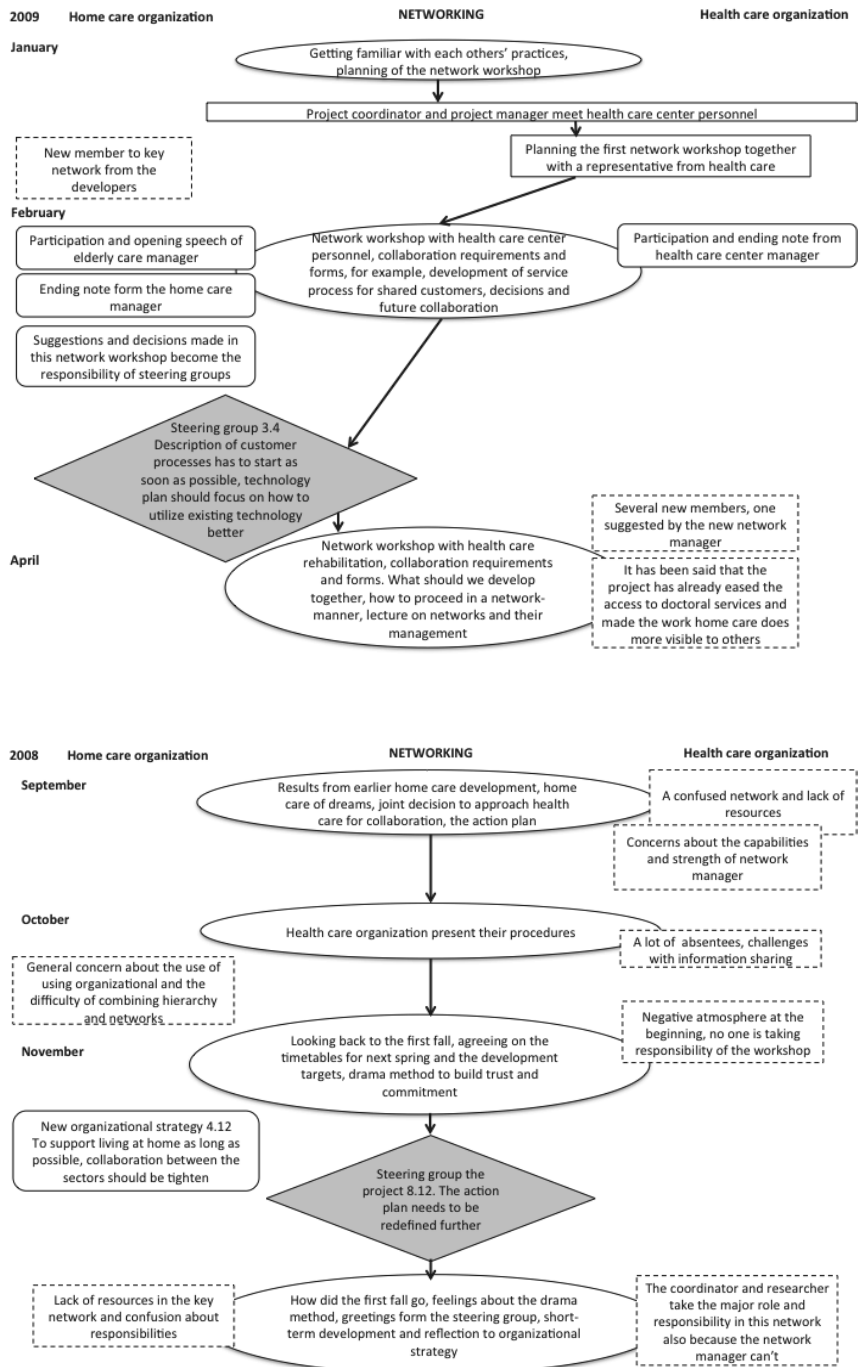
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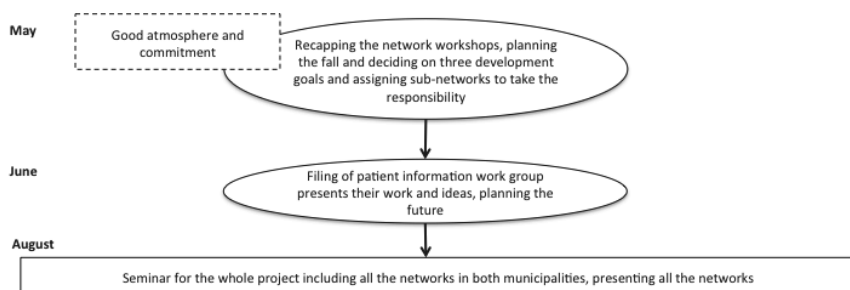
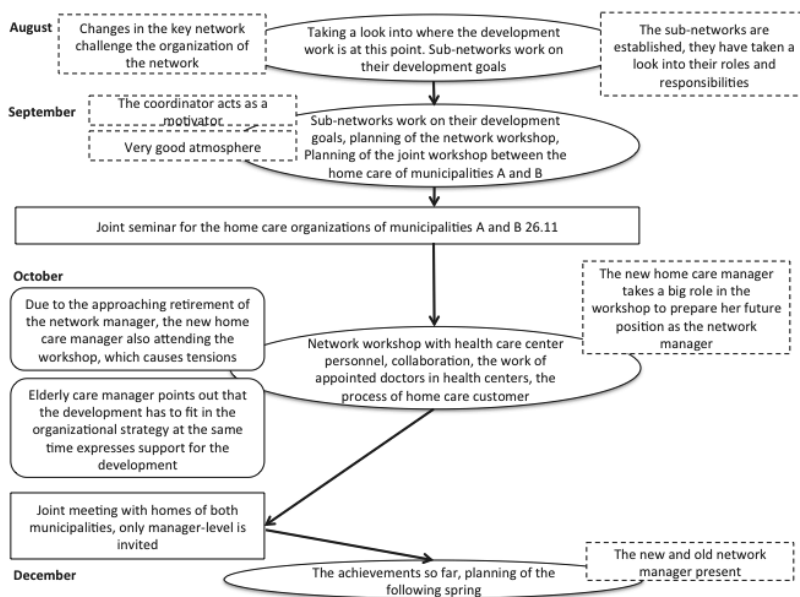
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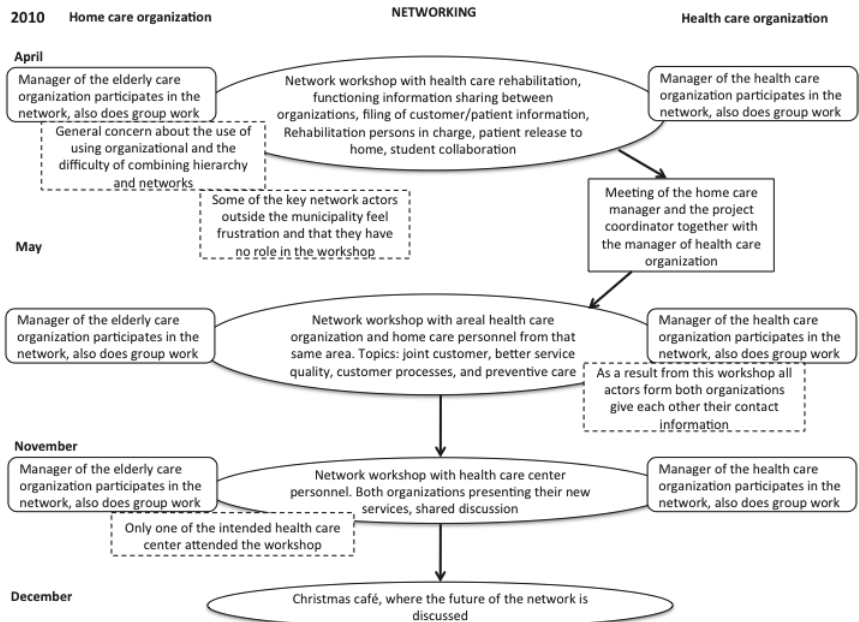
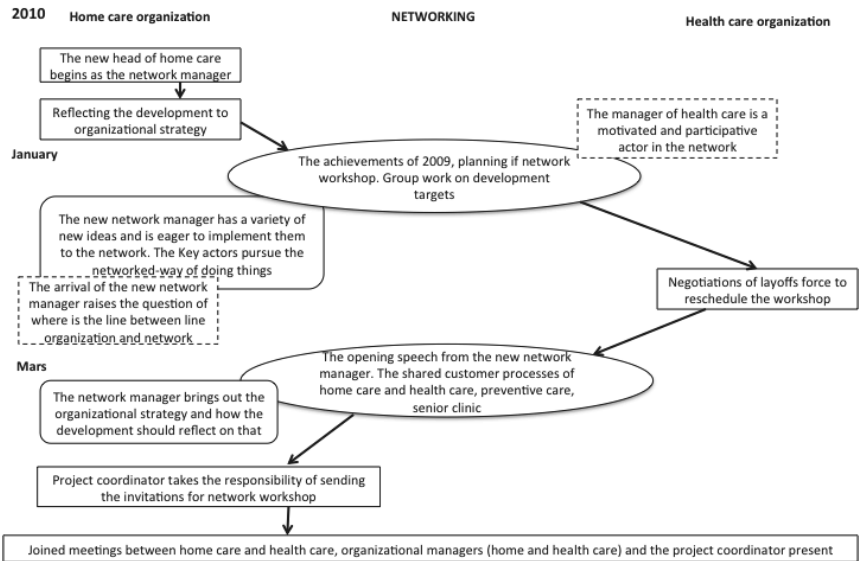
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